

A N
Universal HISTORY,
FROM THE
Earliest Account of Time to the Present:
COMPILED from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS;
And ILLUSTRATED with
Maps, Cuts, Notes, *Chronological* and
Other Tables.

V O L. XV.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχισθαι μὴ κατανοῖ, ἡ αὐταῖς γὰρ ἐκρήσεις ἀκόπως,
ἀπὸ ἑτέρων συνῆξαι ἐγκόπως. Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.



D. Pomaredi Sc.^t

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A N

Universal History.

C H A P. XXII.

The Roman history, from the death of M. Aurelius, to the death of Alexander, when the empire was first transferred without the consent of the senate.

Commodus was the first emperor that was born in his father's reign, and the second that succeeded his father in the empire. He was born on the thirty-first of *August* of the year 161, and raised to the empire on the seventeenth of *March* of the year 180. He is commonly called *L. Ælius Aurelius Commodus*, and sometimes *Commodus Antoninus*. He was educated with great care by his father; but nevertheless proved one of the most lewd, cruel, and wicked, tyrants that ever disgraced a throne; which confirms in some degree the opinion of those, who believed him to be the son of a famous gladiator, with whom his mother *Faustina* was said to have had a criminal conversation^d. He gave, when only twelve years old, a remarkable instance of his cruelty at *Centumcellæ*, now *Civita Vecchia*; where finding the water in which he bathed somewhat too warm, he commanded the person who attended the bath to be thrown into the furnace; nor was he satisfied, till those who were about

His cruelty

^d JUL. CAP. in M. Aur. p. 30.

him pretended to have put his order in execution *. After his succession to the empire, he equalled, if he did not succeed, in cruelty, *Caligula*, *Domitian*, and *Nero* himself, playing, we may say, with the blood of his subjects and fellow-creatures, of whom he caused great numbers to be racked and butchered in his presence, merely for his diversion. The antients relate several instances of his cruelty, very odd, and monstrous: he caused one to be thrown to the wild beasts, for reading the life of *Caligula* written by *Suetonius*, because that tyrant and he had been born on the same day †. Seeing one day a corpulent man pass by, he immediately cut him asunder, partly to try his strength, in which he excelled all men, and partly out of curiosity, as he himself owned, to see his entrails drop out at once. He took pleasure in cutting off the feet, and putting out the eyes, of such as he met in his rambles through the city, telling the former, after he had thus maimed them, by way of raillery, that they now belonged to the nation of the *Monopodii*; and the latter, that they were now become *Luscinii*, alluding to the words *luscinia*, a nightingale, and *luscus*, one-eyed. Some he murdered, because they were negligently dressed; others, because they seemed trimmed with too much nicety. He pretended to great skill in surgery, especially at letting blood; but sometimes, instead of easing by that means those whom he visited, or who were prevailed upon to recur to him, he cut off by way of diversion, their ears or noses. He assumed the name and habit of *Hercules*, appearing publicly in a lion's skin, with a huge club in his hand, and ordering several persons, tho' not guilty of any crime, to be disguised like monsters; that, by knocking out their brains with his club, he might have a better claim to the name of the great destroyer of monsters. In short, the shedding of blood seemed to be his chief diversion ‡. As for his lewdness, the author of his life tells us, that even in his father's reign he turned the court into a brothel; and, upon his death, he abandoned himself, without restraint or shame, to all manner of abominations, spending whole days and nights in public-houses amongst the meanest of the people, and in the company of gladiators, buffoons, common prostitutes, &c. He kept constantly three hundred concubines; and the like number of catamites. He debauched all his own sisters, and murdered one of them, by name *Lucilla*, after he had forced her to comply with his incestuous desires. But to give a detail of his infamous practices and pollutions is beneath the dignity of an historian, and what we cannot help blaming in *Suetonius* and the *Augustine*

His lewd-
ness and
debauche-
ries.

* LAMPRIID. in Commod.

† Idem ibid.

‡ Idem ibid.

writers.

writers. He took great delight in shooting with the bow, *His skill in archery.* and gave innumerable proofs of his dexterity and skill in that art, which we should look upon as fabulous, were they not attested by all the antients. He excelled all men in strength, and is said to have run an elephant thro' with his spear, and to have once killed in the amphitheatre a hundred lions, one after another, and each of them at one blow. Forgetful of his rank and dignity, he entered the lists with the common gladiators, having learnt with them in the common school the use of their weapons. He is said to have fought in the public amphitheatre seven hundred and thirty-five times, and to have always come off conqueror; whence he often subscribed himself in his letters, *The conqueror of a thousand gladiators.* He seemed to be more pleased with the applause of the populace on these occasions, than any of the antient Roman captains had ever been with a triumph. Imagining one day, that the people rather derided than applauded him, he ordered them all to be massacred upon the spot, and the city to be set on fire; which barbarous sentence had been put in execution, had not the captain of the prætorian guards with much-ado appeased him. Having with his extravagancies soon drained and exhausted his exchequer, he betook himself to all manner of rapine; *His avareness.* loaded the people with taxes; sold the governments of the provinces, and other employments; exempted criminals from the punishments due to their crimes, upon their paying him a sum of money, and allowed others to murder whomsoever they pleased; so that the city, and indeed the whole empire, was filled with blood and massacres, every one purchasing of the emperor the liberty of murdering such as he feared or hated^b. But to proceed to the history of his reign according to the order of time.

Commodus, a few days after his father's death, went to the camp, attended by all the chief officers; and there, after a plausible and popular speech to the soldiers, presented them with the usual donative. He was for returning immediately to *Rome*, panting after the diversions of the city; but *Pompeianus*, who had married his sister, representing to him, how dangerous and shameful a thing it would be for him, to return before he had ended the war, he was with much-ado prevailed upon to continue some time in *Pannonia*, where he is said to have gained some advantages over the *Quadi*, which must have been very inconsiderable, since he did not on that score take upon him the title of *imperator*. However, both the *Quadi* and *Marcomanni*, imagining that he was resolved

^b Idem ibid.

He concludes a
peace with
the Mar-
comanni,
Quadi,
&c.

to pursue the war, and finding themselves no longer in a condition to make head against his victorious troops, sent ambassadors to him, with proposals of an accommodation; which he readily hearkened to, and granted them a peace upon the following terms: 1. That they should not settle within five miles of the *Danube*. 2. That they should deliver up their arms, and supply the *Romans* with a certain number of troops, when required. 3. That they should assemble but once a month, in one place only, and in the presence of a *Roman* centurion. And, 4. That they should not make war upon the *Iazyges*, the *Buri*, or the *Vandali*, without the consent of the people of *Rome*. On the other hand, *Commodus* promised to abandon, which he did accordingly, all the castles and fortresses which he held in their country, except such as were within five miles of the *Danube*¹. With the other *German* nations, which his father had almost intirely reduced, he concluded a very dishonourable peace; nay, of some he purchased it with very large sums. Having thus rather abandoned than ended the war, he hastened back to *Rome*, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy, and honoured with a triumph, with the surname of *Pius*, and with all the marks of distinction that had ever been conferred upon the most deserving princes. Having visited the capitol and other temples, and returned thanks to the senate, the people, and the soldiery, for their fidelity and attachment to him during his absence, he was conducted by them to the palace on the twenty second of *October*².

THE following year, *Commodus* entered upon his third consulship, having for his colleague one *Birrus*, or *Burrhus*, probably *Antistius Burrhus*, who had married his sister¹. On one medal of this, and on several of the following year, *Commodus* bears the title of *Felix*, the *Happy*; whence it is manifest, that *Lampridius*, whom most modern antiquaries follow, was mistaken when he wrote, that this title was not by the senate decreed to him till the death of *Perennis*, which happened five years after; that is, in the year 186^m. The next consuls were *Mamertinus* and *Rufus*, during whose administration *Commodus* took the title of *imperator* for the fifth time, on account of some advantages gained by his lieutenants, *Albinus* and *Niger*, over the barbarians who dwelt beyond *Dacia*². The above-mentioned consuls were succeeded by *Commodus*, the fourth time consul, and *Victorinus* the second

¹ DIO. l. lxxii. p. 817. HERODIAN. l. i. p. 461. AUR. VICT.

² LAMPRID. *ibid.* DIO. p. 818. HEROD. p. 471. GOLTZ. p. 81. ¹ Vid. *Commod.* p. 48. ONUPH. p. 238. ^m BIRAC. p. 246. ^a GOLTZ. p. 81. BIRAC. *ibid.* DIO. p. 820.

time

time. During their consulship, the *Caledonians*, having passed the wall which parted them from the *Romans*, committed dreadful devastations, and cut in pieces a *Roman* army, with their general; but were in the end repulsed with great slaughter, by *Ulpus Marcellus*, a man of a mean descent, but an excellent commander, and a strict observer of the military discipline. Of this war the antients give us no particular account, but only tell us, that it proved very bloody; that the emperor, for the great advantages gained by his lieutenant, took the title of *imperator* the sixth time, with the surname of *Britannicus*; and that *Ulpus Marcellus*, by his gallant and prudent conduct, gained such credit and reputation, that *Commodus*, envying him the glory he had acquired, designed to put him to death; but in the end spared him^o. This year *Commodus*, who had hitherto followed the advice of his father's friends and counsellors, began to despise them, thinking himself sufficiently qualified to govern without so many tutors about him, as he expressed it. He therefore discharged them all, employing in their room either his debauched companions, or such as were recommended to him by them. Thus *Pescennius Niger* was preferred to the command of the armies in *Syria*, at the recommendation of the wrestler *Narcissus*; and many others were raised to great employments by means of the emperor's freed-men, slaves, concubines, &c. whose imperious and arrogant behaviour drew upon the young prince the hatred and contempt of the senate; which he being well apprised of, began in his turn to put to death under various pretences, some of the most eminent members of that illustrious body. His sister *Lucilla*, seeing him abhorred, on account of his cruelties, by all the great men in *Rome*, formed a conspiracy against him, with a design to place in his room a person whom she favoured, and was thought to love both above her brother and her husband *Pompeianus*. She had the title of empress, and all the honours attending it, being the widow of the emperor *Lucius Verus*; but nevertheless was obliged to give place to *Crispina* the wife of *Commodus*; which her haughty spirit could not bear. She therefore drew into a conspiracy *Claudius Pompeianus*, to whom she had betrothed her daughter, *Quadratus*, and many other senators of distinction. It was agreed among the conspirators, that they should fall upon the emperor while he was going to the amphitheatre through a narrow and dark passage; and that *Pompeianus* should give him the first blow. Accordingly they assaulted him in the appointed place; but *Pompeianus* shewing

The Caledonians invade the Roman territories; but are repulsed by Ulpus Marcellus.

Commodus dismisses his father's friends and counsellors.

A conspiracy formed against him by his sister Lucilla and others.

^o Dio. l. lxxii. p. 821. & in excerpt. Val. p. 725.

him,

Who are
all put to
death.

him, instead of striking at once, the naked dagger, and crying out, *This present the senate sends you*, the guards had time to rescue the emperor, and seize the conspirators, who were soon after put to death. The emperor banished his sister to the island of *Capreae*, where he afterwards ordered her to be privately murdered ^p. *Herodianus* tells us, that one *Quinctianus* was to give the first blow; and *Ammianus*, who follows him, adds, that *Quinctianus* actually wounded the emperor, who, by the loss of blood, fainted away ^q. But we have chosen to follow such writers as lived nearest to those times. This same year the empress *Crispina* was likewise confined to the island of *Capreae*, and there murdered, by the emperor's order, for imitating him in his debaucheries ^r. *Quadratus* had a concubine, by name *Marcia*, and a favourite freedman, named *Eclæstus*. The latter the emperor created his chief chamberlain; and the former, who was a woman of great beauty, he kept for his concubine, and distinguished her with all the honours that were peculiar to the empresses, except that of having fire or torches carried before her ^s. She is supposed to have been a great friend to the christians; and to her power at court, and authority with the emperor, is commonly ascribed the profound tranquillity, which the church enjoyed in the midst of so many cruel executions ^t. One *Anterus*, or, as others call him, *Saoterus*, a native of *Nicomedia*, and the emperor's favourite freedman, was thought to have put him upon the wicked measures which he was pursuing; for he bore a great sway with the prince. Wherefore the captains of the guards caused him to be murdered by one *Cleander*, of whom we shall speak hereafter. The emperor expressed greater concern for his death, than he had done for the conspiracy formed against himself; and being informed, that *Taruntinus Paternus*, one of the captains of the guards, was privy to it, he removed him from his employment, under colour of creating him a senator, and a few days after caused him to be assassinated, with *Salvius Julianus*, to whose son the daughter of *Paternus* had been betrothed, pretending that they had both conspired to depose him, and seize the empire for themselves ^u. *Salvius Julianus* was grandson to the famous civilian of that name under *Adrian*, and uncle to *Didius Julianus*, who was afterwards emperor. The same year were falsely accused of treason, con-

The cap-
tains of the
guards
cause his
favourite
freedman
to be mur-
dered.

Several
persons con-
demned and
executed.

^p Vid. *Commod.* p. 46. *HEROD.* p. 474. *DIO.* p. 818.

^q *AMMIAN.* l. xxix. ^r *DIO.* ibid. ^s *HEROD.* l. i. p. 486.

^t Vide *BARON.* ann. 112. ^u *Vit. Commod.* p. 47. *DIO.* p. 819.

demned,

demned and executed, *Velius Rufus*, *Egnatius Capito*, and the two *Quintilii*, *Maximus* and *Condianus*, who had been all consuls. *Sextus Condianus*, the son of *Maximus*, who had been consul in the year 180, and was a young man of extraordinary parts, was condemned with his father and uncle; but escaped, at least, for some time, by causing a report to be spread, that he was dead; but many attesting that he was still alive, diligent search was made after him. Many persons, who had never seen him, were accused of having harboured and concealed him in their houses, and, upon that charge, either put to death or banished. Of *Sextus* himself we find no farther mention in history. *Emilius Juncus* and *Attilius Severus* were both banished in their consulship, which they held, it seems, during the two last months of this year, and with them many senators and knights of great distinction. Under *Perennis*, the succeeding consuls, *M. Eggius Merullus* and *Gn. Papirius the emperor's favourite*, was accused of aspiring at the empire, and put to death: the emperor's favourite minister *Perennis*. He was captain of the prætorian guards, an excellent commander, and, according to *Dion Cassius*, a man without reproach¹. But *Herodianus* and *Lampridius* give him a quite different character, and speak of him as one who abused the great authority he had with the emperor, sticking at no violence, murder, or injustice, to fill his own coffers, while *Commodus* was wholly intent upon his pleasures and diversions, in which he encouraged him, that he might govern with an absolute sway; which he did but for a short while, as we shall see anon². This year *Commodus* took the title of *imperator* the seventh time, probably on account of some advantages gained by his lieutenants in *Britain*; for the disturbances there were not yet intirely quelled³. The next consuls were *Commodus* the fifth time, and *Acilius Glabrio* the second⁴. This year, while *Commodus* was assisting at the *Capitoline* sports, instituted by *Domitian* in 86, a person in the habit of a *Cynic* philosopher, appeared unexpectedly in the midst of the theatre; and addressing the emperor, told him aloud, That while he minded nothing but his pleasures and diversions, he was in danger of losing both his life and the empire, by the wicked practices of *Perennis* and his children. *Perennis* caused the pretended *Cynic* to be immediately seized as a madman, who disturbed the public sports, and soon after ordered him to be

¹ DIO. l. lxxi. p. 819. Vit. Comm. p. 47. ² DIO. p. 821. ³ HEROD. l. i. p. 472. Vit. Comm. p. 48. ⁴ DIO. l. lxxi. p. 819. Vit. Comm. p. 47. ⁵ NOR. 18. epist. consul p. 110.

burnt alive ; which gave the emperor no small jealousy. Not long after, some soldiers arriving at *Rome* from *Illyricum*, where the son of *Perennis* commanded, shewed to *Commodus*, in a private audience, some medals, on which was engraved the image of the son of *Perennis*, as if he had been already emperor ; which so alarmed the prince, that he commanded the traitor to be immediately put to death ^b. Thus *Herodian*. But *Dion Cassius* and *Lampridius* relate his downfall in a quite different manner. According to them, the army in *Britain*, dissatisfied, either because he had punished them with too great severity on account of some sedition, or because he had removed several senators, and given their posts in the army to *Roman* knights his creatures, sent deputies to *Rome*, fifteen hundred ; says *Dion Cassius*, (which seems altogether incredible), to complain of him ; and charge him with a design of raising his son to the empire. They were backed by *Cleander* and the emperor's other freedmen, who could not brook the arbitrary and haughty conduct of the favourite minister. Hereupon *Commodus*, naturally timorous, abandoned the traitor to the rage of the provoked soldiery, who, after a thousand outrages, tore him in pieces. His wife, his sister, and his two sons, underwent the same fate. To his eldest son, who commanded the army in *Illyricum*, the emperor wrote an obliging letter, injoining him to come with all possible expedition to *Rome*, to receive there new marks of the esteem and affection he had for him and his father. As the young man was an intire stranger to what had passed, and not yet in a condition to revolt openly, he readily complied with the invitation ; but had no sooner entered *Italy*, than he was cut in pieces by the soldiers who attended him ; pursuant to the private orders they had received from *Rome* ^c. The other brother was probably killed at *Rome* with his father. *Perennis* was succeeded in the post of prime minister by *Cleander* ; for the emperor himself was so taken up with his pleasures and diversions, that he could not bestow one minute on the affairs of the state : he would not even be at the trouble of signing his dispatches ; and in several letters to his friends all he wrote was, *Vale, Farewel*. *Cleander* was by birth a *Phrygian*, and originally a slave, having been sold as such in *Rome* by auction, as were in those days most slaves. He belonged at first to *M. Aurelius*, and afterwards to *Commodus*, who, favouring him above the rest of his slaves, gave him leave to marry *Demostracia*, one of his concubines, brought up the

His wife
and chil-
dren under-
go the same
fate.

Perennis is
succeeded
by *Clean-
der*.

^b HERODIAN. *ibid.* p. 474, 475.
Commod. p. 48.

^c DIO. p. 821. Vit.

children he had by her in the palace, presented him with his liberty and appointed him his chamberlain. He is thought to have procured the death of *Perennis*, that he might ingross all the power to himself; which he easily compassed, and abused his authority in a more flagrant manner than *Perennis* had ever done. By him all things were openly set to sale; offices, provinces, public revenues, public justice, and the lives of men both innocent and guilty. *Antistius Burrhus*, who had married one of the emperor's sisters, took the liberty to acquaint the prince with the unaccountable conduct of his minister; but that liberty cost him his life, *Cleander* having charged him with aspiring at the empire, and prevailed upon the emperor, whom he blindly controuled, to condemn him, and all those who espoused his cause, or attempted to defend him. Among these was *Ebutianus* captain of the guards, in whose room *Cleander* persuaded the emperor to substitute himself, and two others, whom he named to him. Upon the death of *Perennis*, that employment had been given to one *Niger*, who held it only six hours; another enjoyed it but five days, and several others not so long, the timorous emperor changing the captains of his guards daily and hourly. Most of these officers lost their lives with their employment, being accused of treason by *Cleander*, who courted, and at last obtained, that important post for himself^d. After the death of *Perennis*, the emperor pretended to be greatly concerned for many things that had been done during his administration, in order to throw the whole odium upon him. He wrote an obliging letter to *Pertinax*, whom *Perennis* had banished into *Liguria*, his native country, and kept there for the space of three years, appointing him commander of the troops in *Britain*, which had mutinied, and raised great disturbances in that island, neither the Roman soldiers, nor the Britons, being able to brook the tyrannical government of *Commodus*. Upon the arrival of *Pertinax*, the soldiers pressed him to assume the sovereignty; but he, rejecting the offer with indignation, brought by degrees the mutinous soldiery to a sense of their duty, and restored tranquility to the province, but not without great trouble and danger; for one of the legions openly revolting, much blood was spilt, and *Pertinax* himself was left upon the spot for dead. As his severity drew upon him the hatred and ill-will of the soldiery, he desired to be recalled; but the emperor did not comply with his request till three years after*. This year *Commodus*

Who abuses his authority.

The captains of the guards changed daily and hourly.

The Roman soldiers in Britain mutiny.

^d HEROD. p. 475. DIO. p. 822. VIT. COM. *ibid.* * VIT. COM. *ibid.* & PERTIN. p. 54.

took the title of *imperator* for the eighth and last time, on account of the advantages, as is conjectured, which *Clodius Albinus* is said to have gained about this time over the *Frisians* ^a.

The war
of the de-
serters un-
der the con-
duct of
Maternus.

UNDER the next consuls, *Crispinus* and *Ælianus*, a common soldier by name, *Maternus*, having fled from his colours, and being joined by many others guilty of the same crime, grew in a short time so powerful, the banditti flocking to him from all parts, that he over-ran and plundered great part of *Gaul* and *Spain*, stormed the strongest cities, and struck the emperor and people of *Rome* with such terror, that troops were raised and armies dispatched against him. *Pescennius Niger* was sent to make head against him in *Gaul*, where he became very intimate with *Severus*, who was then governor of the country of *Lyons*, and wrote a letter to the emperor, commending the prudent conduct and gallant behaviour of *Niger* in pursuing the rebels and deserters ^f. *Maternus*, finding himself reduced to great straits by the brave *Niger*, divided his men into several small bands, and marched privately with them by different ways into *Italy*, having nothing less in view than to murder the emperor, during the solemnity which was kept annually in honour of the mother of the gods, and, upon his death, to seize the empire. They all arrived at *Rome* undiscovered; and some of his men had already mixed themselves with the emperor's guards, when others of his own party betrayed him. He was immediately seized and executed, and his death put an end to the disturbances, which some of his followers had begun to raise in other provinces ^g. The same year broke out the most dreadful plague, says *Dion Cassius*, that had been known. It lasted two or three years, and raged with most violence in *Rome*, where it frequently carried off two thousand persons a day. The emperor to avoid the contagion, retired to *Laurentum*, a city of *Latium*, on the sea-side ^h. The following year *Fuscianus* and *Salinus* being both consuls for the second time, the emperor gave out, that he designed to pass over into *Africa*; but having, under that pretence, exacted very considerable sums, and even suffered the people to offer up vows for his safe return on the fifth of *April*, he spent the money in banquets and revels, and continued at *Rome* and in the neighbourhood ⁱ. About this time, *Severus* was translated from the government of *Pannonia* to that of *Sicily*, whence he returned to *Rome*, to clear himself of a crime

Who is
seized and
executed.

^a *Albin. vit. p. 81.*
475. *Vit. Com. p. 51.*

^f *Nig. vit. p. 75.*
^h *Idem ibid.*

^g *HEROD. l. i. p.*
ⁱ *Vit. Com. p. 49.*

with which he was charged, viz. of consulting the astrologers, as if he entertained thoughts of usurping the sovereignty. His cause was heard by the captains of the guards, the colleagues of *Cleander*; and, as *Commodus* was hated, says *Spartian*, *Severus* was cleared, and his accuser crucified ^k. This year great part of the capitol, a famous library, and several contiguous buildings, were utterly destroyed by lightning ^l. *Eusebius* says, it consumed whole quarters of the city, and in them several libraries. At the same time, the city was afflicted with a dreadful famine, occasioned, as some authors write, by *Cleander*, who having now nothing less in view than the sovereignty, bought up under-hand all the corn, in order to raise the price of it, and gain the affections of the soldiery and people, by distributing it among them ^m. Other writers tell us ⁿ, that *Papirius Dionysius*, whose province it was to supply the city with provisions, contributed towards the famine, in order to make the people rise against *Cleander*. Be that as it will, the populace ascribed all their calamities and *Cleander* misfortunes to the hated minister, who now began to act in ^{acts in an} a more arbitrary manner than ever, putting to death and ^{arbitrary} pardoning, banishing and recalling from exile, whom he ^{manner.} pleased. Several manumitted slaves he created patricians, and gave them a place in the senate; others he made governors of provinces, and raised to the first employments. But his reign was short-lived; for the following year, in which *Rome* saw for the first, and indeed for the last, time, twenty-five consuls, all named by *Cleander* and most of them his creatures, while the people were celebrating the *Circensian* games, a troop of children, having at their head a young woman, of an extraordinary stature and a fierce aspect, entering the circus, began to utter aloud many bitter invectives and dreadful curses against *Cleander*; which being for some time answered by the people with other invectives and curses, the whole multitude rose all on a sudden, flew in a tumultuous manner ^{The people} to the palace of *Quintilius*, in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, ^{rise against} where the emperor was then residing with *Cleander*; and, ^{him.} renewing there their curses and imprecations, demanded the head of the perfidious wretch, by whom they had been so grievously and tyrannically oppressed. Hereupon *Cleander* ^{The prae-} ordered the praetorian cavalry to charge the multitude; which ^{torian horse} they did accordingly, driving them with great slaughter into ^{fall upon} the city; but there the populace discharging showers of stones, ^{them; but} brick, and tiles, from the tops of the houses and from the ^{are put to} ^{flight.}

^k SPART. in Sever.
16. ^m DIO. p. 823.

^l EUSEB. in chron. OROS. l. viii. c.
ⁿ Vit. Com. p. 51.

The emperor causes his head to be struck off.

windows, and the city-guards, who hated *Cleander*, joining the multitude, the prætorian horse were forced to give way, and save themselves by a disorderly flight. The people pursued them to the palace of *Quintilius*, where the emperor was passing his time in the company of some lewd women, utterly unapprised of the tumult, *Cleander* having forbidden those who were about him to acquaint him with it. However, *Marcia*, his favourite concubine, thought it incumbent upon her to inform him of what had passed; and his sister *Fadilla* entering his apartment in a great fright, and with her hair dishevelled, cried out to him aloud, That all was lost, unless he abandoned *Cleander* to the fury of the incensed populace. Hereupon the emperor, struck with terror and amazement, sent for *Cleander*, and having caused his head to be struck off that instant, sent it to the people; the sight of which put an end to the combat, which still continued with great slaughter. His head and body were by the incensed populace insulted in a most outrageous manner. His wife, his children, and most of his creatures, were at the same time massacred, and their bodies first dragged through the streets, and then thrown into the common sewer *. *Lampridius* tells us, that the people were chiefly provoked against him, for having caused *Arrius Antoninus* to be falsely accused of treason, and put to death, because he had, while proconsul of *Asia*, condemned one of his creatures, by name *Attalus* °. *Julianus* and *Regillus* were appointed captains of the guards in the room of *Cleander* and his colleagues; but the emperor caused them both to be soon after put to death, though he had ever shewn a particular kindness and affection for *Julianus*, whom he used to style his father †. About the close of this year, *Pertinax* was, at his own request, recalled from *Britain*, and charged with the care of supplying the city with provisions, in the room of *Papirius Dionysius*, who was likewise put to death, with all those who had any-ways contributed to the raising of the price of corn.

Commodus causes many illustrious persons to be put to death.

THE following year, *Commodus* entered upon his sixth consulship, having *Petronius Septimianus* for his colleague. The several conspiracies, which had been formed against himself and his ministers, filling him with jealousies and suspicions, he abandoned himself without controul to bloodshed and cruelty. He put to death, besides many others mentioned by *Spartian* and other writers, *Petronius Mamertinus*, who had

* DIO. l. lxxii. p. 823. HEROD. l. i. p. 479—481. Vit. Comm. p. 48. ° Vit. Comm. ibid. † Idem, ibid. & DIO. p. 823.

married

married one of his sisters; his son *Antoninus*; *Annia Faustina*, cousin-german to *M. Aurelius*; *Sulpicius Crassus*, proconsul of *Asia*, and six consulars on one day. He caused all those who were any-ways related to *Avidius Cassius*, of whom we have spoken above, to be burnt alive. Among the multitudes of all ranks and conditions, who were doomed to be inhumanly massacred this year, *Dion Cassius* gives us a particular account of the death of one *Julius Alexander*, a native of *Emesa* in *Syria*; who being informed, that the emperor had sent thither a centurion with a band of soldiers to murder him, surprised them in the night, and killed them all to a man, with several others, whom he suspected to be his enemies. Having thus filled the city with slaughter, he retired on horseback, with a design to take refuge among the barbarians; and would have made his escape, had he not been retarded by a friend of his, who could not keep up with him, and whom he could not find in his heart to leave behind him. Being therefore overtaken by those who pursued him, he first killed his friend, that he might not fall into their hands, and afterwards himself¹. This year *Severus*, who had been one of the twenty-five consuls of the preceding year, was appointed commander of the troops in *Illyricum*, and *Pertinax* was sent into *Africa* with the character of proconsul. The following year, *Apronianus* and *Bradua* being consuls, a fire broke out in the night-time, in the celebrated temple of *Peace*, preceded, and, as some writers suppose, produced by a small earthquake; for no thunder was heard². *Dion Cassius* writes, that it began in the adjoining houses. Be that as it will, the temple, with all the buildings round it, was reduced to ashes. That magnificent structure had been raised by *Vespasian*, after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and enriched with all the spoils and ornaments of the temple of the *Jews*. The antients speak of it as one of the most stately buildings in *Rome*. There men of learning used to hold their assemblies, and lodge their writings, as many others did their jewels, and whatever else they had of great value. It was likewise made use of as a kind of magazine, for the spices that were brought by the *Roman* merchants out of *Egypt* and *Arabia*; so that many rich persons were at once reduced to beggary, all their valuable effects and treasures being consumed, in one night, with the temple³. *Galen* complains, that many of his books were lost by this misfortune⁴. The fire spread with great violence to

¹ DIO, *ibid.*² HERODIAN. l. i. p. 485. DIO. p. 829.³ DIO. & HEROD. *ibid.* GALEN. de libris suis, p. 363.⁴ GALEN. *ibid.*

And the temple of Vesta, with many other buildings.

other quarters of the city, and consumed a great number of stately edifices ; among the rest, the temple of *Vesta*. The vestals fled to the palace with the statue of *Pallas*, which was supposed to have been brought from *Troy*, and had never before been exposed to public view ; but the flames seized the palace itself, and reduced great part of it to ashes, before their rage could be staid. However, the public papers and registers were with much-ado preserved. The conflagration lasted several days, in spite of the utmost endeavours of the people, the soldiery, and the emperor himself, who, returning on that occasion from the country, exposed his own person, in order to encourage others to exert themselves by his example. It ceased at length of itself, or was extinguished by a sudden and violent rain, which they all looked upon as sent by the gods ^u. This year, *Pertinax* was preferred from the government of *Africa* to that of *Rome*, and *Didius Julianus* sent to govern *Africa* in his room. The next consuls were *Commodus*, the seventh time, and *Helvidius Pertinax*, the second. This year, the *Roman* troops were defeated by the *Saracens*, whom we find now mentioned for the first time in history ^w. *Commodus* being told, that *Severus*, who commanded in *Illyricum*, and *Nonius Murcus*, who had the command of some other army, aspired at the empire, appointed *Clodius Albinus*, in whom he reposed an intire confidence, governor of *Britain*, and wrote a letter to him with his own hand, says *Julius Capitolinus*, giving him leave to assume the title of *Cæsar*, and the ornaments peculiar to that dignity, in case any disturbances should arise in the empire. *Albinus*, adds the same writer, prudently declined that honour, fearing to be involved in the ruin of *Commodus*, which he apprehended to be at hand ^x. The account, which *Dion Cassius* and *Herodian* give us, of the latter end of this prince's reign, is nothing but a detail of his follies, and the shows which he exhibited, and in which he himself acted the chief part. Both these historians were present ; and the former, who assisted at the abovementioned shows in quality of senator, tells us, that he and the other senators chewed the whole time bay-leaves, that by their bitterness they might be diverted from laughing at the prince's folly ; which would have cost them their lives. However, he owns, that the address and skill which the emperor displayed, in shooting with the bow, was universally admired and applauded ; for a panther having seized a man, and being ready to devour him, *Com-*

The emperor's folly and public shows.

^u HEROD. p. 482.
p. 79.

^w Vit. Nigr. p. 77.

^x Vit. Albin.

modus let fly an arrow against the beast with so much skill and force, that the panther fell dead to the ground, before the man received the least hurt †. A few days before his death, he changed the names of some of the months, calling *August Commodus*, *September August*, *October Hercules*, *November Invincibilis*, *December Exuperatorius*, and *January Amazonius*; which last title he himself assumed, because he had first fallen in love with *Marcia* upon seeing her painted in the dress of an *Amazon*. He was likewise for changing the name of the city itself, and calling it *Colonia Commodiana*, or *The colony of Commodus*. Upon this head he wrote to the senate, styling himself in the letter, *Imperator Caesar Lucius, Ælius, Aurelius, Commodus, Antoninus, Augustus, Pius, Felix, Sarmaticus, Germanicus, Maximinus, Britannicus, Pacator orbis terrarum, Inviectus Romanus, Hercules, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitiæ Potestatis XVII. Imperator VIII. Consul VII. Pater Patriæ, &c.* The senate readily complied with his desire, and not only styled *Rome Colonia Commodiana*, but the house, in which they assembled, *The house of Commodus*. They had given him before, by way of derision, says *Lampridius*, the title of *Pious*, upon his raising to the consulship one of his mother's gallants; the title of *Happy*, for having compassed the death of *Perennis*; and that of *Hercules*, in consideration of his extraordinary strength, and his killing many thousand wild beasts in the amphitheatre. He had often appeared on the public stage in the *Amazonian*, and other fantastical dresses; but this year he was not ashamed to enter the lists with the gladiators, to act, and to dance in the theatre quite naked. Not satisfied with these follies, he resolved to appear on the first day of the ensuing year 193, as consul, and at the same time as gladiator, and, in order to that, to cause *Erucius Clarus* and *Sofius Falco*, the two consuls elect, to be murdered. This design he imparted to *Marcia* the night before it was to be put in execution, telling her, that the consuls were to be murdered the following night; and that he intended to march in procession, not from the palace, and with the ensigns of the imperial dignity, as was usual on the first of *January*, but from the school of the gladiators, armed like one of them, and attended by them alone. *Marcia* threw herself at his feet, and conjured him, with tears in her eyes, to reflect on the danger to which he exposed his life, by trusting it to men destitute of all honour and probity. But *Commodus*, without giving ear to her remonstrances, ordered *Latus*, captain of the guards, and

He changes
the names
of some
months.

His vanity

He acts
and dances
in public
quite naked.

He designs
to appear
on the first
of January
like a consul and
gladiator.

† Dio. p. 484. HEROD. p. 826.

He dooms
Marcia,
Lætus,
and Eclectus
to
death.

Who con-
spire a-
gainst him.

Eclectus, his chief chamberlain, to get ready the apartment which he had built for himself, in the house where the gladiators belonging to the public were lodged. These two officers did likewise all that lay in their power to divert him from so strange a resolution; but to no purpose: for the emperor, instead of yielding to their intreaties, flew into a great passion; and retiring to his chamber, as if he designed to repose a little, it being then about noon, he set down on a piece of paper the names of many illustrious senators, and other persons of distinction, whom he designed to murder, in order to enrich himself with their estates, and at the head of the fatal list the names of *Marcia*, *Lætus*, and *Eclectus*. Having left this paper upon his bed, when he went to bathe before dinner, according to the *Roman* custom, a little child, with whom he used to amuse himself, entering his bed-chamber, innocently took it up to play with it; but *Marcia* meeting him, snatched it out of his hand, imagining it to be some writing of consequence. She was greatly surprised when, upon viewing it, she found herself, *Lætus*, and *Eclectus*, doomed with the rest to destruction. She immediately acquainted *Lætus* and *Eclectus* with the danger that threatened them, who thereupon resolved to be before-hand with the tyrant^a. Such is the account which *Herodian* gives us of this conspiracy. But *Dion Cassius*, who had already related the death of *Domitian* with these very circumstances, tells us only in this place, that *Lætus* and *Eclectus*, no longer able to bear the cruelties and follies of *Commodus*, and terrified with his menaces, agreed with *Marcia* to dispatch him. *Julius Capitolinus* writes, that they acquainted *Pertinax* with their design, who did not strive to divert them from it^a. But *Dion Cassius*^b and *Herodian*^c assure us, that he was altogether unapprised of their attempt, the conspirators not having time to think of any thing but dispatching the tyrant, and securing themselves. Be that as it will, the conspirators agreed, that the safest and most expeditious way was to dispatch him with poison; which was accordingly administered to him by *Marcia*, as he returned very hot from bathing, after having killed some wild beasts. The emperor, being soon after seized with a heavy slumber, retired to refresh himself with a short sleep (for he slept, as historians observe, at all hours); and *Eclectus*, laying hold of that opportunity, ordered the company to retire, hoping by that means to conceal the cause and manner of his death; but *Commodus* awaking, when the company was scarce gone,

^a HEROD. l. i. p. 486, 487.

^a JUL. CAP. in Pert. p. 55

^b DIO. l. lxxiii. p. 830.

^c HEROD. l. ii. p. 490.

was seized with a violent vomiting; and, suspecting that poison had been given him, began to threaten all about him with immediate death. Hereupon the conspirators, fearing he should void the poison and escape, sent in haste for his great favourite *Narcissus*, the famous wrestler, who, being gained over by them with great promises, threw himself upon the emperor, and, seizing him by the throat, strangled him ^d. Thus died *Commodus*, the last night of the year 192, after having lived thirty-one years and four months, and reigned twelve years, nine months, and fourteen days. He was murdered in a palace which stood on mount *Cælius*, where he then resided, because he could not sleep, as he said, in the imperial palace^e. His body was privately conveyed away and buried in the fields; but was afterwards taken up by *Pertinax*, who succeeded to the empire, and deposited in the monument of *Adrian*. The conspirators gave out, that he died of an apoplexy: which *Eutropius* seems to have believed. His death was no sooner known, than the senate assembled, without waiting for the return of day, and declared him a public enemy, loaded him with curses, ordered his statues to be broke to pieces, his name to be razed out of all public inscriptions, and demanded his body, that it might be dragged through the streets and thrown into the *Tiber*. When *Pertinax*, who had already been declared emperor, answered, that it was buried, they desired to know who had been so bold as to pay that honour to a gladiator, to a parricide, to a more cruel and bloody tyrant, than *Nero* or *Domitian* ^f. Though he was thus generally abhorred as a monster of cruelty and an enemy to mankind, yet the emperor *Severus* styled himself his brother, caused him to be ranked among the gods, appointed priests and sacrifices to his honour, and ordered the anniversary of his birth to be observed with great solemnity ^g. However, the empire was greatly indebted to him for establishing a company of merchants, and a fleet for conveying corn from *Africa* to *Rome*, when any misfortune should befall the fleet that transported it from *Egypt* ^h. Another action we find recorded of his, truly worthy of the son of *M. Aurelius*: One *Manilius*, who had been secretary to *Avidius Cassius* and privy to his conspiracy, having made his escape, and concealed himself ever since his death, was apprehended in the beginning of the reign of *Commodus*, to whom he offered to discover many

He is murdered.

His statues are pulled down and, his acts annulled.

^d Idem, l. i. p. 488. DIO. p. 828. Comm. vit. p. 52. ^e Vit. Com. p. 51. EUSEB. chron. p. 226. ^f Vit. Com. p. 53. DIO. p. 830. ^g Vit. Com. ibid. & DIO. p. 824. ^h Vit. Com. p. 52.

things of great importance: but *Commodus* would not so much as hear him; nay, he burnt all his letters, without opening any one of them¹. But this happened in the very beginning of his reign, when he followed the advice of the wise counsellors whom his father had placed about him. No mention is made in history of his children; but it appears from an antient medal, that he had some, who must have died very young^k. Of the authors who wrote in his reign, we shall give an account in our note (I).

Commo-

¹ DIO. in excerpt. Val. p. 725.
659.

^k SPART. l. vii. p.

(I) *Julius Pollux* inscribed to *Commodus*, when he had only the title of *Cæsar*, his *onomasticon*, which is still extant, and consists of ten books. It is a collection of synonymous words used by the best Greek writers to express one and the same thing. He was one of the preceptors of *Commodus*, who, being chiefly taken with his fine and harmonious voice, honoured him with the professorship of eloquence lately founded in the city of *Athens* (41). He was, according to *Philostrophus*, who ranks him among the *sophists*, well acquainted with the Greek tongue, and a good judge of the writings of others, but no great writer himself, his style being quite flat and lifeless. He was a native of *Naucratis*, once a famous city of *Egypt*, on one of the arms of the *Nile*, to which it gave its name (42). He died in the fifty-eighth year of his age (43). In the library of the duke of *Bavaria* is lodged a manuscript chronicle done by one *Julius Pollux*, and extending from the creation to the reign of the emperor *Valens*; which plainly shews, that it is not the work of this *Julius Pollux*, but of another, who flourished near two hundred years after his time (44). *Phrynichus* was contemporary with *Pollux*, and likewise inscribed to *Commodus*, when he was only *Cæsar*, a work, of which *Photius* had read thirty-five or thirty-six books. It was a collection of words, phrases, and some sentences, extracted out of the best Greek writers, and alphabetically digested. But these thirty-six books might have been reduced, according to *Photius*, to six or seven, by retrenching the author's useless digressions and repetitions. In some of these books *Phrynichus* addressed himself to *Commodus*; in others to *Basilides* a sophist of *Miletus*, and to his other friends (45). A collection of *Attic* words, done by *Phrynichus*, has reached us, with a letter to one *Cornelianus* prefixed to it, wherein he mentions another work compiled by him at the request of *Cornelianus*, which contained a collection of many Greek words commonly used, but not quite pure

(41) *Philost. soph.* xxxviii. p. 590. (42) *Idem*, p. 488.
(43) *Suid.* p. 559. (44) *Voss. hist. Græc.* l. iv. c. 17. (45)
Phot. c. 158.

and

Commodus being dead and his body privately conveyed away, *Lætus* and *Lætus* and *Eclectus* repaired without delay to the house of *Eclectus*

Helvidius offer the
empire to
Pertinax.

and *Attic*. He owns, that some of them are to be found in the antients ; but maintains that they were therein faulty, and ought not to be imitated (46). We find one *Attidius Cornelianus* governor of Syria, in the beginning of the reign of *M. Aurelius* ; and to him, in all likelihood, the above-mentioned letter is addressed (47). *Phrynicus* is not mentioned by *Suidas*. *Philostatus* speaks of one *Aristenetus* of *Byzantium*, who flourished under *Commodus*, and ranks him amongst the most eloquent men of his time (48). As for *Aristenetus*, the author of some letters that are still extant, it is manifest, that he wrote after the foundation of *New Rome* ; that is, either under *Constantine*, or after his time. Both he and *Apollinaris Sidonius* speak of a celebrated mimic, by name *Caramallus* ; whence some writers conjecture, that these two authors lived at the same time ; that is, about the middle of the fifth century (49). The author of the letters was, as is evident, a pagan, tho' in his time paganism was almost utterly abolished, his work being a confused heap of follies and absurdities, altogether unworthy of one who had the least tincture of christianity (50). Those who have been at the trouble of illustrating these letters with comments, distinguished the author of them from *Aristenetus* quoted by *Stephanus* the geographer (51), and from another of the same name, who was consul with *Honorius* in the year 404, and frankly own, that they know not who he was. They even seem inclined to think it a mere rhapsody, published under the name of *Aristenetus*, which was prefixed to the first letter. The whole work seems to be a collection of several passages copied out of *Plato*, *Lucian*, and others, and jumbled together, if we may be allowed the expression. *Athenæus*, whose work, intitled, *Deipnosophista*, has reached our times, lived under *Commodus* ; but did not begin to write, as we may well judge from the liberty with which he speaks of him, till after his death (52). But he must have been then very old ; for he had known *Panocrates*, a famous poet in the reign of *Adrian*, since *Casaubon* pretends, that *Athenæus* himself speaks in that place, and not *Callixenes*, whom he had quoted before (53). *Suidas*, who supposes him to have flourished under *M. Aurelius*, styles him a grammarian, and tells us, that he was a native of *Naucratis* in *Egypt* (54). We have but an abridgment of his *Deipnosophista*, made, according to *Casaubon*, at *Constantinople* five or

(46) Vide Petr. Hallicum de vit. S. Albericii, p. 114. Duacii, ann. 1636. (47) M. Aur. vit. p. 25. (48) Philost. soph. xxxvii, p. 587. (49) Voss. rbet. p. 115. (50) Vide Aristænet. l. i. epist. 26. Paris. ann. 1686. (51) Steph. p. 203. (52) Athen. l. xii. Voss. hist. Græc. l. ii. c. 15. (53) Athen. l. xv. p. 677. (54) Suid. p. 111.

Helvidius Pertinax, whom they judged the most deserving person in the senate, and the most worthy of the empire. As the death of the emperor was not yet publicly known, *Pertinax*, roused out of his sleep, (for it was about mid-night) by their entering his house, did not doubt but they had been sent by *Commodus* to murder him. However, he ordered his domestics to let them into his room; and upon their appearing there, without rising from his bed or betraying the least concern, he told them, That as *Pompeianus* and he were the only friends of *M. Aurelius* left alive, he had long expected every day to fall a sacrifice to the cruelty of the tyrant, and with great firmness bid them strike, and put their orders in execution. *Latus*, admiring his constancy and intrepidity, told him, that the tyrant was dead, and that they were come to offer the empire to him, as the person in the senate the most worthy of it. *Pertinax*, suspecting some treachery, even after they had acquainted him with all the circumstances of the death of the tyrant, sent some of his friends to the place where his body lay; and upon their return, no room being left for any further doubt, he yielded to their intreaties, accepted the empire, and went to the camp of the prætorian guards with *Latus* their captain, causing, in the mean time, a report to be spread in the city, that the emperor was dead of an apoplexy, and that *Pertinax* reigned in his room. The soldiers were greatly surprised to see him appear in the camp at that time of night; but *Latus*, assembling them, told them, that the emperor being dead of an apoplexy, he brought them a new prince, the most deserving person in the senate, who, he was sure, would be received with great joy, and acknowledged by all the armies of the empire, since he had everywhere given signal proofs of his courage, prudence, and other princely virtues. *Pertinax* himself spoke after *Latus*, and in his speech promised to each soldier three thousand drachmas, which would have gained them over to his interest, had he not added very unseasonably, that he hoped by their means to reform several abuses; for they concluded from thence, that he designed to restore the antient discipline, and deprive them of many privileges, which had been granted them by *Commodus*. This occasioned an universal discontent, which, however, they dissembled for the present; and a small number

six hundred years since. This writer is highly esteemed, and not undeservedly, by such as are fond of the *Grecian* antiquities. He published other works; but none of them have reached our times (55).

(55) *Voss. hist. Græc. l. ii. c. 15.*

having

having at first saluted him with the title of *emperor*, the rest *Who is ac-*
 followed their example, took the oath of allegiance to him, *knowledg-*
 and, after the usual sacrifices, accompanied him, crowned *ed by the*
 with laurel, to the senate; where he was received with the *prætorian*
 greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable by the new consuls *guards,*
Quintus Sossius Falco and *Gaius Julius Erucius*, and by all *and the se-*
 the magistrates and other senators, who had assembled upon *nate.*
 the first news of the death of the tyrant. Among the rest
 came *Pompeianus*, who, in congratulating him upon his new
 dignity, could not help bemoaning at the same time the unhap-
 py end of his brother-in-law *Commodus*; which *Pertinax* was
 so far from resenting, that he pressed him to accept the empire,
 and would have willingly yielded it to him, says *Capitolinus*,
 could *Pompeianus* have been prevailed upon to accept it. When
 the senators had taken their places, *Pertinax*, before they had
 conferred upon him the title of *Augustus*, earnestly intreated
 them not to lay so heavy a burden upon him in his old age, but
 to pitch upon some other more able to discharge such an im-
 portant trust, and better qualified by his nobility and birth
 for so high a station¹. He was not satisfied with begging them
 in general to chuse another, but particularly named *Acilius*
Glabrio, who had been twice consul, and pretended to derive
 his pedigree from *Anchises* the father of *Æneas*, took him by
 the hand, and earnestly intreated him to place himself upon
 the imperial throne; but *Glabrio*, and with him all the rest,
 declaring, that they would acknowledge no other prince but
Pertinax, he was in the end obliged to yield^m. *Capitolinus*, *He accepts*
 though no-ways favourable to *Pertinax*, cannot, however, help *the empire*
 owning, that he was raised to the empire against his will, and *against his*
 that he had ever shewn an utter aversion to the sovereignty, *will.*
 and to all the badges of the sovereign power; in confirmation
 of which, he alledges a letter written by *Pertinax* himself,
 and recorded by *Marius Maximus*ⁿ. After the senate had
 saluted him with the title of *Augustus*, he returned them
 thanks in an oration suited to the occasion, which was re-
 ceived with loud acclamations both of the senate and people,
 who were come in crowds to pay their homage to the new
 prince, whom they highly esteemed and revered. The con-
 suls pronounced, according to custom, his panegyric: after
 which *Falco*, who was one of them, upon the emperor's com-
 mending *Lætus*, captain of the guards, and owning himself
 indebted to him for the empire, is said by *Capitolinus* to have
 rebuked the new prince, with great freedom, for counte-

¹ HEROD. l. iv. p. 482---493. DIO. l. lxxiii. p. 830. Vit.
 Pert. p. 55. ^m HEROD. DIO. ibid. ⁿ Vita Pert. p. 59.

nancing

Is honoured with all the titles peculiar to the imperial dignity.

nancing one who had been the chief minister of the crimes of *Commodus*. *Pertinax* heard him without the least emotion, and only told him, when he had done speaking, that he was young, and had not yet learnt to obey; that *Lætus* had put the orders of *Commodus* in execution against his own inclination, and shewn, as soon as he was at liberty to act as he pleased, what were his private sentiments ^o. *Pertinax* received, with the title of *Augustus*, all the other titles peculiar to the imperial dignity, that of *the father of his country* not excepted, which is said to have never before been given to any prince on the first day of his reign ^p. To the rest he desired that the title of *the prince of the senate* might be added, which had been laid aside ever since the times of the republic ^q. At the same time, the senate decreed the title of *Augusta* to his wife *Flavia Tatiana*, and that of *Cæsar* to his son. But he could not by any means be prevailed upon to accept that honour for his wife, whose conduct he disliked; and as to his son, he told the senate, that he should enjoy the title they had decreed him, when he deserved it. He would not even suffer his son, who was yet very young, to live with him in the palace; but sent him and his sister to the house of *Flavius Sulpicianus*, their grandfather by the mother, to be brought up there far from the gaieties and licentiousness of the court. From the senate, the emperor went to offer the usual sacrifices in the capitol, visited the other temples, and then, amidst the loud acclamations of the people, repaired to the palace, where he gave a great entertainment, as it was the first day of the new year, to all the magistrates and the chief men of the senate, pursuant to an ancient custom, which had been neglected by *Commodus* ^r. *Dion Cassius* saw that day, for the first time, *Pompeianus* in the senate; for, during the last years of *Commodus*'s reign, he had lived constantly in the country, alledging his old age and the weakness of his eyes for not assisting at the deliberations of the senate. But these complaints, says *Dion*, ceased when *Pertinax* was raised to the empire, and returned as soon as he died ^s.

The birth and education of Pertinax.

THUS *Pertinax* began his reign, to the great satisfaction of *Rome*, and of all the provinces of the empire, where he was proclaimed emperor with extraordinary demonstrations of joy, no one doubting, but he would soon restore the state to its former lustre, and redress the abuses and disorders introduced by *Commodus*. He was born on the first of *August* of the

^o Idem, p. 55. ^p Idem ibid. ^q DIO. l. lxxii. p. 832.
^r HEROD. l. ii. p. 494- Vit. Pert. p. 55. ^s DIO. in excerpt. Val. p. 729.

year 126, the tenth of *Adrian's* reign, in a little village called *Villa Martis*, at a small distance from *Alba Pompeia*, now *Alba*, in the dutchy of *Montferrat*. He is commonly styled, by historians and in most inscriptions, *Publius Helvius Pertinax*. His father by name *Helvius Successus*, had either been a slave himself, or was the son of an enfranchised slave, and followed the mean profession of drying wood and making charcoal. We are told, that he gave the name of *Pertinax* to his son on account of his obstinately adhering for some time to the same calling, which, however, he was afterwards persuaded to abandon, and to keep a grammar-school in *Rome*, his father having taken care to have him instructed, when very young, in the *Greek* and *Latin* languages. But that profession not answering his expectation, he betook himself to a military life, and served first in *Syria*, in the reign of *Antoninus Pius* as a common soldier; but was soon raised to the rank of a centurion by the interest of *Lollius Avidus*, or rather *Lollius Gentianus*, his father's patron. Having in that post distinguished himself under *Lucius Verus*, *M. Aurelius's* colleague in the empire, during the *Parthian* war, he was rewarded with the command of a cohort in *Syria*, and afterwards employed in *Britain*, or, as some read, *Bithynia*, *Mæsia*, *Italy*, and *Germany*, in which last place he commanded the *Roman* fleet. From *Germany* he was sent into *Dacia*, and there, upon some false information, deprived of his employment, whatever it was, by *M. Aurelius*, notwithstanding the esteem he had for him. *Capitolinus* writes, that he was governor of *Dacia*, and charged with aspiring at the empire. Be that as it will, *M. Aurelius*, being soon after convinced of his innocence, created him senator, honoured him with the ensigns of prætor, and gave him the command of the first legion, which he led against the *Germans*, who had made themselves masters of *Rhætia* and *Noricum*. These countries he recovered in one campaign, for which eminent service *M. Aurelius* made him consul. He was afterwards sent into *Syria* against *Avidius Cassius*; and, upon his death, recalled from thence to guard the banks of the *Danube*, and command the army in *Illyricum*. Having acquitted himself in that office to the general satisfaction both of the *Romans* and barbarians, he was afterwards preferred to the government of the two *Mæsias*, then to that of *Dacia*, and lastly to the government of *Syria*, which he held to the reign of *Commodus*, when he returned to *Rome*; but did not continue long there, being ordered by *Perennis*, who then governed with an absolute sway, and suf-

¹ Dio. l. lxxiii. p. 831. Vit. Pert. p. 52. VICT. epit.

pected

pected all men of merit, to quit the city, and retire to *Liguria*, his native country, where he lived, as it were, in exile, three whole years; during which he embellished the place where he was born with a great number of fine buildings; but would not suffer his father's cottage, or rather shop, which stood in the midst of them, to be pulled down, or any-ways altered. After the downfall of *Perennis*, he was by *Commodus* sent into *Britain*, to restore the antient discipline among the troops there, that were ready to revolt; which he compassed, not without exposing himself to great dangers. He was recalled from thence at his own request, and, upon his return, charged with the care of supplying the city with provisions; then appointed proconsul of *Africa*, and lastly governor of *Rome*, which employment he held when *Commodus* was killed ^u. The conspirators judged him, as we have related above, of all the great men in *Rome*, the most worthy of the empire. And truly he was, according to *Herodian*, in every respect well qualified for so important a trust, being a man of great wisdom, extraordinary valour, and a blameless character ^w. *Dion Cassius* cries him up on account of his mild temper, his goodness, and his application to business; and adds, that he was grave without being sullen, mild without indolence, prudent without craft, exact without affectation, frugal without avarice, and great without pride or arrogance ^x. *Aurelius Victor* styles him a person thoroughly acquainted with mankind, and one who admired and imitated the manners of the antient *Romans* ^y. The other *Victor* says, that he was an enemy to all pomp and outward appearance; that he received persons of every rank and condition with great affability, and treated them as his equals. *Julius Capitolinus* is the only writer who gives him but an indifferent character, and charges him with avarice, and want of sincerity; but that writer lived a hundred years after *Pertinax*, whereas both *Dion Cassius* and *Herodian* were personally acquainted with him. The emperor *Julian* charges him only with having been privy to the conspiracy ^z; but even from that charge he is cleared by the above-mentioned writers.

His character.

His conduct and excellent administration. As he found the exchequer quite drained, he ordered all the silver statues of *Commodus*, which had been pulled down by a decree of the senate, to be melted, and turned into mo-

^u Vit. Pert. p. 54, 55. HEROD. l. ii. p. 493. DIO. l. lxxiii. p. 183. VICT. epit. ^w HEROD. ibid. ^x DIO. p. 832, & in excerpt. Val. p. 743. ^y AUR. VICT. ^z JULIAN. Cæs. p. 14.

ney; and sold by auction all his concubines and catamites, his arms, his horses, his gold and silver plate, and all his rich moveables; among which particular mention is made of chariots so contrived, as to shew the hour, and measure the way ^a. By this means he raised money wherewithal to pay the prætorian guards what he had promised them, to discharge several debts contracted by *Commodus*, and to give a bounty to the people. At the same time he restored to the lawful owners whatever had been unjustly taken from them by *Commodus*, recalled such as had been banished for the pretended crime of treason, put them in possession of their estates, and punished, with the utmost severity, those who had been any ways accessory to their misfortunes. He publicly declared, that he would accept of no legacies or inheritances from such as had children, or lawful heirs of their own, saying, *I had rather be poor, than wallow in riches acquired by dishonourable methods*. He abolished all the taxes laid by *Commodus* on the rivers, ports, and high-ways; and would not suffer his name to be set up, according to custom, in such places as belonged to the emperors, saying, that they did not belong to him, but to the public ^b. Thus, by the mildness of his government, by his equity and moderation, he gained the affections both of the senate and people; but, by attempting to restrain the licentiousness of the prætorian guards, he disobligerd both *The prætorian* them and their commander *Lætus*, who at first had been so *zealous* in his cause. The private men, not doubting but *guards dis-* he would restore the antient discipline among them, had, *satisfied* three days after his accession to the empire, attempted to set *with him* up another, viz. *Triarius Maternus Lascivius*, a senator of an illustrious family; but he, escaping from them while they were carrying him to the camp, fled to *Pertinax*, assured him of his loyalty, and then withdrew from *Rome*. This obliged the emperor to confirm to them all the privileges which had been granted them by *Commodus*. However, he kept them to their duty, which they, inured to the licentiousness of the preceding reign, not being able to brook, attempted to raise *Falco*, the consul, to the empire. *Pertinax*, who was then *They re-* at *Ostia*, giving the necessary orders for supplying the city *volt, and* with provisions, returned in great haste to the palace; and, *attempt to* repairing from thence to the senate, complained there of *raise Falco* *Falco*, whom the senators were for condemning immediately *to the em-* as a traitor and a public enemy. But *Pertinax*, rising up, *pire* cried out, that, in his reign, no senator, however guilty,

^a Vit. Pert. p. 56
 50—9. Lib. on. l. ii. p. 496.
 Vol. 22

^b Dio l. lxxiii. p. 832 Vit. Pert. p.

should be put to death; and publicly declared, that he forgave him. *Falco*, being thus dismissed, retired to his estate, where he lived in safety. Some writers pretend, that he was utterly unacquainted with the design of the prætorian guards, who had agreed to make him emperor, without imparting their resolution to him. However that be, the soldiers, highly exasperated against *Pertinax*, who laboured to revive the antient discipline, and stirred up underhand by *Lætus*, who did not think his former services sufficiently rewarded, began openly to mutiny, and declare that they would no longer obey the orders of *Pertinax*, nor acknowledge him for emperor. To exasperate them still more, *Lætus* caused several of them to be publicly executed as privy to the late conspiracy, pretending that he obeyed therein the orders of *Pertinax*, though the prince was quite unapprised of these proceedings.

Three hundred of them march to Rome, and enter the palace.

By this means the mutiny increasing daily, on the twenty-eighth of *March* a body of about three hundred of the mutineers, more bold than the rest, leaving the camp, and, passing through the streets of *Rome* with their drawn swords, went strait to the palace, which they entered without opposition, the emperor's freedmen and officers either betaking themselves to flight through fear, or treacherously opening all the gates to them. *Pertinax*, in the mean time, knew nothing of what passed, till his wife, in a great fright, brought him word, that the prætorian guards had revolted, and were already in the palace. Hereupon the emperor dispatched *Sulpicianus*, his father-in-law, whom he had appointed governor of *Rome*, to appease the tumult in the camp, and ordered *Lætus* to stop those who had entered the palace. But *Lætus*, covering his face, that he might not be known, instead of obeying the emperor's orders, retired to his own house. As the mutineers still advanced, some of the emperor's friends, who had remained with him, advised him to retire, and conceal himself, till the people, by whom he was greatly beloved, could come to his assistance. But *Pertinax* rejected their advice, saying that to save his life by flight, was a thing altogether unworthy of an emperor. He therefore resolved to go forth and meet them in person, believing that, awed by his presence, they would return to a sense of their duty. Accordingly he appeared unexpectedly before them, and asked them, without betraying the least fear or concern, whether they, whose duty it was to defend the emperor's person, were come with an intent to betray and murder him? At the same time he represented to them the heinousness of their crime, the ignominy which it would cast upon their memories, and the fatal consequences of so black a treason,

The intrepidity of *Pertinax*.

son, with such spirit and energy, that many of them, moved by his words, began to sheath their swords and retire. But a *Tungrian*, by name *Tausius*, darting his javelin at the emperor's breast, and crying out, *The soldiers send you this*, the rest fell on with great fury, and dispatched him with many wounds. The emperor made no resistance; but covering his head with his robe, and calling upon *Jupiter the avenger*, received their blows. *Eclætus* alone remained with him, and endeavoured to defend him; but after having killed two of the soldiers, was himself run through, and left dead by his master, for whose safety he had sacrificed his life. The soldiers cut off his head, and carried it upon the point of a spear, as it were in triumph, to the camp, whither they retired with great precipitation, before the people could assemble, who, they knew, would not fail to revenge the death of a prince whom they so tenderly loved. And truly it was no sooner known, that *Pertinax* had been murdered, than the enraged populace flocked together from all quarters of the city; and uttering dreadful menaces against the authors of his death, ran up and down the streets in quest of them. The senators were no less concerned for his death than the people; the more, because they were now convinced, that the soldiers would suffer none to reign but tyrants. However, as they had more to lose than the common people, they did not offer to revenge his death, but either shut themselves up in their own houses, or in those of the soldiers of their acquaintance, thinking themselves there most safe. Such was the unfortunate and much-lamented end of *Publius Helvius Pertinax*, after he had lived sixty-six years, seven months, and twenty-six, or twenty-eight, days; and reigned, according to *Dion Cassius*, eighty-seven days, that is, from the first of *January* to the twenty-eighth of *March*^a. His body, together with his head, was interred with great pomp by *Didius Julianus*, his successor, in the burying-place of his wife's family. The emperor *Septimius Severus*, with the title of emperor, took the name of *Pertinax*, which he knew would, above any thing else, recommend him to the army in *Illyricum*, and to the *Roman* people. He punished with great severity all those who had been accessory to his death, disbanded the prætorian guards, honoured his memory with a most magnificent funeral, at which was carried the effigies of the deceased prince, pronounced himself his panegyric, and caused him to be ranked in the number of the gods, appointing the son chief-priest to his father. The day of his accession to the

His death.

He is universally lamented.

Honours paid him after his death.

^a *Dio*. p. 834, 835. *HEROD.* l. ii. p. 498. *Vit. Pert.* p. 58. *Dio*. l. lxxiii. p. 834.

empire was yearly celebrated with *circensian* games ; and his birth-day for many years after, with other sports ^c. He performed great things, says *Herodian*, during his short reign, and would have restored the empire to its former lustre, had he reigned longer ^f.

The empire
exposed to
sale.

Pertinax had sent, as we have related above, *Flavius Sulpicianus*, his father-in-law, to appease the tumult in the camp of the prætorian guards ; but in the mean time the news of his death reaching the camp, and the three hundred soldiers arriving soon after with his head stuck on a spear, *Sulpicianus* was not ashamed to apply to the murderers of his son-in-law for the empire, and to offer them money for it. But they, resolved to make the most of it, caused it to be proclaimed on the ramparts of the camp, that the empire was exposed to sale, and the best bidder should have it. When news of this scandalous proclamation was first brought to *Rome*, *Didius Julianus*, the wealthiest man in the city, was entertaining some of his friends at a banquet, who, in the midst of their mirth and jollity, advised him, as he had more ready money than any man in *Rome*, not to lose the opportunity of making so valuable a purchase. *Julianus*, ravished with the dazzling prospect of rule and empire, hearkened to their advice, rose from table, and hastened to the camp ; where he represented to the soldiers, whom *Sulpicianus* was haranguing in his own behalf, that his competitor would not fail one day to revenge the death of his son-in-law ; and gave them it under his hand, that he would restore all things to the condition they were in under *Commodus*. This pleased the licentious and dissolute soldiery, who had committed in that prince's reign all sorts of disorders with impunity. However they would hear what they both offered, and suffered them to bid upon one another, *Sulpicianus* in the camp, and *Julianus* at the gate ; till the latter, rising at once from five thousand drachmas a man to six thousand two hundred and fifty, to be immediately paid, silenced the other, was admitted into the camp, and proclaimed emperor, on condition, that he should forgive his competitor, and never take the least notice of his aspiring at the empire ^g. *Spartian* relates his accession to the empire in a different manner : according to him, the senate assembled upon the news of the emperor's death ; but *Julianus* coming too late, and finding the doors shut, was accosted by two tribunes, *P. Florianus* and *Vestius Aper*,

And purch-
ased by
Didius Ju-
lianus.

^c *Dio.* p. 840—842. *VICT. epit.* Vit. Pert. p. 59. *HEROD.* p. 495. ^f *HEROD.* *ibid.* ^g *Dio.* p. 835. *HEROD.* p. 499.

who

who encouraged him to seize on the empire. *Julianus*, believing that *Sulpicianus* had been proclaimed emperor by the prætorian guards, answered, that the empire was already disposed of; but they nevertheless carried him to the camp against his will, where, upon his warning them not to chuse one who would undoubtedly revenge the death of *Pertinax*, and his promising to respect the memory of *Commodus*, he was proclaimed *Augustus* upon the above-mentioned condition *. *M. His ex-*
Didius Severus Julianus, thus raised to the empire, was def- traction
 cended of an illustrious family, come originally from *Milan*, and pre-
 in which city his grandfather was born. The emperor was ferments.
 the son of *Petronius Didius Severus* and *Æmilia Clara*, the grand daughter of the celebrated civilian *Salvius Julianus*, who flourished under *Adrian*, and compiled the perpetual edict. He was born on the twenty-ninth or thirtieth of *January* of the year 133, the sixteenth of *Adrian's* reign, and brought up by *Domitia Lucilla*, the mother of *M. Aurelius*. That prince, who had a particular affection for him, created him first quæstor, then ædile, afterwards prætor; and when the time of his prætorship expired, gave him the command of the twenty-second legion, quartered at that time in *Germany*. Not long after, he appointed him governor of *Belgic Gaul*, where, with the few forces he had under his command, he drove back the *Chauci*, who had made an irruption into the *Roman* territories; for which service he was rewarded with the consulship. After he had discharged that office, he was sent into *Illyricum*, which country he defended with great valour against the neighbouring barbarians, and was on that account preferred to the government of *Lower Germany*; whence he was recalled to *Rome*, and charged with the care of supplying the city with provisions ^h. He narrowly escaped being put to death in the reign of *Commodus*, as privy to the pretended conspiracy of *Salvius Julianus*, his uncle by the mother, and was for some time confined to the city of *Milan*. But *Commodus*, ashamed of having caused so many other senators to be inhumanly massacred, not only discharged *Julianus*, but preferred him to the government of *Bithynia*, and afterwards to the consulship, in which he had *Pertinax* for his colleague, whom he succeeded in the proconsulship of *Africa*. Hence *Pertinax* used to call him his colleague and his successor, which was afterwards interpreted as a presage of his being succeeded by *Julianus* in the empire ⁱ.

* SPART. in Jul. p. 60.
 Jul. p. 61.

^h SPART. ibid.

ⁱ Idem, vit.

His character.

ALL authors agree, that *Didius Julianus* was possessed of immense wealth; but disagree as to his character. *Dion Cassius*, who had been named by *Pertinax* to the prætorship, charges him with avarice and gluttony, and paints him as one who was wholly intent upon amassing riches by any means, however shameful and unjust, and at the same time sparing no expence to please and satisfy his palate. He spoke without judgment, says that writer, and uttered such things in public as made him be pitied by all men of sense. He was underhand a great encourager of disturbances and troubles in the state, and is supposed to have privately stirred up the soldiers against *Pertinax*, though his nephew had married that prince's daughter. *Dion Cassius* adds, that he himself in pleading had often reproached him in public with his crying injustices ^k. *Herodian* writes, that he was generally despised on account of his disorderly life, and that he thought of nothing but his pleasures and diversions ^l. *Spartian*, on the other hand, tells us, that in all his governments and employments under *M. Aurelius*, he acquitted himself with great integrity; from which, however, he was said to have swerved in the reign of *Commodus*. He adds, that he was so covetous, as not to allow himself sometimes any other food but roots and greens; which is point-blank contrary to what we read in *Dion Cassius* and *Herodian*, both which writers lived at that time in *Rome*. *Spartian*, however, owns, that *Julianus* was charged with eating and drinking to excess, with gaming, and using such weapons as were peculiar to the gladiators, though in his youth he had never been addicted to any of these vices ^m. He shewed himself, according to that writer, kind, affable, and obliging, to all men; and was so far from being elevated with his new dignity, that, on the contrary, he seemed rather to debase himself too much. As soon as he was declared emperor, he appointed at the request of the prætorian guards, *Flavius Genialis* and *Tullius Crispinus* their commanders. At the same time he accepted the name of *Commodus*, which they begged him to take upon him; and this name is still to be seen on some of his medals ⁿ. After the usual ceremonies, the prætorian guards accompanied him in battle-array to the senate. The people did not offer to oppose their march; but no acclamations were heard; some, who were at a distance, even uttered invectives against him. As for the senators, those among them who were the most grieved to see him emperor, were the most forward in congratulating him with feigned joy on

He takes the name of Commodus.

^k DIO. l. lxxiii. p. 835.

^l HEROD. l. ii. p. 498.

^m JU-

LIAN. vit. p. 63.

ⁿ BIRAC. p. 262.

his accession to the empire. Among these was, as he himself owns, *Dion Cassius* the historian^o. *Julianus* made a speech in the senate, says *Dion*, who was present, worthy of himself, wherein he desired them to confirm what the soldiers had done, as if he would hold the empire of them; but told them at the same time, that he was the fittest person they could chuse. The senate immediately passed a decree declaring him emperor and his family patrician, and investing him with the tribunitial and proconsular powers. At the same time, his wife *Manlia Scantilla*, and his daughter *Didia Clara*, were honoured with the title of *Augustæ*. From the senate he repaired to the palace, where he found the body of *Pertinax*, which he caused to be honourably interred, and passed the night in great agonies, reflecting on the fate of *Pertinax*, which he apprehended might in the end be his own^p. Thus *Capitolinus*; but *Dion Cassius*, who was an eye-witness of what passed at Rome under *Julianus*, tells us, that the new prince entering the palace and despising the frugal supper which had been prepared for *Pertinax* (for that prince was murdered, and he declared emperor, on the same day), ordered a magnificent feast to be got ready, and passed the night in mirth and jollity, leaving the body of the deceased prince in the place where he had been murdered^q. The next morning, the senate and the Roman knights coming to wait upon him, he received them in a most obliging manner, calling them, says *Capitolinus*, according to their age, his father, his brother, or his son. He went afterwards to the senate, and returned them thanks for having admitted him to administer in conjunction with them, the sovereign power, and for the honours they had conferred on his wife and daughter. On this occasion he received, according to *Capitolinus*, the title of *the father of his country*, which, however, does not appear on any of his medals. From the senate he went to the capitol to offer there the usual sacrifices, the senators, who attended him, striving to shew great joy in the height of their grief. But the people, strangers to all dissimulation, openly loaded him with curses and reproaches, hoping by that means to oblige him to resign the power, which he had purchased of the soldiery in so shameful manner. They even discharged showers of stones at him, and wished aloud, as he was sacrificing in the capitol, that he might never obtain any favour of the gods. The emperor endeavoured to appease them with great promises; but they answered boldly, that they scorned to receive any thing

He is acknowledged by the senate.

He receives them in a very obliging manner

He is hated, and openly cursed, by the people.

^o Dio. ibid.

^p Vit. Pert. p. 61.

^q Dio. l. lxxiii. p. 836.
from

His go-
vernment.

from such an usurper and parricide : insomuch, that to disperse them (for they stopt up the way), he was obliged to order the soldiers to fall upon those who stood nearest, which they did accordingly, and killed or wounded great numbers of them. This exasperated the people to such a degree, that they all took arms ; and in the circus, where the emperor assisted at the public games, renewed their curses and imprecations both against him and the prætorian guards, imploring aloud the assistance of the other armies and generals, namely, of *Pescennius Niger*, who at that time commanded a powerful army in *Syria*. All this *Julianus* bore with great patience, says *Spartian* ; and, during his short reign, gave many instances of an extraordinary sweet temper¹. He appointed *Repentinus*, his son-in-law, captain of the prætorian guards, in the room of *Sulpicianus*, father-in-law to the deceased emperor ; and, to gratify the soldiery, re-established many things, which had been appointed by *Commodus* and abolished by *Pertinax*.

Clodius
Albinus,
his extrac-
tion and
preferments

AMONG the many great captains, who commanded at this time the *Roman* armies in the different provinces of the empire, the most famed were *Pescennius Niger* in *Syria*, *Septimius Severus* in *Illyricum*, and *Clodius Albinus* in *Britain*. *Clodius Albinus* was a native of *Adrumetum* in *Africa*, but descended from the *Posthumian* and *Ceionian* families, two of the most illustrious in *Rome*. His father *Ceionius Posthumus* gave him the name of *Albinus*, because at his birth he appeared whiter than new-born children usually are, the *Latin* word *albus* importing *white*. He was brought up in *Africa*, where he studied the *Greek* and *Latin* languages, in which he was well versed. The antients cry up his knowledge and learning, and mention with great commendations a treatise which he composed on agriculture. But his martial genius did not allow him to pursue the peaceable profession of letters. When he was yet very young, he was often heard to repeat, among the children of his age at school, that verse of *Virgil*,----*Arma amens capio, nec sat rationis in armis* ;---- especially the first part of it, *Arma amens capio*, that is, *I am for following the profession of arms, right or wrong ; I am for a military life at all events*. He therefore entered into the service very early, and, by the interest of *Lollius Serenus*, *Eæbius Mætianus*, and *Ceionius Posthumianus*, men of rank, and nearly related to him, was first raised to the command of a troop of *Illyrian* horse, and soon after to that of the first and fourth legions. He commanded the army in *Bithynia* in the year 175, the fifteenth of the reign

¹ Vit. Pert. p. 61.

of *M. Aurelius*, and restrained them from joining, as they designed, *Avidius Cassius*, for which service he was rewarded with the consulship. In the reign of *Commodus* he was appointed governor of *Gaul*, where he gained great advantages over the *Frisians*, and other neighbouring nations. From *Gaul* he was translated into *Britain*, which government he held at this time ^c. The emperor *Commodus*, suspecting that *Septimius Severus*, governor of *Illyricum*, and *Nonius Murcus*, who commanded an army in some other province, designed to revolt, in order to engage *Albinus* in his cause, wrote a letter to him, if *Capitolinus* is to be credited, giving him leave to assume, if he saw occasion, the title of *Cæsar* and all the badges of that dignity; which he prudently declined, fearing to be involved in the ruin of that tyrant, which he apprehended to be at hand (K). The same writer adds, that some time after a false report of the death of *Commodus* being spread in *Britain*, *Albinus* giving credit to it, encouraged his soldiers to abolish monarchy, and re-establish the antient republican government; which gained him the affections of the senate, but provoked *Commodus* to such a degree, that he immediately sent *Junius Severus* to succeed him in the government of *Britain*, but he did not arrive there before the death of *Commodus* was publicly known in

^c Vit. Alb. p. 79—84.

(K) This letter was conceived in the following terms; Besides the other letters, which I have written to you, concerning your successor, and the affairs of the public, this, you see, is a familiar letter, written with my own hand; in which I give you leave, whenever you shall see occasion, so take upon you at the head of the army the name and quality of *Cæsar*. For I hear, that *Septimius Severus* and *Nonius Murcus* speak ill of me to the army, in order to estrange from me the minds of the soldiery, and pave themselves a way to the throne. I give you leave, when you think fit, to assume the name *Cæsar*, and to present the soldiers with a donative of three pieces of gold a man. I send you letters for my receivers, sealed with the head of an *Amazon*, which you will deliver to them, when you have occasion for the money; otherwise they will not supply you with it out of the treasury. That you may not be without the badges of the dignity to which I raise you, I give you leave to wear a scarlet robe even in my presence; the purple you shall have the first time I see you, but not enriched with gold, which my great-grandfather *Ælius Verus* never wore, tho' adopted by *Adrian* (56).

(56) Vit. Albin. p. 47.

His character.

that province^c. *M. Aurelius* had a particular value for him and thought him, as appears from one of his letters to the captains of the guards quoted by *Capitolinus*^u (L), well qualified, on account of his severity and gravity, for the command of an army. But his severity seems to have bordered upon cruelty; for he is said never to have pardoned the least fault, but to have crucified even the centurions, when he found them any-ways remiss in their duty. He was unjust to his domestics, insupportable to his wife, and to all surly and morose. He was very proper in his dress, but quite otherwise in his repasts, minding nothing but plenty; for he had an extraordinary appetite, and is said by *Capitolinus* to have often eat at a breakfast five hundred figs, an hundred peaches, ten melons, twenty bunches of grapes, a hundred beccaficos, and four hundred oysters^w. Sometimes he abstained altogether from wine, and sometimes drank to excess even in the time of war. He was far from being chaste, but abhorred and punished with the utmost severity all sorts of unnatural lust. As he was, notwithstanding his many vices, a man of great courage and skill in military affairs, he was commonly called a *second Catiline*. The

^c Idem ibid. p. 79.

^u Idem, p. 83.

^w Idem, p. 83.

(L) *M. Aurelius* wrote the following letter concerning him to the captains of the guards: I have entrusted *Albinus*, of the family of the *Caionii*, with the command of two cohorts. He is, 'tis true, an *African*, but free from the vices of that country. He is the son-in-law of *Plautillus*, and, besides a man of great experience, of a grave and composed behaviour, and capable of maintaining the necessary discipline in a camp: at least I am sure, we need not apprehend any thing from him. I have doubled his salary, and desire you to encourage him, assuring him, that his services shall not remain unrewarded (57). The same prince wrote another letter concerning him, soon after the rebellion of *Avidius Cassius*, in which he expresses himself thus; The fidelity of *Albinus* deserves the highest encomiums; for when the forces in *Bithynia* were ready to revolt and join *Cassius*, he spared no pains to maintain them in their duty and defeat their evil designs. I therefore think him worthy of the consulship, and accordingly design to substitute him in the room of *Cassius Papius*, who is dangerously ill, and, as I am informed, past recovery. But of this, take no notice till he is dead, lest it should come to the ears either of *Papius* himself, or his friends, which would give me great concern (58).

(57) Idem ibid.

(58) Idem, p. 48.

harangue

harangue he made to his troops in *Britain* against monarchy gained him the affections of the senate to such a degree, that no prince, says his historian, was ever loved by them so much as he ^x.

Caius Pescennius Niger Justus, as he is styled on some Pescennius medals ^y, was descended of an equestrian family and born at *Niger*, *his Aquinum*. He had but a small estate, and little learning; *extraction*, but nevertheless raised himself from the degree of a centurion to the first military employments in the empire. He had *preferments and character*. some command in *Gaul*, where he contracted a great friendship with *Septimius Severus*, at that time governor of the country of *Lyons*, who recommended him to the emperor *Commodus*, as an excellent soldier and experienced commander. He was afterwards made consul, at the request of the troops under his command ^z. *Herodian* calls him a gallant soldier, an excellent officer, an experienced general, an illustrious consul, and an unfortunate emperor ^a. He kept the soldiers to their duty, and would not suffer them to exact any thing from the people, nor the officers from the soldiers, upon any account whatsoever. He caused two tribunes to be stoned, for having deducted a very inconsiderable sum from the pay of the men under their command, and condemned ten soldiers to be beheaded for stealing a fowl; but the whole army interceding in their behalf, he thought it adviseable to spare their lives, and only oblige them to pay to the countryman the price of ten fowls. He would not allow his soldiers, while they were in the field, to drink wine, nor to use plate, or have any gold or silver about them, when they went to battle, that the enemy might not, in case of any misfortune, set themselves off with their spoils. He suffered no bakers to follow the army, obliging the soldiers to content themselves with biscuit. Some troops, that were in garison on the frontiers of *Egypt*, having one day begged leave to drink wine, he returned them no other answer, than that they were but at a small distance from the *Nile*. He required nothing of the soldiers, but what he practised himself. In his garb and dress he little varied from a common soldier, and his diet was the same with that of the meanest in the army. He always led the march on foot, with his head uncovered in all seasons and climates. He obliged even his own domestics to carry burdens on their backs, that they might not seem to walk at their ease, while the soldiers were loaded with their arms and baggage. He had constantly before his eyes *Marius*, *Hannibal*, and other famed commanders of antiquity; and when, upon his being saluted emperor, the

^x Idem, p. 83.
Nigr. p. 75.

^y BIRAG. p. 264.
^z HEROD. l. iii. p. 501.

^a SPART. in

person, who, according to custom, was appointed to pronounce his panegyric; began to commend him, he immediately interrupted the orator, and desired him to say something in praise of *Marius*, of *Hannibal*, or of some other renowned commander, who was dead. "Tell us, said he, what they have done worthy of imitation; for to praise the living is an useless task, especially to praise an emperor, who can punish, reward, proscribe, and condemn: as for me, I only desire to please while I live; when I am dead, then praise me, if I deserve it." If he had prevailed, no one doubted but he would have restored the empire to its former lustre, without using that cruelty for which *Severus* is blamed ^b. For though he was naturally severe, says *Herodian* ^c, yet he governed with great mildness, and was always ready to contribute to the diversions of the people; which gained him the affections of the *Syrians*, especially of the *Antiochians*, who delighted in nothing but shows and spectacles. *Spartian* commends him on account of his chastity, which the *Gauls*, says that writer, admired in him above all his other virtues ^d. On the other hand, *Victor* the younger styles him a man abandoned to all manner of lewdness. *Dion Cassius* speaks of him as a person no-ways remarkable either for his good or bad qualities ^e. However, it is certain, that he was universally esteemed and beloved by the people of *Rome*, who all wished to see him emperor ^f.

Septimius
Severus,
his charac-
ter.

Severus was a person endowed with extraordinary talents, and in every respect infinitely superior both to *Albinus* and *Niger*. He was generally esteemed, and not undeservedly, the most active, vigilant, laborious, and enterprising man in the whole empire; inured to labour, indefatigable in every duty of war, equal to the greatest commanders of ancient times, a great master of civil affairs, prompt in foreseeing events, dextrous at concerting schemes, a constant friend, a dangerous enemy, and equally violent in his love and hatred. He was a great dissembler, full of deceit, and ever ready to sacrifice his reputation, and every thing else, to his interest and ambition ^g. He was naturally inclined to cruelty and avarice, but more to cruelty; for we find some instances of his generosity, but none of his humanity; nay, he is said never to have pardoned a fault, or performed a good-natured action ^h.

^b Vit. Nigr. p. 75—77. ^c HEROD. l. ii. p. 501.
l. iii. p. 518. ^d Vit. Nigr. p. 76. ^e DIO. l. lxxiv.
p. 842. ^f HEROD. ibid. Vit. Nigr. p. 74. ^g DIO.
l. lxxiii. p. 837. & l. lxxvi. p. 869. HEROD. l. ii. p. 503. VICT.
epit. TERTULL. apol. c. 4. ^h HEROD. l. iii. p. 527.
He

He was an enemy to all pomp and show; frugal in his diet, contenting himself for the most part with roots and greens, but sometimes, though seldom, drinking to excess. In the field, his diet was the same with that of the common soldiers; he shared with them all their labours, and encouraged them more by his example, than by words, to bear with patience the toils of war, which, notwithstanding his severity, gained him the affections of the soldiery ¹. *Severus* was born ^{His ex-} at *Leptis*, a city of *Libya Tripolitana*, but his ancestors had ^{tradition.} been *Roman* knights, and afterwards admitted into the senate; for he was nephew by the father to two consuls, *M. Agrippa* and *Septimius Severus*; the latter was twice consul. His father, *M. Septimius Geta*, had another son, named likewise *Geta*; and a daughter; but neither her name, nor that of her son, has been transmitted to us ². *Severus* was born on the eleventh of *April* in the year 145, the eighth of the reign of *Antoninus Pius*. He studied first in *Africa*; and af- ^{Education.} afterwards at *Rome*, the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues; declaimed in public, when only eight years old; applied himself to the study of philosophy and eloquence; and excelled, according to *Spartian*, *Aurelius Victor*, and *Eutropius*, in each branch of polite literature. *Dion*, on the contrary, writes, that he had more inclination than ability to learn the liberal arts ³; and *Spartian* owns, that he spoke to the end of his life the *Latin* tongue with the *African* accent ⁴. He was instructed in the knowledge of the law, together with *Papinianus*, by *Q. Cervidius Scaevola*, who published various books of jurisprudence, whereof some fragments are still preserved in the *Pandects* ⁵. He seems to have had likewise some knowledge of physic ⁶, and is said to have been thoroughly acquainted with judicial astrology, a science to which the *Africans* were generally addicted ⁷. In his youth he was accused of adultery, but acquitted by *Didius Julianus* at that time proconsul of *Africa*. Afterwards he came to *Rome*, where, after he had pleaded for some time with little success at the bar, he was, by the interest of his uncle *Septimius Severus*, admitted by the emperor *M. Aurelius* into the senate, and appointed ^{And em-} governor of the island of *Sardinia*; whence he was sent to ^{ployments.} command the troops in *Africa* in quality of lieutenant to the

¹ Idem, l. ii. p. 507. ² Spart. vit. Sev. p. 64. Dio. in excerpt Val. p. 742. GRUT. p. 268. ³ Dio. in excerpt. Val. p. 741. ⁴ Vit. Sev. p. 71. ⁵ Vit. Caracall. cum not. Casaub. p. 132. & JONS. l. iii. c. 12. ⁶ GALEN ther. t. ii. p. 457. 458. ⁷ Get. vit. p. 90. Dio. l. lxxvi. p. 866.

His wife
Julia.

proconsul. Upon his return from *Africa*, he was created prætor; and after his prætorship preferred to the command of the fourth legion, then quartered in *Syria*. On his journey into that province, he visited the city of *Athens*, and received some affront there, for which he deprived the inhabitants, when emperor, of many privileges granted them by his predecessors. Next, he was raised to the government of *Gallia Lugdunensis*, or the country of *Lyons*, where, by his affability and obliging behaviour, he gained the affections of all. From *Gaul* he was removed to *Pannonia*, which province he governed with proconsular authority, as he did afterwards that of *Sicily*. Upon his return to *Rome*, he was accused of having consulted the astrologers about his attaining the empire; but, as *Commodus* began then to be universally hated, he was acquitted and his accuser crucified. He was raised soon after to the consulship, and then appointed commander of all the troops employed in *Illyricum* to defend the banks of the *Danube*^a. He married to his first wife one *Martia*; and upon her death *Julia*, a native of *Emesia* in *Syria*, for no other reason, but because the astrologers had told her, that she was to marry a sovereign. She is styled in several inscriptions *Julia Domina Augusta, the mother of the armies, of the senate, of her country, &c.*^r By her *Severus* had *Bassianus*, commonly known by the name of *Caracalla*, born the fourth of *April* 188, *Geta*, born in *Milan*, the twenty-seventh of *May* 189, and two daughters, who were married after their father's accession to the empire. *Julia* dishonoured with her lewdness her husband and family, and had the mortification to hear herself publicly reproached, by a *Caledonian* lady, with the same vices which she pretended to condemn in her^t. She was likewise accused of conspiring against her husband, and charged with several other crimes by *Plautianus*, who did all that lay in his power to discredit her with the emperor; insomuch, that to retrieve her reputation, she betook herself to the study of philosophy, and kept continually about her a great number of sophists, philosophers, mathematicians, geographers, and persons eminent in the various branches of learning, which has rendered her name famous in history^c. *Julia* had a sister named *Mæsa*, who was married to one *Julius*, who had by her two daughters, *Soæmis* and *Mamea*, the former the mother of the

^a Vit. Sev. p. 64. 65. Dio. l. lxxiv. p. 840. Herod. l. ii. p. 103. ^r SPON. p. 270. SPANNT. l. vi. p. 628. ^c AUR. VICT. Sever. vit. p. 71. Dio. lxxvi. p. 869. ^t PHILOS. vit. Apoll. Tyan. l. i. c. 3. & soph. lvi. p. 617.

Emperor *Heliogabalus*, and the latter of *Alexander*, who succeeded him.

To resume now the thread of our history, and return to *Didius Julianus*; while he was striving to gain the affections of the Roman people by the mildness of his government, news was brought him, that *Pescennius Niger* had revolted in Syria, and was acknowledged emperor by all the eastern nations and the troops under his command. Soon after he received the like tidings from *Illyricum*, where *Severus* had been saluted, by the army which he commanded there, with the title of *Augustus*. The armies in *Gaul* likewise swore allegiance to him, as soon as they heard that he had taken upon him the title of emperor. Their example was followed by all the armies, provinces, and cities, in *Europe*, except the city of *Byzantium*; so that *Severus* having secured the provinces behind him, and left some troops to guard the banks of the *Danube*, began his march to *Rome*. As he was well apprised, that *Albinus*, governor of *Britain*, was in a condition to thwart his designs, he wrote an obliging letter to him, wherein he declared his intentions of adopting him, and gave him the title of *Cæsar*; which *Albinus* assumed at the head of his army, with all the badges of his new dignity, bestowing on that occasion great encomiums on *Severus*. As for *Niger* *Severus* did not so much as attempt to gain, or rather deceive, him, well knowing that he would not hearken to any proposals whatsoever. *Julianus*, in the mean time, repairing *Severus* to the senate, caused *Severus* to be declared an enemy to his country, and likewise his soldiers, if they did not abandon him within a limited time. Deputies were even sent by the senate to persuade the soldiers to quit the party of *Severus*, and join *Julianus*. Among these were *Vespronius Candidus*, a consular of great authority, *Valerius Catulinus*, who was named to take upon him the command of the troops which *Severus* had with him, and one *Aquilus*, a centurion, the chief minister of the cruelties of *Commodus*, with orders to dispatch *Severus* as soon as his troops had deserted him. But the deputies, instead of exhorting the troops to abandon *Severus*, joined him themselves, and encouraged the soldiers to pursue their march, and revenge the death of *Pertinax*. Hereupon *Julianus*, having first paid the prætorian guards the largesse he had promised them, ordered them to their arms, and at the same time sent for the marines, who were on board the fleet at *Misenum*, and with the prætorian guards made up a considerable army. But as they had been long inured to

Pescennius Niger declared emperor in the east, and Severus in Illyricum.

* DIO, l. lxxii. p. 837. HEROD. l. ii. p. 513.

idleness,

In his
march to
Rome he
is every-
where re-
ceived
with loud
acclama-
tions.

Julianus
causes Se-
verus to be
declared
his partner
in the em-
pire.

idleness, they scarce knew how to make use of their arms, and shewed great backwardness to make head against the enemy, who were advancing with long marches, being received every-where with loud acclamations, and supplied with plenty of provisions, upon their giving out, that they were going to revenge the death of *Pertinax*, a prince universally beloved. *Julianus*, finding he could not depend upon his troops, caused the palace to be fortified, as if he could have maintained himself there after losing all the rest. At the same time, he ordered *Marcia* and *Lætus*, the chief authors of the death of *Commodus*, to be murdered, not doubting but they favoured *Severus*; dispatched a great number of assassins, to try if he could by any means murder *Severus*, with promises of immense rewards, if they succeeded in the attempt; and caused an incredible number of children to be inhumanly butchered, in order to make use of their blood in the abominable mysteries of magic w. While *Julianus* was thus losing his time in useless preparations, *Severus*, arriving at *Ravenna*, made himself master of that city and the fleet riding there; which so terrified *Julianus*, that, distrusting his troops, he ordered the senate to assemble on the twenty-ninth of *May*, when one of his ministers desired them in his name to send out the vestals to meet the enemy, and intreat them to retire; which proposal being rejected as no less ridiculous than ineffectual, *Julianus*, as some authors write, was so provoked, that he assembled his troops, with a design to put all the senators to the sword, if they did not comply with his request. But he soon changed his mind, and went to the senate in person, with a proposal of a quite different nature, which was, that they would pass a decree, declaring *Severus* his partner in the empire. The decree passed without opposition, and was immediately sent to *Severus*, who not only rejected the offered association, but at the instigation of *Julius Lætus*, ordered *Tullius Crispinus*, captain of the prætorian guards, who had brought the decree, to be cut in pieces, a report being spread, that *Crispinus* had private orders to dispatch him. Hereupon *Julianus*, being quite at a loss what to do, and the senate declining to assist him with their advice, ordered the gladiators at *Capua* to take arms, under the command of *Lollianus Titianus*, and wrote an obliging letter to *Pompeianus*, the son-in-law of *M. Aurelius*, who then led a retired life at *Tarracina*, offering to take him, as he was an excellent commander, for his partner in the empire. But *Pompeianus* wisely declined the offer, pleading his old age and the weak-

w DIO. p. 838. VIT. JUL. p. 62.

ness of his sight; which, however, would have served him well, says *Dion Cassius*, had he seen any effectual means of relieving his distressed country *. In the mean time, the troops sent by *Julianus* into *Umbria* to guard the passes of the *Apennine* mountains, declared for *Severus*; and the prætorian guards themselves, abandoning the emperor whom they had set up, agreed not to oppose *Severus*, upon his promising them impunity, provided they delivered up to him those who had murdered *Pertinax* †. *Julianus*, seeing himself thus deserted by his troops, shut himself up in the palace with *Genialis*, one of the captains of the guards, and *Reptinus* his son-in-law. The guards, in the mean time, having seized such of their comrades as had been any-ways concerned in the death of *Pertinax*, acquainted therewith *Silius Messala*, who had been substituted either to *Falco* or *Erucius*, the ordinary consuls of this year 193. *Messala* immediately assembled the senate, when a decree passed, depriving *Julianus* of the empire, sentencing him to death, declaring *Severus* emperor, and appointing divine honours to *Pertinax*. This decree was carried to *Severus* by some of the chief men in the senate, who intreated him in the name of the rest, to hasten his march to *Rome*. At the same time, the senate sent a band of soldiers to the palace, with orders to put *Julianus* to death; whom they found drowned in tears, and ready to resign the empire, upon condition that they spared his life. Some authors write, that at the sight of the armed band, he only said, *What crime have I committed? whose life have I taken away?* ‡. Others tell us, that he implored the faith of *Cæsar*, giving that title to *Severus* §. Be that as it will, his head was struck off by a common soldier, and his body, according to *Aurelius Victor*, exposed to public view. Such was the end of *Didius Julianus*, after he had lived sixty years, four months, and as many days, and reigned two months and six days. *Severus*, upon his arrival at *Rome*, delivered his body to his wife and daughter, by whom it was buried in the tomb of his ancestors on the *Via Lavicana*, about five miles from *Rome* ¶.

Julianus
abandoned
by all.

Severus
declared
emperor
and *Julianus*
degraded by
the senate,
and put to
death.

Severus received the news of his competitor's death, when he was yet some days journey from *Rome*. However, he pursued his march with his troops in battle-array, and incamped every night, as if he had been in an enemy's country; which filled the city with terror and dismay. The senate de-

* *Dio* in excerpt. *Val.* p. 729. *Vit. Jul.* p. 63. † *Dio* p. 838. *HEROD.* p. 510. ‡ *Dio. ibid.* § *Jul. vit.* p. 63. ¶ *Dio* p. 868. *Vit. Jul.* p. 66.

A hundred senators sent to meet Severus. put a hundred persons of great distinction out of their body to congratulate him upon the death of his rival and his accession to the empire. *Severus* received them in his armour, at the head of his troops, and caused them to be searched, as if he suspected their fidelity; but afterwards entertained them in a very familiar and friendly manner, presented them with seven hundred pieces of gold, and gave them liberty either to depart immediately, or to stay and return to *Rome* with him. He appointed *Flavius Juvenalis* captain of the guards, with *Veturius Macrinus*, whom he had named before to that employment. At the same time, he dispatched an express to *Plautianus*, injoining him to seize the children of *Pescennius Niger*, and of all the officers who served under him. He had the good luck to intercept several letters and edicts, sent by *Niger* to the senate and people of *Rome*, which he would not suffer to be read to them. When he approached *Rome*, he caused all those to be executed, who had any hand in the death of *Pertinax*; and sent orders to the other soldiers of the guards to meet him without their arms, and in the attire which they wore when they attended the emperor in the great solemnities. His orders were obeyed, the guards imagining, that they were to attend in that dress the emperor's entry. When they arrived in the camp, *Severus* sent them word to wait in a body till he was at leisure to receive and harangue them; and in the mean time gave private orders to his own troops to surround them at a distance, and shut them up on all sides, while they were intent upon hearing his harangue. He then ascended the tribunal; and betraying great anger and resentment in his countenance, reproached them in most bitter terms for murdering their prince, and such a prince as *Pertinax*; for selling by auction, to the eternal ignominy of the *Roman* name, the empire; and even for abandoning, like so many cowards and traitors, *Julianus*, whom they themselves had chosen. He told them, that he could inflict no punishment upon them answerable to the enormity of their crimes; that nevertheless he granted them their lives; but commanded them forthwith to quit their horses and all their military badges, and retire without delay a hundred miles from *Rome*, solemnly declaring, that whoever among them should be found within that distance of the city, should irremissibly be put to death, and publicly executed. They were thunderstruck with this order; but forced to comply with it, being surrounded on all sides by the armed troops of *Severus*, who obliged them to quit their horses, and stripped them even of their tunics. Thus stripped and degraded, they

Hedibands all the prætorian guards.

Vit. Sever. p. 66. & Nigr. p. 75. HERODIAN. l. iii. p. 526.
retired

retired with that shame and confusion, which were justly owing to the heinousness of their crimes^d. *Dion Cassius* tells us, that one of their horses followed his old master, throwing down and treading under foot all those who endeavoured to stop him; insomuch, that the unhappy soldier, finding his horse would not, by any means, leave him, killed him, and running himself through with the same sword, fell dead by him. The same historian adds, that the faithful horse betrayed a kind of joy in dying by his master's hand^e. *Severus* entered *Rome*, attended by all his troops under arms, and with the standards of the prætorian guards reversed. He came to the gate on horse-back and in his military habit; but there took his gown, and made his entry on foot, accompanied by the senators in their robes, with crowns of laurel on their heads; which the people likewise wore, who, on this occasion, were all clad in white. The streets through which he passed, were strewed with flowers, the houses adorned, and covered with rich tapestry, and the whole city perfumed with sweet odours. *Severus*, having visited the capitol, and the usual temples, retired to the palace; but the soldiers, taking up their quarters in the temples, porticoes, and other public buildings, spread themselves all over the city, and committed every-where great disorders, threatening to plunder the citizens houses, if they were not plentifully supplied with provisions, for which they would allow nothing. This alarmed the people, and inspired them with a great aversion to the new emperor^f. The next morning, *Severus* went to the senate, attended by all his troops under arms; but he had scarce begun to speak, when he was interrupted all on a sudden by dreadful cries of the soldiers without, demanding an immense sum of the senate, which had been formerly given to the troops that had attended *Augustus* to *Rome*, and was consequently, said they, due to them. The senate, altogether unapprised of the cause of that uproar, was, as we may well imagine, struck with horror and dismay. The emperor himself betrayed some fear; but however, starting up, he went out to them; but could not appease the mutinous multitude, without promising them part of what they demanded; that is two hundred and fifty drachmas a man, instead of two thousand five hundred. Then returning to the senate, he excused himself for having assumed the title of emperor without their consent, pretending, that he had done it purely to revenge the death of *Per- tinax*, and deliver them from the tyranny of *Julianus*. He

*His entry
into Rome*

*The soldi-
ers mutiny.*

*The empe-
ror's speech
to the se-
nate.*

^d HEROD. p. 510. DIO. p. 839. ^e DIO. *ibid*, ^f HEROD. p. 512,

promised to govern with great moderation, and tread in the footsteps of *M. Aurelius* and *Pertinax*, adding a solemn oath, by which he bound himself to the observance of all the laws ; and particularly swore, that no senator should, for any crime whatsoever, be put to death in his reign, who had not been first tried and condemned by the senate ; nay, he obliged the senate to pass a decree, declaring such emperors as acted otherwise, those who obeyed them therein, and their children, public enemies. This gave great satisfaction to the generality of the senators ; but men of discernment, and such as were better acquainted with his dark and reserved temper, with his falshood and dissimulation, gave no credit to his fair promises ; but, on the contrary, looked upon him as a second *Tiberius*³. However, they unanimously conferred upon him all the titles peculiar to the imperial dignity, invested him with the tribunitial and proconsular powers, created him high pontiff, &c. *Severus* acquainted the senate with his having

The title of bestowed on *Albinus* the title of *Cæsar*, begged they would
Cæsar con- confirm it to him, caused several medals to be struck with his
firmed to name, statues to be erected to him, &c. He distributed large
Albinus. sums among the soldiery and people, which are taken notice

of on several medals of this year^h ; but what chiefly gained him the hearts of the people, was his consecrating and inrolling, with extraordinary pomp and solemnity, the emperor *Pertinax* in the number of the gods. This apotheosis, perhaps the most magnificent that had ever been seen in *Rome*, is

The friends described at length by *Dion Cassius*¹. Before he left *Rome*
of Julianus to march against *Niger*, he caused the senate to proscribe all
proscribed. the friends and adherents of *Julianus* ; executed without

mercy such of them as were discovered ; and seized, and even attempted, out of hatred to that prince, to abolish the decrees of the celebrated civilian *Salvius Julianus*, his great-grandfather. In the next place, he chose new guards in the room of those whom he had cashiered, and four times as many, which filled *Rome* with soldiers, and proved very chargeable to the state ; for their pay much exceeded that of the other troops. Besides, the natives only of certain countries, viz. of *Spain*, *Macedon*, *Noricum*, and above all of *Italy*, had been hitherto admitted to serve in the guards ; but *Severus*, without any regard to their countries, chose the most resolute and brave men in his army, and appointed that, for the future, they should be always taken from among the other troops ; by which means the guards, who of late had served only for

New præ-
torian
guards
chosen.

³ Vit. Sever. p. 66. HEROD. p. 512. DIO. l. lxxiv. p. 640.
^h BIRAG. p. 268. ¹ DIO. p. 840.

show, became the flower of the *Roman* forces ; and the hopes of a less toilsome, and more honourable and advantageous, warfare encouraged the rest to discharge their duty with more punctuality and exactness ; but on the other hand, the *Italian* youth (for the guards had hitherto been mostly natives of *Italy*), having no longer that resource, turned either robbers or gladiators : hence this regulation was no-ways pleasing, either to the *Romans*, or to the other inhabitants of *Italy* ^k. About the same time, the emperor gave his two daughters in marriage to *Probus* and *Aetius*, and honoured both his sons-in-law with the consular dignity. To the former he offered the government of *Rome* ; but he declining that employment, it was conferred upon *Domitius Dexter*. The emperor, having thus settled affairs in *Rome*, and supplied the city with great plenty of corn, set out in the beginning of *July* on his march into the east against *Niger*, whom he had never once named during his stay at *Rome*. His troops mutinied the first day at a place called *Saxa Rubra*, about nine miles from *Rome* ; but the mutiny was soon quelled. However, he encamped there the first night, when his brother *Geta* came to wait upon him, expecting some great preferment ; but *Severus* ordered him to return to his government, and shewed no inclination to employ him. Before he decamped, the children of *Pescennius Niger* were brought to him, whom he received and entertained with the same kindness as if they had been his own. He pursued his march with all possible expedition, having dispatched an express to the commander of the troops in *Illyricum*, injoining him to hasten into *Thrace*, and wait for him there. He ordered *Heraclius* to attempt the recovery of *Bithynia*, which province had declared for *Niger* ; and wrote to *Albinus* in *Britain*, to hold himself ready to march upon the first notice ^l.

Severus sets out against Niger.

In the mean time, *Niger*, hearing that *Severus* had been acknowledged emperor by the senate and people of *Rome*, and was already advancing by long marches against him, wrote to the governors of the provinces, injoining them to guard the narrow passes, especially that of mount *Taurus* between *Cappadocia* and *Cilicia* ; raised new forces in *Antioch* and all the other cities of *Syria*, and sent deputies to demand succours of the neighbouring princes. He went in person to view the fortifications of *Byzantium*, in which city he left a numerous garison, looking upon it as a place of the utmost importance. From *Byzantium* he advanced to *Perinthus*, called afterwards

Niger prepares for war.

^k HEROD. p. 512. DIO. l. lxxiv. p. 840. & in excerpt. Val. p. 733. ^l Vit. Sever. p. 67.

Æmilianus, Niger's general, defeated, and slain.

Niger himself overthrown

Heraclea, where, in a skirmish between his men and those of *Severus*, whose party the city of *Perinthus* had embraced, a considerable number of the latter were slain, and among them several persons of great distinction. Hereupon the senate, to curry favour with *Severus*, declared *Niger* a public enemy, and likewise *Æmilianus*, then proconsul of *Asia*, a person of extraordinary talents; long experience, and generally esteemed the greatest statesman of his age ^m. *Spartian* writes, that *Niger*, improving the advantage he had gained at *Perinthus*, made himself master of all *Greece*, *Macedon*, and *Thrace*, and thereupon offered to take *Severus* for his partner in the empire; which proposal he rejected with contempt and derision ⁿ. The following year 194. *Severus* and *Albinus* were both consuls the second time, and *Niger* in all likelihood took upon him the same dignity; for on some medals he is styled consul ^o. We know nothing of what passed in the war between *Niger* and *Severus*, till the arrival of the latter before the city of *Byzantium*, which he besieged this year; but meeting with a vigorous resistance from the numerous garison, he left some of his troops before the place, and ordered the rest to cross the sea and march towards *Cyzicus*, in the neighbourhood of which city they were met by *Æmilianus* at the head of a numerous army. Hereupon a battle ensued, in which much blood was shed on both sides; but *Æmilianus* was in the end defeated, and obliged to shelter himself first in *Cyzicus*, and afterwards in another city not named in history; where he was taken, and put to death by the generals of *Severus*, for the emperor himself was not, it seems, present at the battle of *Cyzicus* ^p. Not long after, another battle was fought between *Nicea* and *Cius*, two cities of *Bithynia*, which proved far more bloody than the former, *Niger* commanding his own troops in person, and *Candidus*, an officer of great experience, those of *Severus*. Both armies fought with a fury hardly to be expressed, as appears from *Dion Cassius's* account of the engagement; but *Niger*, in spite of his utmost efforts, was at last obliged to save himself by flight beyond the straits of mount *Taurus*; which he caused to be fortified and well guarded ^q. After this victory, *Severus* wrote to *Niger*, offering to let him live in safety, provided he laid down his arms and disbanded his troops; which *Niger* seemed inclined to do; but was diverted from it by

^m HEROD. l. ii. p. 512, 513. Nig. vit. p. 76. DIO. in excerpt. Val. p. 734. ⁿ Vit. Nigr. p. 67. ^o BIRAC. p. 264.

^p HEROD. p. 516. DIO. p. 842. Vit. Sev. p. 67. ^q DIO. p. 842.

Aurelianus;

Aurelianus, whose daughters were betrothed to his sons. He therefore retired to *Antioch*, in order to raise there troops and money. In the mean time, the cities of *Laodicea* and *Tyre* declaring for *Severus*, *Niger* detached against them a body of *Moors*, who pillaged the rebellious cities, put most of the inhabitants to the sword, and set fire to their houses; which were in great part consumed, but afterwards restored by *Severus*. In the mean time, *Severus's* army, advancing to the foot of mount *Taurus*, was stopped there, and quite disheartened, at the sight of the strong works and the great number of troops that defended them; insomuch, that despairing of being able to open themselves a passage, they had some thoughts of returning: but an incredible quantity of rain, mixed with snow, falling in the night-time, the fortifications were utterly demolished the next day by an impetuous torrent from the mountain; which so terrified *Niger's* men, now persuaded that the gods favoured the enemy, that they betook themselves to flight, and left *Severus's* troops to enter *Cilicia*, without offering to make head against them. *Niger* had already raised a new army, consisting chiefly of the *Antiochian* youth, who were very zealous and sanguine in his cause; but utter strangers to military discipline. However, *Niger* placed them so advantageously, that when they were attacked by the regular and well disciplined troops of *Severus*, under the command of *Valerianus* and *Anulinus*, they not only repulsed them, but would have gained a complete victory, had it not been snatched out of their hands by a dreadful and unexpected storm of thunder and lightning; which, discharging itself in their faces, prevented them from pursuing the advantage they had gained, and disheartened them to such a degree, that, no longer doubting but the gods were averse to their cause, they began to despair of success and retire. Hereupon *Severus's* troops, resuming their courage, renewed the charge, and in the end gained a complete victory. This battle, by far the most bloody of the three, was fought on the very spot where *Alexander the Great* first vanquished *Darius*; that is, near the city of *Iffus*, at a place called *Pylæ Ciliciæ*, or the *Gates of Cilicia*, it being a narrow plain on the confines of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, inclosed on one side by the sea, and on the other by steep mountains, on which *Niger's* forces were posted. *Niger* is said to have lost in this battle twenty thousand men. Of the dead on the side of *Severus* no mention is made in history. *Niger*, after this overthrow, retired to *Antioch*; but not thinking himself safe there, continued his flight towards the *Euphrates*, with a design, as was supposed of taking shelter among the *Parthians*: but those who pursued him, overtaking

*A third
battle in
which Ni-
ger is ut-
terly de-
feated.*

Niger is
slain.

overtaking him at a small distance from *Antioch*, cut off his head, and carried it on the point of a spear to *Severus*, who caused it to be first shown to the inhabitants of *Byzantium*, and then sent it to *Rome*^r. Thus *Dion Cassius* and *Herodian*; but *Spartian* tells us, that *Niger*, being dangerously wounded, was taken prisoner, and in that condition brought to *Severus*, in whose presence he expired^r.

Severus
punishes
without
mercy such
as had sided
with
Niger.

Severus was not present at any of these battles; but wherever he was (for as to that particular we are left by historians quite in the dark), he soon made all those who had sided with his competitor feel the effects of his resentment. He put such of the senators to death, as had served under *Niger* in quality of generals or tribunes. He spared the lives of the other senators; but banished them to the islands, and seized their estates. He caused an infinite number of other persons of an inferior rank to be publicly executed, without considering, whether they had engaged in the war by force or constraint. Many, who had never seen *Niger*, were involved in this general massacre of his friends and partizans^r. *Herodian* writes, that *Severus* persuaded *Niger's* generals, by means of their children, whom he had with him, to betray the cause which they had embraced; and, after gaining the victory by their treachery, murdered both them and their children^u. He first banished the wife and children of *Niger*, and afterwards caused them and all those of his family to be murdered, and their estates to be confiscated. *Spartian* names six illustrious persons of the *Pescennian* family, who were put to death by his orders^w. However, he would not suffer a pompous inscription on the basis of a statue of *Niger* at *Rome* (M) to be erased, saying, *Let the world know what an enemy I have conquered*^x. He punished with exemplary severi-

^r HEROD. l. iii. p. 519, 520. DIO. l. lxxiv. p. 843. ^r Nig. vit. p. 76. ^r DIO. l. lxxv. p. 851. & in excerpt. Val. p. 734. ^u HEROD. l. iii. p. 521. ^w Vit. Sev. p. 69. ^x Vit. Nig. p. 79.

(M) The house of *Niger* was still standing in *Dioclesian's* time, as *Spartian* informs us, and in one of the rooms his statue done to the life in the black marble of *Thebes*, with an epigram on the basis to this purpose: *Here stands the great Niger, the terror of Egypt, the ally of Thebes, who had proposed a golden age to all Kings, nations, Rome itself, loved him. He was dear to both the Antoninus's, and to the whole empire. As his name was Niger, (that is, black) we have caused a statue to be erected to him in black marble, that it might answer his name.* This statue was, as *Spartian* informs us, a present from the king of *Thebes* to *Statius Posthumus*.

ty such cities as had sided with *Niger*, especially *Antioch*, which he deprived of the privileges and title of a city, subjecting it as a mere village to *Laodicea*; which heightened the jealousy between these two neighbouring cities. However, the following year, at the intreaties of his eldest son, then an infant, he reinstated the city of *Antioch* in its former rights and privileges ^y. He obliged such cities as had assisted *Niger* with money, though not by choice, but constraint, to pay four times as much to him; which drew upon him the public hatred: but as he loved money, he was glad of any pretence to raise it ^z. The next consuls were *Scapula Tertullus* and *Tineius Clemens*, during whose administration, *Severus*, passing the *Euphrates*, reduced the inhabitants of *Osrhoene* and *Adiabene*; who, taking advantage of the late disturbances, had murdered the Roman soldiers left among them, and shaken off the yoke ^a. He likewise entered *Arabia*; for the *Arabians* too had either revolted, or joined *Niger*, but were in the end obliged to submit to *Severus* ^b. *Herodian* writes, that he over-ran all *Arabia Felix* ^c; and *Eutropius* and *Victor* cry up his exploits in that country, speaking of them as if he had been the first who reduced *Arabia* to a Roman province. But *Arabia Petraea* had long before been made a province by *Trajan*; and as for *Arabia Felix*, we do not find it mentioned among the provinces of the empire, either in *Severus*'s time, or afterwards. *Eusebius* tells us, that *Severus* subdued the *Adiabeniens* and *Arabians*, who had assisted *Niger* ^d. He likewise made war upon the *Parthians*; but did not bring them under subjection, as *Spartian* pretends ^e. For these wars the senate decreed him the titles of *Arabicus*, *Parthicus*, and *Adiabenicus*, which, with that of *imperator* the fifth time, are given him in the inscriptions of this year 195, the third of his reign ^f. He refused the triumph which was likewise decreed him, that he might not seem to have triumphed for victories gained in a civil war. The title of *Parthicus* he likewise rejected, lest his assuming it should provoke the *Parthians* ^g. The *Scythians* designed to make war upon him, and had already begun their march; but were stopped, and deterred from putting their design in execution, by a dreadful storm, in which three of their chiefs were struck dead with lightning ^h. In the beginning of the following

He makes
war upon
the Adia-
benians,
Arabians
and Par-
thians.

^y HEROD. l. iii. p. 523. DIOG. p. 1921. Vit. Caracal. p. 85. ^z DIO. in excerpt. Val. p. 737. ^a DIO. l. lxxv. p. 848.
^b Idem p. 948. ^c HEROD. l. iii. p. 528. ^d EUSEB. chron. ad ann. 199. ^e SPART. in vit. Sever. p. 67. ^f Vit. Sever. p. 67. GOLTZ. p. 84. ^g Vit. Sever. ibid. ^h DIO. p. 849.
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year, when *Gn. Domitius Dexter*, governor of *Rome*, was consul the second time, with *L. Valerius Messala Thrasea* the city of *Priscus*, the city of *Byzantium* surrendered after a three years siege. It was at this time by far the greatest, the most populous, and wealthy, city of *Thrace*, fortified with walls of an extraordinary height and breadth, and defended by a great number of towers, seven of which were built with such art, that the least noise, heard in one of them, was immediately conveyed to all the rest¹. This city *Niger* seized at the first breaking out of the war, placed a numerous garison in it, and supplied the inhabitants with great store of warlike machines, most of them invented and built by *Periscus*, a native of *Nicea*, and the greatest engineer of his age. *Severus* laid siege to this place when he first arrived in *Thrace*, left a considerable body of troops to carry it on, and, after the defeat and death of *Niger*, pursued it with the greatest part of his army by land, and by sea with all the ships he could assemble from the different ports of *Asia*. The *Byzantines* defended themselves, before the death of *Niger*, and even after his head had been shewn to them, with such resolution and intrepidity as can hardly be expressed. They baffled all the attempts of the assailants, killed great numbers of them, crushed such as approached the walls with huge stones, and when stones began to fail them, with the statues of their gods and heroes; but in the end they were obliged by famine, after having been reduced to the fatal necessity of devouring one another, to submit, and open their gates to the conqueror, who put all the magistrates and soldiers to the sword; but spared the engineer *Periscus*. The city, with its stately theatres, baths, and public buildings, was laid in ashes; the inhabitants were stripped of all their effects and publicly sold for slaves, and the walls levelled with the ground; those walls, says *Dion Cassius*, which were the strongest rampart of the *Roman* empire against the incursions of the barbarians². The chronicle of *Alexandria* and the modern *Greek* writers tell us, that, *Severus* himself rebuilt in great part the city of *Byzantium*, calling it *Antoninia*, from his son *Caracalla*, who assumed the name of *Antoninus*¹. After the surrender of *Byzantium*, *Severus* sent his army, divided into three bodies, under the command of *Lætus*, *Anulinus*, and *Probus*, to reduce part of *Mesopotamia*; which they did accordingly, and the country they conquered, perhaps *Acabene*, or *Aretacene*, was by *Severus* made a new province, whereof *Nisibis* was declar-

And de-
stroyed.

¹ *DION.* l. lxxiv. p. 847. ² *DIO.* ibid. *HEROD.* l. iii. p. 523.
l. Chron. Alex. p. 620. *SUID.* p. 724.

ed the capital. The government of this new province was, like that of *Egypt*, given only to *Roman* knights ^m.

AFTER these successes, *Severus* began to think of destroy-
 ing *Albinus*, whom he had lulled asleep with the title of *Cæ-*
sar, while he was employed against *Julianus* and *Niger*. As
Albinus was as much beloved by the senate, as *Severus* was
 hated on account of his cruelty, and many persons of great
 distinction had even solicited him to come to *Rome*, and there
 assume the title of emperor, *Severus* thought he could not use
 too much dispatch in crushing him. However, not judging it
 adviseable to declare himself an open enemy to one who had
 not given him the least provocation, he had recourse to trea-
 chery, and wrote a pompous letter to the senate in his com-
 mendation, and another to *Albinus* himself, filled with the
 most tender expressions of friendship, calling him his dearest
 and intirely beloved friend, his brother, his partner in the so-
 vereign power; but those who brought him this letter had se-
 cret orders to draw him aside, under colour of communicating
 to him in private some affairs of the utmost importance, and
 dispatch him with their daggers. They were likewise pro-
 vided with poison, in case they could prevail upon any of his
 domestics to administer it to him. After *Albinus* had read the
 letter, the assassins, pursuant to their directions, told him
 they had something to communicate to him by word of mouth,
 which required the utmost secrecy. Hereupon *Albinus* de-
 sired them to attend him into a gallery; but observing, that
 they took more than ordinary care to prevent others from en-
 tering with them, he began to suspect some treachery, and
 caused them to be seized, and put to the question, when the
 violence of the torments extorted from them a full confession
 of the errand on which they were come. Hereupon *Albinus*
 betook himself to open force; and having assembled a mighty
 army, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in *Britain*,
 and thence passed over into *Gaul*, where he was joined by
 many persons of great distinction, both *Gauls* and *Spaniards*.
Severus, upon the first news of his revolt, leaving the east,
 hastened through *Thrace* and *Illyricum* into *Gaul*. Some
 writers tell us, that before he set out on his march, he caused
 a young virgin to be sacrificed, hoping to learn from her in-
 trails what success would attend him in this war ⁿ. At *Vi-*
minacium, a famous city in *Upper Mæsia* on the *Danube*; he
 gave the title of *Cæsar* to *Bassianus* his eldest son, and on that
 occasion, distributed large sums among the soldiers. At the
 same time, he obliged his son to quit the name of *Bassianus*,

Severus
resolves to
destroy Al-
binus.

Sends as-
sassins to
murder
him.

Albinus
causes him-
self to be
proclaimed
emperor.

^m DIO. l. lxxiv. p. 847—850.

ⁿ SUET. p. 257.

and style himself thenceforth *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, for whom *Severus* ever had a great esteem and veneration^o. Before *Severus* reached *Gaul*, several skirmishes happened between the troops that had declared for him there and those of *Albinus*, in one of which, called by *Herodian* a battle, the generals of *Severus* were utterly defeated, and their troops dispersed^p. This greatly alarmed him, and obliged him to quicken his march, after he had detached part of his troops to guard the narrow passes of the *Alps*, and prevent his competitor from entering *Italy*. In the mean time, the senate declared *Albinus* a public enemy; after which declaration, one *Numerianus*, who kept a grammar-school at *Rome*, hastening into *Gaul*, passed himself there upon the inhabitants for a senator sent by *Severus* to raise troops; and having by this means got together a considerable body, he attacked and defeated a detachment of *Albinus's* horse, and gained some other small advantages; which *Severus* no sooner knew, than he wrote to him as a senator, believing him to be one, commended his zeal, and commissioned him to levy what forces he could. Having therefore raised a small army, he continually harassed *Albinus's* men, took many prisoners, and intercepted a great sum of money, which he sent to *Severus*. When *Albinus* was defeated, he went to wait upon *Severus*, told him who he was; but despising the great riches and honours which the emperor offered him, he accepted only a small pension, and retiring into the country, spent the rest of his life in quiet and solitude^q.

*Is declared
a public e-
nemy.*

Severus In the beginning of the following year, when *Lateranus* and *Rufinus* were consuls, *Severus*, having passed the *Alps* in the midst of winter, approached *Lyons*, where *Albinus* then resided, with a design to enter *Italy* early in the spring. He was not a little alarmed at the sudden and unexpected arrival of *Severus*; however, having with incredible expedition drawn together his troops quartered in that neighbourhood, he fell upon *Lupus*, one of *Severus's* generals, and defeated him with great slaughter^r. Hereupon *Severus* advanced in person against his rival; and *Albinus* not declining the challenge, both armies, to the number of one hundred and fifty thousand men, were drawn up on the nineteenth of *February* in the neighbourhood of *Lyons*, probably in the spacious plain between that city and *Trevoux*. As the fate of the two commanders depended upon this battle, and no less a reward was proposed for the conqueror than the *Roman* empire; as the *British* legions were

*The two
armies en-
gaged near
Lyons,*

^o Vit. Sever. p. 68. ^p HEROD. l. iii. p. 524. Sev. vit. p. 68. ^q DIO. l. lxxv. p. 851. ^r DIO. ibid.

no-ways inferior either in courage or experience to those of *Illyricum*, and both armies expected to share the fortune, whatever it was, of their generals; the engagement was one of the most sharp and bloody recorded in history. After they had fought many hours with a fury hardly to be expressed, without any considerable advantage on either side, *Albinus's* left wing was utterly defeated, and obliged to take shelter in their camp, which the enemy entered in that confusion, and plundered; but, on the other hand, his right wing, having drawn *Severus's* men into certain ditches, which they had covered with earth, gained so great an advantage over them, that the emperor himself, who flew to their assistance at the head of the prætorian guards, was put into the utmost confusion, and obliged, if we believe *Herodian*, to save himself by flight, after having quitted, that he might not be known, all the badges of the imperial dignity^f. *Spartian* writes, that he was wounded, and believed dead by the army, who were for creating another emperor in his room^g; and *Dion Cassius*, that his horse was killed under him, and he himself in imminent danger of losing his life^h. The same author adds, that seeing his men fly, he threw himself sword in hand upon the fugitives, and forced them to return to the charge; which they did with such fury, that the enemy, not able to withstand them, began to give ground; which *Lætus* perceiving, fell upon them with the whole body of horse under his command, and completed their overthrow. *Lætus* had declined engaging so long as the victory continued doubtful, with a design, as was supposed, of setting up for himself, after the two parties had destroyed each other^w; and hence it was, that *Severus*, as *Herodian* informs us^x, instead of rewarding him, as he did his other generals, put him soon after to death. *Albinus's* army, no longer able to keep the field, *Albinus* fled to *Lyons*, whither they were pursued by the conquerors; *intirely de-* who, entering the city with the fugitives, first plundered it, *seated and* and then laid it in ashes^y. *Albinus*, who had concealed *killed.* himself in a house on the *Rhone*, finding no means of making his escape, laid violent hands on himself^z. Thus *Dion Cassius*. But other authors write, that being mortally wounded either by himself, or some of his own men, he was brought in that condition to *Severus*, in whose presence he expired^a. Be that as it will, *Severus* beheld with great

*Severus in
great dan-
ger.*

*The concl-
ty of Se-
verus.*

^f HEROD. l. iii. p. 524. DIO. p. 851. ^g VIT. SEV. p. 63.

^h DIO. p. 852. ^w Idem ibid. ^x HEROD. l. iii. p. 524.

^y Idem. p. 525. ^z DIO. p. 853. ^a VIT. ALB. & SEV. p.

pleasure the dead body of his competitor, rode over it several times, causing his horse to tread it under foot, left it lying in its gore before his tent, till it was half putrified, and torn in pieces by the dogs, and then ordered the poor remains of it to be thrown into the *Rhone*. The head he caused to be cut off, and sent it to *Rome*, ordering it to be set up there on a pole in the forum. He pardoned at first his wife and children; but soon after, changing his mind, he caused them to be inhumanly massacred, and their bodies to be thrown into the river. The whole family of *Albinus*, all his friends, and most distant relations, without distinction of sex or age, were by *Severus's* orders barbarously slaughtered, and their estates confiscated. Most of the great men of *Gaul* and *Spain*, who had shewn any attachment to *Albinus*, underwent the same fate. By means of these murders and confiscations, he amassed an immense treasure, enriched his soldiers, and, at his death, left greater wealth to his children, than any prince had done before him ^b.

Severus's
letter to
the senate.

AFTER this victory, all the cities that had declared for *Albinus*, were soon reduced, and the inhabitants punished, some with death, some with the confiscation of their estates; so that *Severus*, seeing all quiet in *Gaul*, and likewise in *Britain*, which he divided into two provinces, set out for *Rome*, leading with him his victorious army. His approach filled the city with terror and dismay, those who had favoured *Albinus*, expecting no better treatment than the friends of that unfortunate commander had met with in *Gaul*. Their apprehensions were heightened by a letter which *Severus* wrote to the senate, when he sent the head of *Albinus* to *Rome*; for in that letter he complained of their affection to *Albinus*, as if they had all privately favoured and assisted his declared enemy; reproached them with ingratitude; cried up the conduct and government of *Commodus*, whom he had never mentioned before but as a tyrant and monster; and, in speaking of the head of *Albinus*, used this expression; *I send it to you, that you may thereby know you have provoked me, and see with your eyes the effects of my resentment*. Both the senate and people were thunder-struck with this letter; they expected nothing but a general massacre, the more, because they were informed, that *Severus* had seized the papers of *Albinus*, and by that means discovered all his friends and correspondents. However, as he drew near, the senate went out to meet him, and received him with all possible demonstrations of joy, attended him to the capitol, and thence to the palace; where he ordered

^b Vit. Sev. p. 68.

great sums to be distributed among the people and soldiery. The next day he went to the senate, and there read a speech filled with bitter invectives against the partizans of *Albinus*; produced the letters that had been written to him; commended the cruelties of *Sylla*, of *Marius*, and of *Augustus*, as necessary precautions; ascribed the ruin of *Pompey*, and the death of *Cæsar*, to their unseasonable clemency; and mentioning *Commodus*, stiled him a god, and bestowed the highest encomiums upon him; adding, that none but infamous and abandoned wretches could censure or blame the conduct of such an excellent prince^c. Having ended his speech, he returned to the palace, and filled the city with massacres and bloodshed. In a few days forty-two senators, most of whom had been consuls or prætors, were sacrificed to his fury and revenge, and an incredible number of persons of an inferior rank. *Herodian* tells us, that he cut off all those, who, on account of their birth or riches, bore any sway in the senate or the provinces. Many were condemned and executed upon bare suspicions, and many for no other crime, but that of being possessed of great wealth under a covetous and inhuman tyrant^d. While the city was yet floating in blood, he went to the senate, and, out of hatred to the senators, caused them to rank *Commodus*, with the usual ceremonies, among the gods, to appoint priests, and institute an annual festival to his honour. He condemned *Narcissus*, the famous wrestler, who had strangled him, to be devoured by the wild beasts, and spared none who were suspected of having been any-ways privy to his death^e. After *Severus* had spent some months at *Rome*, and there cut off, not only the partizans of *Albinus*, but such as gave him the least umbrage, he took leave of the senate, and, with his two sons *Caracalla* and *Geta*, set out for the east, with a design to make war upon the *Parthians*, who, under the conduct of their king *Vologeses*, had made themselves masters of great part of *Mesopotamia*. He imbarqued with his army at *Brundisium*, and arriving in *Syria*, marched strait to *Nisibis* in *Mesopotamia*, whence the *Parthians* retired into their own country upon the first news of his approach. He was met on his march by *Augarus*, or *Abgarus*, king of *Osrhoene*, who stiled him his prince and protector, delivered up to him his children as hostages, and supplied him with a considerable body of archers, to be employed in his intended expedition against the *Par-*

His cruelties in Rome.

Goes into the east to make war upon the Parthians.

^c DIO. l. lxxv. p. 526. Vit. Alb. p. 60. & Sev. p. 68. ^d DIO. p. 853. HÆROD. p. 527. Vit. Sev. p. 69. ^e Vit. Sev. p. 69. *thians.*

He takes
Seleucia,
Babylon,
and Ctesiphon.

Caracalla
made a
partner of
the empire.

thians t. The following year, *Tib. Saturninus* and *C. Galus* being consuls, *Severus* having made vast preparations for the war against the *Parthians*, began his march about the end of the summer, judging the autumn the most proper season for that expedition. He followed the course of the *Euphrates*, the greater part of his army being conveyed down in boats, and the rest marching on the banks of the river. To pass from the *Euphrates* into the *Tigris*, he caused the canal *Naharmalcha*, made formerly by *Adrian*, to be cleansed, and by that means arrived in a short time at *Seleucia* and *Babylon*; both which places he found abandoned by the enemy, and took without opposition. Thence he advanced to *Ctesiphon*, the metropolis of the *Parthian* dominions; which he invested, and took after a laborious siege, during which, his soldiers, for want of provisions, were obliged to feed upon such roots as they found in the fields; which bred various distempers in the army. However, the place was in the end forced to surrender; but the king, who had shut himself up in it, found means to make his escape, attended by a small body of horse; which was a great disappointment to *Severus*. The emperor gave up the city to be plundered by the soldiers, who put all the men to the sword; but spared the women and children, whom, to the number of one hundred thousand, they sold for slaves. After the reduction of *Ctesiphon*, *Severus* wrote to the senate, giving them a pompous account of his exploits, which he caused to be represented in painting, and exposed to public view. The senate decreed him a triumph, and honoured him with the title of *Parthicus Maximus*; which is to be seen on several medals of the next and the following years ^g. *Spartian* tells us, that the army, in the transports of their joy for the reduction of *Ctesiphon*, proclaimed *Caracalla*, the emperor's eldest son, his partner in the sovereign power, and at the same time gave the title of *Cæsar* to his second son *Geta* ^h; which honours were afterwards confirmed to both by the senate. *Caracalla* had entered the eleventh year of his age on the fourth of *April* of this year 198. *Severus*, not thinking it adviseable either to keep *Ctesiphon*, or pursue *Vologeses*, set out on his return into *Syria* about the beginning of winter, loaded with booty. He is supposed to have concluded a treaty with the *Parthians*; for we read of no wars between them and the *Romans* till eighteen years after, and *Vologeses* reigned peaceably to his death, which hap-

^f HEROD. l. iii. p. 528. ^g Idem ibid. DIO. p. 854. AMMIAN. l. xxiv. p. 278. ONUPH. in fast. GOLTZ. p. 85. ^h VIT. Sev. p. 70.

pened after that of *Severus* ^l. While *Severus* was thus employed in the east, some disturbances arose in *Britain*, where the *Caledoniâns*, taking up arms, invaded the *Roman* dominions, committing every-where dreadful ravages. *Lupus*, whom *Severus* had appointed governor of *Britain*, not finding himself in a condition to make head against that warlike nation with the troops he had with him, and well knowing that *Severus* could not send him timely assistance, was forced to purchase a peace of the enemy, and, with large sums, redeem the *Roman* territories from their daily incursions ^k.

Disturbances in Britain.

THE following year, when *P. Cornelius Aullinus* and *M. Aufidius Fronto* were consuls, *Severus*, on his march back into *Syria*, attacked the city of *Atra*, *Barsamus*, king of that place, having formerly sent considerable succours to *Niger*; but was obliged to abandon the enterprize, after having lost a great many men, and most of his warlike engines ^l. About this time, *Severus* caused two officers of great distinction to be put to death, viz. *Julius Crispus*, tribune of the prætorian guards, and *Lætus*, one of his best generals; the former for saying, that *Severus* exposed his troops wantonly to dangers, and obliged them to undergo great hardships only to satisfy his private ambition and vanity. *Lætus's* crime was, according to *Herodian*, his having acted with treachery in the battle of *Lyons*, as we have related above. But *Dion Cassius*, who commends him, both as an excellent citizen and soldier, tells us, that *Severus* put him to death, for no other reason but because he was greatly beloved by the soldiers, which the jealous emperor could not bear ^m. After he had allowed some respite to his harrassed troops, and amassed an immense quantity of provisions and warlike engines, he returned before the city of *Atra*; but all his efforts against that place proving unsuccessful, he was forced to raise the siege anew, having lost, during the eighteen days it lasted, most of his machines, and an incredible number of men ⁿ. Thus did one city baffle all the attempts of *Trajan* and *Severus*, the two greatest commanders among the *Roman* emperors, as it did afterwards those of *Artaxerxes*, who, about the year 226. re-established the *Persian* on the ruin of the *Parthian* empire. *Severus* spent most part of the following year, when *Tib. Claudius Severus* was consul the second time, with *C. Aufidius Victorinus*, in searching after such of *Niger's* partizans as had not yet been discovered, and in gleaning, to use the expression

Lætus murdered.

Severus attacks the city of Atra; but is obliged to raise the siege.

^l Dio. l. lxxv. p. 854. & in excerpt. Val. p. 746. ^k Idem, p. 851, 866. ^l Idem, p. 844. ^m Idem, p. 855.

ⁿ Idem, l. lxxv. p. 555.

Severus
visits Ara-
bia, Pale-
stine, E-
gypt, &c.

of *Tertullian* °, after the vintage. Many persons of distinction, who believed themselves to be safe, were on this occasion seized and condemned without mercy, such especially as gave the tyrant any umbrage on account of their birth or riches ^p. The next year, when *L. Annius Fabianus* and *M. Nonius Mucianus* were consuls, *Severus* gave the manly robe to his eldest son, though he was then but fourteen years old, and named him consul with himself for the year following. They both entered upon their consulship in *Syria*; and on that occasion the emperor gave a largess to the soldiers. *Severus* went, during his consulship, into *Arabia*, and from thence into *Palestine*, where he remitted the taxes with which he had loaded the inhabitants for their steady adherence to *Niger*. While he was in *Palestine*, he published an edict, forbidding, under the severest penalties, the subjects of the empire to embrace either the *Jewish* or *Christian* religion; which gave rise to the fifth general persecution ^q. From *Palestine* he passed into *Egypt*, where he visited the tomb of *Pompey the Great*, and then pursued his rout to *Alexandria*, to which city he granted a public council or senate; a mark of distinction which they had often begged in vain of other emperors ^r. During his stay in *Egypt*, he visited all the cities, and viewed with great attention the curiosities of that ancient kingdom, especially the pyramids, the labyrinth, the statue of *Memnon*, &c. He examined with great care the books he found in the temples, and caused such of them as contained any secret knowledge to be conveyed into the sepulchre of *Alexander the Great*, which he ordered to be shut up, that no one might for the future either see the body of that prince, or peruse those books ^s.

Plautianus
his chief
favourite.

THE next consuls were *Septimius Geta*, the emperor's brother, and *Fulvius Plautianus*, his great favourite. Some writers call *Plautianus* the emperor's kinsman; others say, that he was only his countryman, being a native of *Africa*, as was *Severus*. Be that as it will, all agree, that he was of a very mean descent; and some add, that in his youth he had been banished, for stirring up and heading the populace in a sedition. However, the emperor favoured him above all the great men in *Rome*, and was so passionate for him, that, not in conversation only, but in public, in his speeches to the senate and people, he extolled him more than *Tiberius* had ever done his favourite *Sejanus*. He created him captain of the

His great
power.

° TERTUL. apol. c. 35.
p. 70. EUSEB. l. vi. c. 2.
in excerpt. Val. p. 737.

^p Vit. Sev. p. 69.
^r Vit. Sev. p. 70.

^q Idem,
^s Dio.

prætorian guards, and shared with him the power and wealth of the empire ; for *Plautianus* was said to be possessed of as great riches as *Severus* himself, and thought to be no less powerful ; at least greater court was paid to his power, than to that of the emperor. The senators and soldiers swore by the fortune of *Plautianus* ; public vows and sacrifices were offered for his safety, as if he had been emperor, and *Rome* was filled with his statues, mostly erected by the authority of the senate. His table was better served than the emperor's, and his equipage far more magnificent. As there was no access to honours but through his favour, his house was constantly crouded with senators, knights, and great part of the people, all solicitors for admission to *Plautianus*, who was harder of access than the emperor. *Geta*, the brother of *Severus*, and the empress *Julia*, stood no less in awe of him than the rest, well knowing, that his authority was of far greater weight than theirs. This exorbitant power was most notoriously abused by the favourite minister, who condemned, banished, and even put to death, many illustrious persons, whom he hated or suspected, without consulting the emperor, nay, without his knowledge ; for though whatever the emperor said or did was immediately carried to *Plautianus*, yet *Severus* was quite unacquainted with the crimes and arbitrary proceedings of his minister ; and hence, looking upon him as a man without reproach, he continued to heap upon him all sorts of honours. He had already distinguished him with the consular ornaments, and created him senator, without removing him from the command of the prætorian guards ; and this year he not only appointed him consul, but, to the great surprise of *Rome* and the whole empire, declared his intention of marrying his eldest son *Caracalla* to *Fulvia Plautilla*, the daughter of *Plautianus* ; which he did accordingly *Severus* this very year, soon after his return to *Rome* ; for, having married his settled the affairs in the east, he arrived unexpectedly at *Rome* son *Caracalla* about the latter end of *May*, and, according to *Herodian*, *calla to the* entered the city in triumph *. *Spartian* writes, that he de- daughter of clined the triumph decreed him, because he could not fit in the *Plautianus* triumphal chariot by reason of the gout ; but suffered his son *Caracalla* to triumph over the *Jews*, who had, it seems, revolted, but had been again brought under subjection by *Severus* ". The emperor, upon his return, distributed immense sums among the soldiers and people, ten pieces of gold a man more than any other prince had ever been known to give, and added to this extraordinary largess most magnificent shows,

* HEROD. l. iii. p. 529.

" Vit Sev. p. 63.

which lasted seven days ^w. When the shows were over, the nuptials of *Caracalla* and *Plautilla* were celebrated with the utmost pomp and magnificence. *Dion Cassius* writes, that what *Plautianus* gave his daughter on this occasion, would have been a sufficient dower for fifty queens ; and adds, that he appointed a hundred persons of good families to attend her, whom he had for that purpose privately caused to be made eunuchs, tho' some of them were married, and even had children ; which, as that writer observes, highly provoked both the senate and people against him ^x. About this time, *Severus* gave the manly robe to his second son *Geta*, who had entered the fourteenth year of his age on the twenty-seventh of *May* of this year 203, the tenth of his father's reign ^y. The following year, *L. Fabius Septimius Gilo* being consul the second time with *L. Libo*, the emperor, notwithstanding his great kindness for *Plautianus*, being offended at the great number of statues erected to him in all the public places of the city, caused some of them to be taken down. Hereupon a report being spread, that he was disgraced, several governors of provinces, looking upon him already as a public enemy, caused his statues to be pulled down in their governments ; but paid dear for their over-hasty zeal, some of them being deprived of their employments, and others tried by the senate and condemned to banishment. Among the latter was *Racius Constans*, governor of *Sardinia*, who was tried by the emperor in person, in conjunction with *Dion Cassius* and several other senators. *Severus* on this occasion solemnly declared, that he would never suffer the least affront or injury to be offered with impunity to *Plautianus* ; but nevertheless, before a year was over, he changed his sentiments, and suffered him to be put to death in his presence.

The emperor orders some of his statues to be pulled down.

Caracalla His ruin was chiefly owing to *Caracalla* ; who, not able to bear the occasion with the haughty and imperious temper of his wife *Plautilla*, of his ruin. hated both her and his father-in-law *Plautianus*, openly declaring, that if ever he obtained the sovereign power, they should both soon feel the effects of his resentment. Hereupon *Plautianus* resolved to be before-hand with him, not doubting, but upon his death he should be able to seize the empire for himself, as *Severus* was now stricken in years, and troubled with the gout. In the mean time, *Geta*, the emperor's brother, being taken ill, and finding there was no hope of his recovery, desired to see *Severus* before he died, and acquainted him with the haughty, imperious, and tyrannical, conduct of his favourite minister. Thenceforth the emperor began to look upon him

^w Dio. l. lxxvi. p. 859, 860. HEROD. ibid. ^x Dio p. 859. ^y Vit. Sev. p. 69.

with

with a jealous eye, and to lessen by degrees his overgrown power ; which he was no sooner apprised of, than he resolved to exert the authority he still enjoyed, and secure, by the murder both of the emperor and his son, the sovereignty to himself ; at least *Saturninus*, one of the tribunes of the prætorian guards, declared to *Severus*, that *Plautianus* had charged him to assassinate them both, and shewed him his orders in writing. *Herodian* ² and *Ammianus Marcellinus* ² seem not to question in the least the truth of his deposition ; but *Dion Cassius* looks upon the whole as a contrivance of *Caracalla* to destroy *Plautianus*, whose haughty behaviour he could no longer brook ^b. Be that as it will, they all agree, that *Plautianus*, coming to the palace of his own accord, or sent for by the emperor, as *Dion* will have it, and entering the emperor's room, where *Caracalla* then was, in order to clear himself from the crime laid to his charge, the young prince rushed upon him with a great fury, snatched his sword from his side, which he wore as captain of the guards, and ordered those who were present to dispatch him, being prevented by the emperor, who began to relent, from doing it himself. His body was cast into the street ; but soon after taken, by the emperor's orders, and interred ^c. *Severus* immediately assembled the senate ; but without uttering any invectives against *Plautianus*, only bewailed the unhappy lot of mankind, since some loved to excess, and others abused the love that was shewn them. He did not seem to believe, says *Dion Cassius*, that *Plautianus* had ordered the tribune to murder him ; but nevertheless prosecuted, and condemned, either to death or banishment, all his friends and creatures. His daughter *Plautilla* and his brother *Plautius* were banished to the island of *Liparis*, where they were murdered by order of *Caracalla*, soon after his accession to the empire ^d. *Herodian* writes, that they were banished to *Sicily*, and there generously supported by *Severus* during his life-time ^e. This year, the 957th of *Rome*, the 204th of the christian æra, and the twelfth of the reign of *Severus*, were celebrated with extraordinary pomp the secular games ^f.

He is murdered by his orders.

THE next consuls were the emperor's two sons, *Caracalla*, the second time, and *Geta*, the first. During their administration, *Severus* continued either at *Rome*, or in the neighbour-

² HEROD. l. iii. p. 531, 533. ² AMMIAN. l. xxix. p. 368.
^b DIO. l. lxxvi. p. 861. ^c Idem ibid. HEROD. p. 534.
^d DIO. p. 862. ^e HEROD. l. iii. p. 535. ^f CENSOR. c.
17. Zos. l. ii. p. 669.

hood,

hood, and applied himself wholly to the administration of justice, which he did with great impartiality, following therein the advice of the celebrated civilian *Papinianus*, whom *Papinianus* made he appointed captain of the guards; for at this time the captain of the chief province of that officer was to decide law-suits with the emperor, or in his name. *Papinianus* in the discharge of this important office, employed as his counsellors *Paulus* and *Ulpianus*, two men eminently accomplished in the knowledge of the laws. As the empire now enjoyed a profound peace, *Severus* was at leisure to reform many abuses; which *Severus* re- forms severe abuses, he did accordingly: but is blamed by most of the antients on account of his excessive severity, especially by the emperor *Julian*, who thinks his cruel inflexibility, as he styles it, his greatest fault^a; for he never pardoned the least transgression. He enacted several laws, which are mightily cried up, by the writers of those times, as equally just and necessary. Many of them are still extant in the *Code*. He allowed no power to his freedmen; nor would he suffer the senate to distinguish them with any honours. He chose for governors of the provinces men of unblemished characters, and was always ready to hear with great patience the complaints of his people. No prince ever managed the public money more frugally; and by that means he left the exchequer exceeding rich at his death, though he had found it quite empty, and had been engaged in several expensive wars. When he died, corn was found in the public granaries sufficient to supply the city for seven years, and oil in the store-houses, which he built at a vast charge, for the consumption of five years, reckoning not only the city of *Rome*, but all the places in *Italy* that produced no oil. He even left wherewithal to supply for ever the indigent people of *Rome* with a certain quantity of oil every day, which was in part to be sent yearly by the inhabitants of *Libya Tripolitana*, who of their own accord submitted to that burden out of regard to *Severus*, who was of the same province, and had obliged them by utterly extirpating a neighbouring nation, that often invaded their country and laid waste their fields^b. But this contribution proving in process of time very burdensome to them, *Constantine* remitted it. *Severus* repaired most of the public edifices of *Rome*, and raised an incredible number of new ones in *Rome*, in *Antioch*, in *Alexandria*, in *Byzantium*, and in most of the great cities of the empire. The following year, when *Nummius Albinus* and *Fulvius Æmilianus* were consuls, was re-

Several se-
rators put
to death.

^a JUL. CÆS. p. 14. VIT. SEV. p. 71.
DIO. p. 869.

^b VIT. SEV. p. 67.

markable for the death of many illustrious senators, inhumanly massacred by the emperors orders. Among these were *Quintillus Plautianus* and *Apronianus*, both persons of unblemished characters and of great authority in the senate, but hated by the emperor on account of their illustrious birth and extraordinary accomplishments. They were both accused of having consulted the astrologers about the death of *Severus*, and their own fate, and condemned, without so much as being heard. *Bæbius Marcellinus*, another senator of great distinction, was condemned by the senate, and that instant hurried to execution, upon the deposition of a single evidence, who charged him with having listened while *Apronianus* was consulting the astrologer. The evidence had been suborned by *Pollenius Sebennus*, who was himself soon after condemned at the suit of the people of *Noricum*, whom he had tyrannically oppressed, while he governed that province¹. The following year, when *Aper* and *Maximus* were consuls, the northern inhabitants of *Britain* invaded the Roman territories, and, putting to flight the legions that guarded them, committed every-where most dreadful ravages. *Virius Lupus*, then governor, or, as *Ulpian* calls him, president of *Britain*, not thinking himself in a condition to withstand the enemy, retired before them, and in the mean time acquainted the emperor with the state of affairs in that province; who, apprehending that the whole island, unless awed by a powerful army, would soon revolt and shake off the yoke, resolved to go thither in person; and accordingly, having made the necessary preparations for this expedition, he set out for *Britain* the ensuing year, while his two sons were consuls, *Caracalla*, the third time, and *Geta*, the second. Before he left *Rome*, he invested his son *Geta* with the tribunitial power, and conferred upon him the title of *Augustus*, which he had bestowed three years before on his eldest son *Caracalla*; so that there were now three *Augustus*'s at a time, which had never happened before. The emperor took both his sons with him, being glad of that opportunity to remove them from *Rome*, where they abandoned themselves to idleness and debauchery, and to inure them to the toils and fatigues of war. The *Britons* were no sooner informed of his arrival in their island, than, dreading his power, they sent ambassadors to him, offering to submit upon honourable terms. *Severus* detained the ambassadors till he was ready to take the field, and then dismissed them, without granting them their request. He past the first winter, it seems, in the southern parts of

The Britons revolt

Geta invested with the tribunitial power and declared Augustus.

Severus's expedition into Britain.

¹ Dio. in excerpt. Val. p. 741, &c.

Britain,

He over-
runs the
whole
island.

Britain, whence he marched early in the spring of the ensuing year, when *Pompeianus* and *Avitus* were consuls, against the *Mæatae*, who bordered on the *Roman* dominions, and the *Caledonians*, who dwelt more to the north. No battle was fought in this expedition; but nevertheless, what by the enemy's ambuscades, what by the hardships the *Roman* soldiers underwent, and the toils they endured in cutting down woods, building bridges, and drying marshy grounds, fifty thousand of them are said to have perished ^k. *Herodian* writes, that the *Caledonians* incessantly harrassed the army on their march, attacked them unexpectedly, cut many thousands of them in pieces, and then retired into their fens and woods, whither the *Romans* could not follow them ^l. The emperor, though stricken in years and troubled with the gout, pursued his painful march, surmounting with great chearfulness all difficulties, till he reached the most distant and northern coasts of the island, laying the country waste far and wide, and putting all to fire and sword; insomuch, that the *Caledonians* were in the end obliged to purchase a peace, by yielding to the *Romans* part of their country, and delivering up their arms. *Dion Cassius* adds, that *Severus* during his stay in the most northern parts of *Britain*, observed with great exactness the length of the days and nights, of the summer and winter ^m; which he could not do, without continuing there, that is, in the north of *Scotland*, at least six months. Having thus concluded a peace with the *Caledonians*, he returned to the southern parts of *Britain*, where he had left his son *Geta* to administer justice during his absence. For this expedition he was honoured by the senate with the title of *Britannicus Maximus*, and his two sons with that of *Britannicus* ⁿ.

His wall
in Britain.

Severus spent great part of the following year, when *Man. Acilius Faustinus* and *Triarius Rufinus* were consuls, in building a wall in *Britain* from sea to sea, to secure his conquests and part the *Roman* territories from those of the more northern *Britons* not subject to *Rome*. No mention of this wall is made either by *Dion Cassius* or *Herodian*, who lived at that time, and give us a very particular account of the exploits of *Severus* in *Britain*. However, *Spartian* speaks of it and calls it the chief ornament of *Severus's* reign, nay, he pretends that on account of this wall he was honoured by the senate with the title of *Britannicus* ^o. There is

^k DIO. l. lxxvi p. 867. ^l HEROD. l. iii. p. 867. ^m DIO. p. 869. ⁿ GOLTZ. p. 88. P. PAGI, p. 207. ^o VIT. SEV. p. 71.

a great disagreement among authors, both as to the nature of this work and its situation. Some writers take it to have been a wall, and others only a ditch, fortified on the *Roman* side with a rampart and palisades. *Spartian* styles it a wall or ditch ^p. *Orosius* supposes it to have been a ditch defended by a rampart and a great number of towers at a small distance from each other ^q. *Beda* thinks it was a wall, built not with stone but turf, and supported by a rampart and sharp stakes driven deep into the ground ^r. The same writer is of opi- *In what*
nion, that it was raised by *Severus* in the same place where *place it*
a new wall was built by the *Romans* about the middle of *was built*
the fifth century, when they intirely abandoned the island; that is, so far as we can judge from the context, on the isthmus, which he described before, between the friths of *Forth* and *Clyde* ^s. *Buchanan* likewise places this wall on the same isthmus ^t; and adds, that, in his time, some remains of it were still to be seen. On the other hand, *Cambden* maintains *Severus's* wall to have stood a great way more to the south, that is, between the mouth of the *Tyne* and *Solway frith*. The learned *Usher* is of the same opinion, and alledges very strong reasons to support it ^w. However, we cannot persuade ourselves, that *Severus*, after having marched from one end of the island to the other, and obliged the enemies of *Rome* to yield to him part of their country, should have abandoned to them a considerable portion of the *Roman* dominions, viz. the countries lying between *Northumberland* or *Cumberland*, and the friths of the *Forth* and *Clyde*. For that these countries belonged to the *Romans* before *Severus's* time, *Usher* himself owns, and maintains ^x, that *Antonius* built his wall on the above-mentioned isthmus. We do not find, that the northern *Britons* seized any part of the *Roman* dominions in the reign of *M. Aurelius*, nor in that of *Commodus*; for though they passed the wall in the time of *Commodus*, yet they were driven back by *Ulpus Marcellus*, and restrained within their antient bounds, that is, according to *Usher*, within the two abovementioned friths. Is it therefore probable, that *Severus* thus curtailed the *Roman* empire, and abandoned to the barbarians, as they are called by the *Roman* writers, such an extensive country, after having, at immense charge, and with the loss of fifty thousand men, obliged them to yield part of theirs? Besides, *Spartian* tells us, in exprefs words,

^p Idem, p. 73. ^q Oros. l. vii. c. 17. ^r BED. hist. Ang. l. i. c. 5. ^s Idem ibid. 2. 12. ^t BUCHAN. rer. Scot. l. i. p. 16. l. iv. p. 116. & l. v. p. 135. ^w USH. Britan eccles. antiquit. p. 606. ^x Idem ibid. p. 1024.

Caracalla
attempts to
murder his
father.

that *Severus's* wall reached from sea to sea ; and *Eutropius*, that it was but thirty-two miles in length[†] ; which proves, that it stood on the abovementioned isthmus, and could stand in no other part of the whole island. *Severus*, having ended his wall, retired with his army to *Eboracum*, now *York* : where he was seized with a lingering distemper, occasioned, as was believed, by his grief and affliction for the wicked life of his eldest son, who, notwithstanding the extraordinary affection *Severus* had ever shewn him, had, during the late expedition, with a boldness hardly to be matched, attempted to murder him in the sight of the whole army. For while the emperor, at the head of his troops in battle array, was concluding a treaty with the *Britons* and receiving their arms, *Caracalla*, who stood behind him, drawing unexpectedly his sword, in the sight both of the *Roman* and *British* army, advanced to stab him, and would have put his wicked design in execution, had he not been deterred from it by the outcries of those who stood next to the emperor. *Severus*, turning about that instant, saw his son with a naked sword in his hand ; but, without betraying the least surprise, or uttering a single word, pursued the business in hand, received the arms of the *Britons*, and signed the treaty. When he returned to his tent, he sent for his son ; and, in the presence of *Papinianus*, captain of the guards, and *Castor* his chief chamberlain, first reproached him with his black and wicked attempt ; then offering him a drawn sword, “ If your ambition to reign
“ alone prompts you, said he, to imbrue your hands in the
“ blood of your father, execute your impious purpose rather
“ in this place, than in the sight of the whole world, and in
“ the presence both of our friends and enemies : if you are
“ not yet abandoned to such a degree as to murder your fa-
“ ther with your own hand, order *Papinianus* to commit
“ the parricide : you are emperor ; he must obey you.” We do not find, that *Caracalla* was touched with remorse, or any-ways affected, by this speech.

The Mac-
tæ and
Caledoni-
ans revolt.

THE following year, when *Gentianus* and *Bassus* were consuls, the *Macæ* and *Caledonians*, understanding that the emperor was indisposed and not in a condition to take the field, without any regard to the late treaty, flew to arms ; and assembling their forces, attempted to pass the new wall, and invade the *Roman* dominions ; which so provoked *Severus*, that he ordered *Caracalla* to lead the whole army against the enemy, and, entering their country anew, to put all he met to the sword, without distinction of sex or age. The

[†] EUPROP. l. viii. c. 10.

^{*} Dio. p. 868.

young prince, seeing himself, contrary to his expectation, intrusted with so great a command, made it his whole study to Caracalla
 debauch the officers and soldiers, with a design to depose his *attempts to*
 father. Many tribunes and centurions, hearkening to him, *depose his*
 publicly declared, before the army set out from York, that *father.*
 they would no longer obey an old man, worn out with infirmities, lame, and disabled by the gout from marching at their head, and discharging the duties of an emperor. These speeches were soon carried to Severus, who, immediately summoning the army to assemble, caused himself to be taken up, and placed upon his tribunal; whence, in most bitter terms, he reproached with folly, ingratitude, and treachery, such of the officers as had seconded the wicked attempts of his son; ordered them all to be beheaded that instant in his presence; and then, addressing himself to the army, struck with terror and dismay at the sight of so many executions, asked them with an imperious and majestic air, whether they were yet satisfied, that the head ruled, and not the feet ^a? Some writers tell us, that he would at the same time have put his son to death, had he not been diverted from it by the captains of the guards ^b; others, on the contrary, say, that the captains of the guards advised him to deliver himself, by the death of his unnatural son, from the dangers that threatened him, but that he could not by any means prevail upon himself to follow their advice ^c. After this, his distemper being greatly increased by the uneasiness of his mind, he was soon reduced to the last extremity; when he sent for his two sons, caused the speech of *Micipsa* to his children, in *Sallust*, to be read to them, exhorted them to concord and unity, and recommended to them this tyrannical maxim; to enrich the soldiers, and gain their affections, without caring whether they were beloved or hated by the rest of their subjects ^d. When he found his end approaching, he cried out, *I have been every thing, and every thing is nothing* ^e. Then ordering the urn to be brought to him, in which his ashes were to be inclosed, *Little urn*, said he, *you shall contain one, for whom the whole world was too little* ^f. Before he expired, he ordered the golden statue of *Fortune*, which always stood in the emperor's room, to be carried into the rooms, first of his eldest, and then of his youngest, son ^g. As his pains increased, especially in his feet, he called for poison; but no one daring to administer it to him, he is said to have glutted himself with coarse meats,

^a Vit. Sev. p. 71. AUR. VICT.^b Vit. Caracall. p. 89.^c DIO. l. lxxvi p. 868.^d DIO. p. 868.^e Vit. Sev. p. 73.^f DIO. p. 869.^g Vit. Sev. p. 74.

l 2 .

which

Severus
dies.

His cha-
racter.

which soon put an end to his life ^h. He died at *York* on the fourth of *February* of the year 211, after having lived, according to *Dion Cassius* ⁱ, sixty-five years, nine months, and twenty-five days, and reigned seventeen years, eight months, and three days. His body was burnt at *York* with great solemnity, and his ashes conveyed by his two sons to *Rome*, in a golden urn, or as others will have it, in an urn of porphyry. It was received in all the provinces with extraordinary pomp, and deposited at *Rome* in the stately mausoleum^o of the emperor *Adrian*. He was soon after ranked among the gods, with the usual ceremonies, described at length by *Herodian* ^k. *Severus* was, without all doubt, a person of most extraordinary parts; but all good qualities were quite eclipsed by his excessive cruelty and his insatiable avarice. Some writers endeavour to excuse his cruelty, which they soften with the name of severity, and pretend, that, without violent remedies, the many evils that had long prevailed in the state could never have been rooted out. It was said of him, if *Spartian* is to be credited, as it had been formerly said of *Augustus*, *That he ought never to have been born, or never to have died*. He was, according to the same writer, greatly esteemed, nay, and generally loved, after his death, when no one dreaded his cruelty, and all felt the effects of his excellent regulations ^l. *Galen* tells us, that his greatest pleasure was to do good to all; and adds, that he kept constantly by him a great store of treacle, and other expensive remedies, to relieve such as wanted them; by which means he saved the lives of many persons, namely of *Antipater*, his *Greek* secretary; of the son of *Piso*, to whom *Galen* inscribed his treatise on treacle; and of a lady of distinction, named *Arria*, for whom *Severus* had a particular value, because she applied herself to the study of philosophy and the reading of *Plato* ^m. But after all, the most we can say in his commendation is, that *Severus* deserves to be ranked among the great, but not among the good, princes. Of the writers, who flourished in his reign, we shall give an account in our note (N).

Severus

^h VICT. epit.
ⁱ VIT. Sev. p. 71.

^l DIO. ibid.
^m GAL. de ther. l. ii. p. 457, 458.

^k HEROD. l. v. p. 540.

(N) Among the writers who flourished at this time, we may reckon the emperor himself; for he wrote the history of his own life, which was a kind of apology for his great severity. *Spartian* commends it as a sincere and impartial account of the transactions of

Severus was succeeded by his two sons *Bassianus* and *Geta*, *Is succeeded* whom he had invested with the sovereign power, during his *ed by his* life-time, *sons Caracalla and Geta.*

of his reign (59); and *Victor* speaks of it as an elegant and judicious performance. It has been long since lost. The sophist *Antipater*, a native of *Hierapolis* in *Asia*, wrote likewise the history of *Severus's* reign, and was for that work first appointed the emperor's *Greek* secretary, afterwards charged with the care of educating his two sons, *Caracalla* and *Geta*; then honoured with the consulship; and lastly, preferred to the government of *Bitthynia*; from which employment he was soon removed, on account of his excessive cruelty (60). His history has not reached our times. *Galen*, the prince of physicians, was still alive in *Severus's* time; for he lived, according to *Suidas*, seventy years (61). He was a native of *Pergamus*, and the son of one *Nico*, a celebrated architect and geometrician. He was likewise well versed in the other branches of mathematics, and pretended to understand and teach the *Greek* tongue in its greatest purity. His son *Claudius Galenus* was born in the year 131, the fifteenth of *Adrian's* reign, as appears from *F. Labbe*, who collected out of *Galen's* works, and published in 1660, all the passages in which that writer makes any mention of himself (62). He came to *Rome* while *L. Verus* was making war upon the *Parthians* in the east, being at that time thirty-two or thirty-three years old (63). He staid in *Rome* about three years, and then returned to his own country; whence, three or four years after, he was invited into *Italy* by *M. Aurelius*, that is, about the end of the year 169. He refused to attend that prince into *Germany*, and continued at *Rome*, where he is supposed to have spent the remaining part of his life. He left behind him a great many works on different subjects, viz. on physic, rhetoric, philosophy, and some grammatical pieces (64). *Jonssius* takes the treatise on *treacle* not to be his, because he does not mention it among his other works (65). The same writer maintains *the history of the philosophers*, ascribed to *Galen*, to be nothing else but the five books of *Plutarch* upon *the opinions of philosophers* (66). Some find fault with *Galen* for crying down all those of his profession, who in his time were in any repute at *Rome* (67). *Diogenes Laertius*, the author of the lives of the philosophers comprised in ten books, flourished, according to *Vossius*, under *Antoninus Pius*; but, according to *Jonssius*, whose conjectures seem to us better grounded, under *Severus* (68). He was a native, as *Jonssius* conjectures, of *Laertes*, a small city of *Cilicia*, and thence took the surname of *Laertius*. After he had

(59) *Vit. Sev.* p. 65. (60) *Hered.* l. ii. p. 514. *Philost.* soph. 50. *Galen. ther.* l. ii. p. 458. (61) *Suid.* p. 590.
(62) *Gal. vit.* *Jonf.* l. iii. c. 11. (63) *Gal. prog.* c. 3. (64)
Suid. ibid. (65) *Jonf.* l. iii. c. 12. (66) *Idem* ibid. (67)
Vide Salmas. not. in *Spart.* p. 732. (68) *Jonf.* l. iii. c. 12.

life-time, and by his last will appointed to reign jointly after his death. The former, commonly known by the nickname of

taken great pains to inform himself of the different tenets of the various sects of philosophers, he embraced the worst of all, that is, the *Epicurean*. His work is greatly esteemed by the learned, but in many places strangely corrupted. *Casaubon* ascribes many of the faults, which are to be found in the work, to the author himself; who, according to him, wanted either memory, judgment, or time, to digest the materials which he had collected (69). Before he wrote the lives of the philosophers, he published a great number of epigrams in all kinds of verses, which he styled *Pammetra*, that is, all sorts of measures (70). *Nestor*, a native of *Laranda* in *Lycaonia*, flourished, according to *Suidas* (71), under *Severus*, and wrote several Greek poems. *Pisander*, who in the reign of the emperor *Alexander*, wrote some histories, or rather fables, in Greek verse, was his son. *Hermocrates*, the sophist, would have proved the most eloquent orator of his age, had he had time to improve his extraordinary talents; but he died in the twenty-eighth year of his age. *Severus* often heard him, and with great pleasure. The emperor obliged him, while he was in the east, to marry the daughter of the sophist *Antipater*; but he divorced her soon after (72). *Julius Titianus*, the father of the orator of the same name, who was preceptor to the son of *Maximinus*, about the year 235, published many pieces mightily cried up by the antients; and among the rest a description of all the provinces of the empire; and a book of letters, in which he imitated the style of *Cicero*; for he had an extraordinary talent in imitating the different styles of authors, and was thence called *the ape of his time* (73). *C Julius Solinus*, whose description of the earth, under the title of *Polyhistor*, has reached us, flourished, according to some writers, under *Severus*; but others, with *Vossius*, are quite at a loss about the time in which that author wrote. All we know for certain is, that he lived after *Pliny* the elder, and before *St. Jerom*; that is, after the first century, and before the end of the fourth (74). *Dodwel* observes, that no author quotes him before the fourth century; and concludes from some conjectures, that he flourished after *Censorinus*, who wrote in the year 238 (75). His work is, for the most part, copied, and not very judiciously, from other writers, especially from *Pliny* the elder. Under *Severus* flourished *Philostratus*, author of the life of *Apollonius Tyaneus*; which work he undertook at the request of the empress *Julia*, the wife of *Severus*. *Photius* commends the elegance and softness of his style; but thinks his construction not al-

(69) *Diog. Laert. not. Casaub. p. 18.* (70) *Hist. Græc. l. ii. c. 13.* (71) *Suid. p. 211.* (72) *Philostr. soph. 51.* (73) *Voss. hist. Lat. l. ii. c. 1.* (74) *Voss. hist. Lat. l. iii. p. 720.* (75) *Dod. append. ad disert. Cyprian. c. 15.*

of *Caracalla*, a *Gaulish* word for a kind of cassock used in *Gaul*, and by him first introduced among the *Romans*, gave, from his infancy, many instances of an extraordinary sweet and mild temper; but, as he grew up, abandoned himself to all manner of cruelty, and proved in the end a most inhuman and bloody tyrant; whereas the latter, who in his tender years seemed no less void of humanity than his father, changed, we may say, by degrees, his temper, and became in regard of his affability, moderation, and complaisance towards all, the darling both of the people and soldiery. They shewed, from their childhood, an utter aversion to each other, and were continually quarrelling, even in their common sports and diversions. This natural antipathy increased as they grew in years, notwithstanding all the intreaties, rebukes, and exhortations, both of their father and their preceptor *Antipater*; who were continually laying before them the many evils that must necessarily attend the division and disagreement of brothers. But all to no purpose; for *Severus* no sooner expired, than *Caracalla* strove to have his brother excluded by the officers of the army from any share in the sovereignty; but the soldiers protesting, that they would equally obey both the sons of *Severus*, since he had appointed both to succeed him, he was forced to acknowledge his brother partner in the empire, and suffer the soldiers to take the usual oath of allegiance to both. After this, *Caracalla* led his

ways agreeable to the rules of grammar (76). We have shewn, in the foregoing volume, how little credit his life of *Apollonius* deserves (77). In that history he promises to clear his hero in another work, from the aspersions of the philosopher *Euphrates* (78). But, if he was as good as his word, that performance has not reached us. He was, according to *Eusebius*, a native of *Athens*, and the son of *Philostratus Verus*, who published a great many works, and among the rest, one against the sophist *Antipater* (79). Besides the life of *Apollonius*, *Philostratus* wrote four books of pictures, or descriptions, a treatise on heroes, letters on friendship, and the lives of the sophists in four books. All these works have reached our times. Under *Severus* lived two other writers of the same name, viz. *Philostratus*, the son of *Nervianus*, to whom some writers ascribe the lives of the sophists; and *Philostratus*, a native of *Lemnos*, who wrote some descriptions; of these, the former was great nephew, and the latter grandson by the mother, to the author of the life of *Apollonius* (80).

(76) *Phot. c. 44.* (77) *Hist. Univers. Vol. XIV. p. 455, &c.*
 (78) *Philos. vit. Apol. l. i. c. 10.* (79) *Euseb. in Hier. p. 435.*
 (80) *Vide Casaub. in Spart. p. 30.*

Caracalla
concludes a
shameful
treaty
with the
Britons.

Misunder-
standing
between
the two
brothers.

army towards the borders of the *Mæata* and *Caledonians*, who had begun hostilities anew; but instead of attacking those warlike nations, he concluded a treaty with them, withdrew his men from the forts erected in their country, and restored to them the lands which *Severus* had obliged them to yield to himⁿ. Before he left *Britain*, he discharged *Papinian*, captain of the guards; caused *Castor* his father's chamberlain and chief favourite, to be put to death, together with *Evo-dius*, another of the deceased emperor's freed-men, and formerly his own preceptor; and dispatched assassins into *Italy* to murder *Plautilla*, who had been his wife, *Plautius* her brother, and a celebrated charioteer of the faction in the circus opposite to that which he favoured^o. *Herodian* tells us, that, before he left *Britain*, he dispatched, under various pretences, the physicians who had refused to poison his father, and all the deceased emperor's friends, especially such as endeavoured to promote a good understanding between him and his brother^p. Such was the beginning of the reign of *Caracalla*. The two brothers left *Britain* about the middle of the summer, and set out for *Rome*, with their mother *Julia* and the ashes of their deceased father. *Caracalla* attempted on the road to murder his brother *Geta*; which attempt increased their mutual animosities and jealousies to such a degree, that thenceforth they both marched with their separate guards, and with no less wariness than if they had been in an enemy's country, lodging constantly in different houses, and carefully watching the motions of each other. They were received with great solemnity at *Rome*, where they performed with extraordinary pomp the obsequies of their father, and then withdrew to the palace, which they divided into two; for it was larger, if *Herodian* is to be credited, than any city in the whole empire, except *Rome*. This division between the two princes rent the whole city, nay, and the empire, into factions; insomuch, that, to avoid the many inconveniencies and disorders thence arising, a division of the empire was proposed. To this expedient they both hearkened; *Geta*, who loved a quiet life, declaring, that if *Caracalla* would but yield to him *Asia* and *Egypt*, he would retire to *Antioch* or *Alexandria*, and leave him in quiet possession of the rest of the empire. But this scheme was defeated by their mother *Julia*, throwing herself at their feet, and begging, with many tears, that they would di-

ⁿ DIO. l. lxxviii. p. 882, & seq. Carac. & Get. vit. p. 87, & 91. ^o DIO. l. lxxvii. p. 870. & l. lxxvi. p. 867. ^p HEROD. l. iii. p. 538.

vide her too between them ^d. Towards the close of this year, *Caracalla* attempted anew to murder his brother, during the feast of *Saturn*; which occasioned almost an open war between the two princes, and a great deal of bloodshed ^e.

THE following year, when the two brothers *Julius* and *Caius Asper* were consuls, *Caracalla*, unalterably fixed in his wicked purpose of destroying his brother and ruling alone, but finding him guarded both against poison and open force, pretended a desire of being reconciled with him, and, by means of their common mother *Julia*, invited him to an interview in her chamber. *Geta* readily accepted the invitation, and repaired, without guards, to the appointed place, not suspecting the least treachery in a proposal which came from his mother, who loved him with great tenderness. But he had no sooner entered her chamber, than some centurions, whom *Caracalla* had found means to convey privately into an adjoining room, rushing in, sword in hand, fell upon *Geta*, and dispatched him, with many wounds, in his mother's arms, who, in endeavouring to save him, was wounded in the hand ^f. *Caracalla* himself seems to have imbrued his hands in the blood of his brother; for *Dion Cassius* tells us, that he afterwards consecrated in the temple of *Serapis* the sword with which he had murdered him ^g. Such was the end of this unhappy prince, after he had lived twenty-two years and nine months, and reigned, from the death of his father, one year and twenty-three days; for his father died on the fourth of *February* of the year 211, and he was killed the year following, on the twenty-seventh of the same month ^h. He no sooner expired, than *Caracalla*, leaving the palace with great haste and precipitation, flew through the city to the camp of the prætorian guards, pretending great fear and dismay, and crying out aloud, that his life was in danger; that a bloody conspiracy had been formed against him; that he must have fallen a victim to the rage of his enemies, had not his innocence protected him. Upon his arrival in the camp, he went trait to the place where the ensigns and banners were kept, which was a kind of temple and asylum; and there, throwing himself upon the ground, returned thanks to the gods for delivering him from so great and imminent a danger. To the soldiers, who crowded about him, he expressed himself with the same ambiguity; but by degrees let them

^d Idem. p. 539—543. Dio. l. lxxvii. p. 871. ^e Dio. p. 871. ^f Herod. l. iii. p. 543. ^g Dio. p. 880. ^h Vit. Get. p. 91.

Caracalla
gains the
soldiery
with an
immense
largess.

His speech
in the se-
nate.

Performs
the obse-
quies of his
brother,
and causes
him to be
ranked a-
mong the
gods.

know, that he was sole sovereign, and in a condition to be-
stow upon them what wealth and honours he pleased; and
that they might immediately feel the effects of his generosity,
which he said was no longer checked or restrained, he doub-
led their pay, already very high, and added a largess of two
thousand five hundred drachmas a man, which he gave them
leave to take that instant out of the public treasury. Thus
was the exchequer, which his father had, by innumerable
murders, and unjust confiscations, been filling for the space of
eighteen years, emptied in one day. *Caracalla*, having by
this extravagant largess secured the affections of the soldiery,
told them in the end, that his brother *Geta* had attempted to
murder him, but had lost his life in the attempt. Hereupon
Caracalla was saluted sole emperor by the whole army, and
the unhappy *Geta* declared a traitor and a public enemy ^w.
There was at this time another camp in the neighbourhood
of *Alba*, now *Albano*, where the murder of *Geta* was highly
resented; but *Caracalla*, hastening thither, soon appeased
them, by exaggerating to them the pretended treachery of his
brother, and promising them an immense donative. *Caracal-
la* passed that night in the camp of the prætorian guards, and
the next day went to the senate, with a cuirass under his robe,
guarded by all his troops, some of whom he even placed a-
mong the senators, to be ready in case any of them should at-
tempt to revenge the death of *Geta*. His speech turned upon
the wicked designs of *Geta*, whom he said he had slain un-
willingly in his own defence, lessening the heinousness of his
crime by the example of *Romulus* and others, who had re-
venged with death injuries offered them by their brothers.
In withdrawing from the senate, he pronounced aloud the
following words: "I give leave to all those who are in ba-
nishment, to return home; I except none, by what
crimes soever they may have deserved that punishment ^x."
From the senate he returned to the palace, leaning upon *Pa-
pinian* and *Chilo*; whence he caused the body of his deceased
brother to be with great pomp conveyed to the tomb of the
Septimian family on the *Appian* way: and when the funeral
ceremonies were over, prevailed upon the senate to rank him
with the usual solemnity among the gods ^y. Finding upon his
return to the palace his mother *Julia*, bewailing with other
women the death of her son, transported with rage, he was
at first for putting them all to death; but in the end got the

^w DIO. p. 872. HEROD. l. iv. p. 544. Vit. Get. p. 91. &
Carac. p. 86. ^x Vit. Car. p. 86. ^y Car. vit. p. 86. & Get.
vit. p. 91, 92.

better of his passion, and even shewed great kindness to *Julia*, ordering the same honours to be paid to her as to himself. *Spartian* and some other writers pretend, that she gained his favour by sacrificing to him what ought to have been dearer to her than her life. But neither *Herodian* nor *Dion Cassius*, charge *Julia* or *Caracalla* with any such crime; and those, who do, suppose *Julia* to have been only step-mother to *Caracalla*, which is now by all writers agreed to be a gross mistake. We are told, that *Caracalla* on hearing the name, or beholding the images or statues of *Geta*, used to burst into tears; but this affected grief did not prevent his massacring, without distinction of sex, age, or quality, all the friends of *Geta* ². *Dion Cassius* writes, that he began this general massacre by or- *Orders all* dering all his domestics to the number of twenty thousand *his friends* persons, to be inhumanly butchered. It was death to utter *to be mas-* his name; insomuch, that no one durst use it thenceforth, *sacred.* even on the stage, where it was commonly given to slaves. He likewise ordered all the money with his name to be melted down, and the inscriptions erased. Among many illustrious persons, whom the inhuman tyrant sacrificed to his rage and jealousy, as the friends of *Geta*, no one was more universally, or more deservedly, regretted, than the celebrated *Papinian*, the greatest civilian, in the opinion of *Zosimus* ^a and *Cujas* ^b, that ever was, or ever will be. As *Severus* had recommended chiefly to him his two sons, he spared no pains to reconcile them, and often defeated the wicked attempts of *Caracalla*; on which account he was by him reckoned among the friends of *Geta*. Besides, the tyrant desiring him, after the murder of his brother, to compose a speech for him, excusing the crime, which he designed to pronounce in the senate, *Papinian*, whose love for justice, to use the expression of *Zosimus*, was equal to his knowledge of it, answered with great firmness, *It is not so easy a thing to justify a parricide, as to commit it; and it is a second parricide to defame an innocent person, after having taken away his life.* The emperor, provoked at this *The death* answer, ordered his head to be immediately struck off, and *of Papini-* likewise his son's, who was then quæstor, and had but three an- days before exhibited most magnificent sports. *L. Fabius Chilo*, another of *Severus*'s great favourites, for whom *Caracalla* himself had a particular esteem (for he used to style him his true friend, his benefactor, his father), was in the next place doomed to destruction, for having, together with *Papi-*

^a Vit. Get. p. 92. HEROD. l. iii. p. 546. ^b Zos. l. i. p. 637. ^c Cuj. in cod. Theod. ^d Vit. Car. p. 88. DIO in excerpt. Val p. 742.

Many illustrious
persons
inhumanly
massacred.

nian, endeavoured by all means to promote union and concord between the two brothers. A tribune was sent with a band of soldiers to seize him in his house, drag him to the palace, and there butcher him in the presence of the emperor. But the people, and the city-guards, whom *Chilo* had commanded while governor of *Rome*, moved with compassion in seeing a person of his rank thus ignominiously treated by the insulting soldiery, like a common malefactor, rescued him out of their hands, uttering dreadful menaces against the authors of such outrages; which so frightened *Caracalla*, that he declared that he had given no such orders; and, to appease the multitude, caused both the tribune and soldiers to be immediately put to death^d. He spared *Chilo*, but vented his rage without controul, upon many other illustrious persons, both of the senatorial and equestrian order, not sparing any for whom either his father or brother had ever shewn the least kindness or esteem. Among these unhappy victims were a daughter of the emperor *M. Aurelius*, whom the other emperors had treated with the utmost respect, but *Caracalla* ordered to be strangled for shedding a few tears, when news was brought her of the death of *Geta*; *Septimius Severus Afer*, the son of *Geta*, brother to the late emperor *Severus*, to whom *Caracalla* had sent the day before a dish from his own table, as a token of his friendship; *Pompeianus*, who had been twice consul, had commanded armies in several wars, and was grandson to the emperor *M. Aurelius*, by the empress *Lucilla*; *Helvius Pertinax*, son to the emperor of that name, and therefore greatly beloved by the people, and no less hated by the jealous tyrant, whom he had likewise provoked with a satirical jest; for when the titles of *Parthicus* and *Sarmaticus* were decreed to him by the senate, *Pertinax* moved, that the surname of *Geticus* might be added to the other two, alluding not so much to the victory, which *Caracalla* pretended to have gained over the *Getae*, as to the murder of his brother *Geta*^e. Some of *Geta*'s enemies fared no better than his friends; but the death of no man occasioned greater surprise in the city, than that of *Lætus*, one of *Caracalla*'s most intimate friends, and the first who had advised him to dispatch his brother. He did not even spare the vestal virgins, some of whom he ordered to be strangled for having bewailed the death of *Geta*. In short no sex, rank, or age, escaped his cruelty. The people he loaded with taxes in all the provinces of the empire, and at *Rome* caused great numbers of them to be put to death, sometimes out of revenge, and sometimes

The cruelty of *Caracalla*,

^d Vit. Car. p. 86. Dio. l. lxxvii. p. 872.

^e Vit. Car. p. 87. only

only for his diversion ; for he delighted in nothing so much as in feats of cruelty, and in bloodshed. The people having one day rallied, at the *Circensian* games, a charioteer whom he favoured, he commanded his guards to rush in among the multitude, and put all the delinquents to the sword ; but as the soldiers could not in so great a croud distinguish them from the rest, they fell indifferently upon all, sword in hand, and made a dreadful havock of the disarmed multitude, sparing only such as had money enough about them to redeem their lives^f. No prince ever employed more iniquitous means of raising money than *Caracalla*, or squandered it away with more prodigality. He often used to say, that money ought not to be lodged in private hands, but only in the prince's. Pursuant to his maxim, *Loads his* he impoverished his subjects in all the provinces of the empire, *subjects* loading them with excessive imposts and taxes ; for which, as *with taxes* well as for his extravagant expences, when his mother took the liberty to blame him, he, like a true tyrant, sheathed his naked sword, saying, *As long as I have this, I shall never want*. However, he gave away such immense sums, mostly to persons who least of all deserved them, viz. to his guards, buffoons, players, gladiators, charioteers, freed-men, &c. that he was in the end obliged to coin false money, which he spent at home, while he employed what true gold and silver he could extort from his subjects in keeping the barbarians quiet, who were constantly threatening him with war^g. He shewed on all occasions the utmost contempt for the senate, intirely neglected the administration of justice, took no care of the provinces, and raised to the highest employments the meanest, and in every respect the most infamous and unworthy, persons of the empire. Thus he gave the government of *Rome* to an eunuch, named *Sempronius*, who was by birth an *Iberian*, by profession a poisoner and magician, who had been banished by his father *Severus*, and confined to a desert island. He appointed one *Theocritus* captain of the guards, who had been first a slave, and afterwards a dancing-master, and stage-player. One *Epagathus*, another manumitted slave, bore likewise great sway at court, and with the other two *Is controul-* ruled and controuled both the empire and emperor, setting all things to sale, offices, provinces, public revenues, *ed by his* public justice, and the lives of men, both innocent and guilty^h. *Caracalla* was author of the famous law declaring all the free subjects of the empire *Roman* citizens. This constitution is commonly ascribed to *M. Aurelius* ; but that it

^f HEROD. l. iv. p. 546.

& l. lxxvii. p. 875.

^g DIO. in excerpt. Val. p. 752.

^h DIO. l. lxxvii. p. 877.

*Declares
all the sub-
jects of the
emperor
Roman
citizens.*

was published not by that prince, but by *Caracalla*, we are told in express terms by *Dion Cassius*¹, whose authority is of far greater weight with us, than that of *Aurelius Victor*, who was, as we conjecture, led into that mistake by the words of *Ulpian*, ascribing the above-mentioned law to *Antoninus*², though from the context it is manifest, that *Ulpian* speaks in that place of *Antoninus Caracalla*, and not of *M. Aurelius Antoninus*. *St. Chrysostom*, whom some writers have followed, supposes *Adrian* to have been the author of this law³. Though the name and privileges of *Roman* citizens were by this constitution made common to all the subjects of the empire, yet the antient distinction of *colonies*, of *Latin*, *municipal*, and *free*, cities, subsisted long after, as appears from the *Theodosian code*⁴ and *digests*⁵. But to clear up this difficulty, which has puzzled the best civilians, is not the province of an historian.

His cruelties in Gaul.

Hence the name of Caracalla.

Caracalla, finding himself generally hated at *Rome*, on account of his cruelties, resolved to leave the city, and visit, after the example of *Adrian*, all the provinces of the empire. Pursuant to this resolution, having in the third year of his reign taken upon him his fourth consulship, and named *Decius Caelius Balbinus*, afterwards emperor, for his colleague, he set out for *Gaul*, where he caused the proconsul of the province of *Narbonne* to be put to death, and made such havock of the people, that he was more hated and abhorred there, than he had ever been at *Rome*. He did not even spare the physicians, who had taken care of him during a dangerous malady, with which he was seized; but, upon his recovery, caused them to be put to death⁶. In the beginning of the following year, when *Messala* and *Sabinus* were consuls, he returned to *Rome*, bringing with him an incredible quantity of habits made after the *Gaulish* fashion, which he wore himself, distributed among the people, and would suffer none to wait upon him but in that dress. From this habit the emperor was nicknamed *Caracalla* or *Caracallus*, for such was its *Gaulish* name⁷. Hence *Scaliger* derives, how rightly we leave the reader to judge, the word *cassock*, the *caracalla* being a kind of *cassock*. At *Rome* it was called *Antoniniana* from *Antoninus*, which was one of the emperor's names. His stay at *Rome* was very short; for this very year the *Catti*, the

¹ *Dio.* in excerpt. *Val.* p. 755.

² *Digest.* 1. t. 5. l. xvii.

³ *CHRYS.* in act. apost. hom. xlviii.

⁴ *Cod. Th.* 2. t. 21. p.

189, 190. l. iv t. 9. l. iii. p. 370.

⁵ *Digest.* 50. t. 15. l. i. p.

1921. & l. viii. p. 1923.

⁶ *Vit. Car.* p. 87.

⁷ *Dio.* l.

lxxvii. p. 890. *SPARTIAN.* p. 72. *EUSEB.* chron. p. 230.

Alemanni

Alemanni, whom we find now mentioned for the first time in history, and several other *German* nations, taking up arms, began to make inroads into the *Roman* dominions. The *Alemanni* inhabited at this time the present dutchy of *Virtemberg*, and were, as appears from their name, a mixed multitude of all the neighbouring nations^q. They had entered into an alliance with the *Catti*, whom we have frequently mentioned in the foregoing reigns, and made daily incursions into the *Roman* territories. *Caracalla* therefore marched against them, but in that expedition approved himself a better soldier than commander. For though he behaved with great courage, and even challenged the bravest of the enemy to a single combat; yet, for want of conduct, he was obliged to purchase a peace with vast sums, and the liberty of retiring with safety into the *Roman* dominions^r. Having asked some women, whom he had taken in the countries of the *Catti* and *Alemanni*, which they chose, to be sold for slaves or put to death, they all preferred death to slavery. The emperor nevertheless ordered them to be sold; but they all laid violent hands on themselves, and some of them after having put to death their children^s. It was no sooner known in *Germany*, that he had bought a peace of the *Catti* and *Alemanni*, than all the nations inhabiting that extensive country flew to arms, threatening him with a destructive war, unless with them too he shared his treasures; which he did accordingly, paying them yearly pensions, and by that means reducing himself to such straits, that he was obliged, as we have hinted above, to coin false money. When he received the deputies of the barbarians, he suffered no one to be present except the interpreters, whom he caused to be immediately put to death, lest they should divulge what had passed. However, the barbarians themselves, when he was murdered, owned, that he had encouraged them to invade *Italy*, in case any misfortune should befall him, and to march strait to *Rome*, which, he said, they might take with great ease^t. During his stay in *Germany*, he caused *Gaiobamarus*, king of the *Quadi*, to be treacherously murdered; and having ordered all the youth of *Noricum* to take arms and join him, he commanded his troops, on what provocation we know not, to put them all to the sword^u. For his pretended victories over the *Alemanni*, he took the title of *Germanicus* and *Alemannicus*^w.

His expedition against the Catti and Alemanni.

^q Vide VORBURG hist. Rom. Ger. p. 473. & BUCH. Belg. l. vi. c. 7. ^r DIO. l. lxxvii. p. 876. ^s Idem in excerpt. Val. p. 749, 750. ^t DIO. l. lxxviii. p. 891. ^u Idem in excerpt. Val. p. 749, & 754. ^w CAR. vit. p. 89. GOLTZ. p. 93. BIRAG. p. 293.

He passes
over into
Asia.

His levity.

THE following year, when *Lætus* was consul, the second time, with *Cerealis*, *Caracalla*, leaving *Germany*, led his army into *Dacia*, where he gained some small advantages over the *Getae*, and then pursued his march through *Thrace* to the *Hellepont*, which he crossed, not without danger of being shipwrecked; and, arriving in *Asia*, hastened to *Pergamus*, hoping to be delivered by the god *Æsculapius*, worshipped in that city, from all the maladies, says *Herodian*, both of his body and mind. But the god, continues that historian, was deaf to his prayers; so that he left *Pergamus*, after having enriched it with many privileges, as if he designed to bribe the deity, and pursued his journey to *Ilium*, where he viewed the remains of antient *Troy*, and visited the tomb of *Achilles*, paying extraordinary honours to the memory of that hero, though an implacable enemy to the *Trojans*, from whom the *Romans* pretended to derive their origin. From *Ilium* he went to *Nicomedia*, where he spent the winter. In that city he invited *Dion Cassius* to sup with him, during the feast of *Saturn*; for he obliged most of the senators to attend him in all his journies, to defray his travelling charges, and to build in the cities, where he passed the winter, theatres, circuses, and amphitheatres, for public sports^r. Historians observe, that, to gain the affections of the foreign nations, he dressed after the manner of the countries through which he passed: thus in *Germany* he assumed the *German* habit, and chose such of the *German* soldiers as were most strong and active for his guard. When he entered *Macedon*, from a *German* he became a *Macedonian* in habit and behaviour. For pretending to be a great admirer of *Alexander*, he adopted, not only the habit in which that conqueror was represented, but his air and mien, affecting an awful and threatening countenance, and bending his head somewhat to one side. He ordered several statues to be set up in *Rome* to the honour of that hero; and among the rest, some with two faces, one resembling *Alexander*, and the other himself. He ordered himself to be styled *Alexander*, and *Antoninus the Great*, called a squadron of his army a *phalanx*, and gave to his officers the names of the commanders of *Alexander*. He had no sooner entered *Asia*, than he forgot *Alexander*, and studied in all things to resemble *Achilles*, whose tomb he had visited. Thus he travelled, more like a player than an emperor, being the laughing-stock of other nations, and the shame and disgrace of his own. The following year, when *C. Atius Sabinus* was consul the second time, with

^r Dio. l. lxxviii. p. 883, 884.

Cornelius Anullinus, Caracalla, leaving *Nicomedia* after the fourth of *April* (for he celebrated his birth-day there), crossed *Bithynia, Asia*, and the other provinces, on his journey to *Antioch*, in which city he was received with extraordinary pomp. During his stay there, he wrote to the senate, that he was well apprised they did not approve of his conduct; but so long as he had an army at his command, he neither valued their reproaches, nor feared their hatred ¹. He was very desirous of picking a quarrel with the *Parthians*, who were involved in a civil war, occasioned by the ambition of the two sons of the late king *Vologeses*; but they complying with all his demands, he postponed his intended expedition against them, and bent his mind on the reduction of *Osrhoene* and *Armenia*, though the kings of these two countries lived in perfect amity with the *Romans*. However, *Caracalla*, *He treacherously seizes and imprisons the kings of Osrhoene and Armenia.* having invited them to *Antioch*, as friends and allies of the *Roman* people, caused them to be arrested there, and imprisoned, without the least colour or pretence for so doing. Hereupon *Osrhoene* immediately submitted, and was, according to some writers, reduced to a *Roman* province; though others maintain, that it was long after governed by its own princes ². All we know for certain is, that *Caracalla* established a *Roman* colony at *Edessa*, the capital of *Osrhoene* ³, and that, in the fourth century, the whole country was subject to the *Romans*. The *Armenians*, notwithstanding the captivity of their king, made a vigorous resistance; gave a total overthrow to *Theocritus* the comedian, who was sent against them at the head of a numerous army; baffled all the efforts of *Caracalla*; and maintained themselves in possession of their ancient liberties ⁴. From *Antioch* the emperor proceeded to *Alexandria*, where he made a dreadful havoc of the inhabitants, being highly provoked against them for the many lampoons, which, agreeable to their satirical humour, they had published on occasion of the death of *Geta*. He gave private orders to his numerous troops, who were dispersed all over the city, to fall upon the inhabitants in the night-time, to enter and pillage their houses, and put all to the sword, without distinction of sex, age, or condition. His cruel orders were executed with such barbarity, as can hardly be expressed; the whole city floated in blood; every house was filled with carcases; and the return of day discovered in every street the sad monuments of the mighty butchery: but

Orders a general massacre at Alexandria.

¹ *Dio* l. lxxvii. p. 879. *HEROD.* l. iv. p. 519. ² *Vide* *SPANH.* l. ii. 86. & *SYNCEL.* p. 359. ³ *SPANH.* l. ix. p. 775.

⁴ *Dio* l. lxxvii. p. 875.

the tyrant, not yet satiated with blood, commanded the slaughter to be continued all the day following, that he might have the pleasure of beholding it from the temple of *Serapis*, where he had passed the preceding night, imploring, during the general massacre, the protection of that deity. When the soldiers were tired with slaughter, *Caracalla* wrote to the senate, acquainting them, that he had revenged the affronts offered him by the *Alexandrians*; but that it was not necessary to specify the number of the dead, nor their condition, since none had perished but such as were guilty. Before he left the city, he stripped it of all its privileges; suppressed the celebrated assembly of learned men; ordered all strangers who lived there to abandon the place; and that such as had escaped the general massacre, who were very few, might not have the satisfaction of seeing one another, he cut off all communication of one street with another, by walls built for that purpose, and guarded by the troops he left there. However, as the tyrant died soon after, *Alexandria* speedily recovered its former splendor, and continued to be the first city of the empire after *Rome*.

*His treachery to
wards the
Parthians.*

FROM *Alexandria* the emperor returned to *Antioch*, with a design to make war upon the *Parthians*, and, by some memorable exploit, deserve the surname of *Parthicus*, which he seems to have preferred to all others. In order to have some pretence for declaring war, he sent an embassy to *Artabanes* with rich presents, to desire his daughter in marriage, not doubting, but the *Parthian* would deny him his request; which happened accordingly, *Artabanes* alledging, that his daughter, brought up after the *Parthian* manner, could never be reconciled to the customs of the *Romans*^a. *Herodian* writes, that *Caracalla* persisting in his demand, *Artabanes* at length complied with it; suffered him to enter his dominions; dispatched orders to his governors to receive and entertain him every-where with the utmost magnificence; and went out himself in person to meet him, as he approached the royal city of *Ctesiphon*, where the nuptials were to be solemnized. *Artabanes* was attended by the chief nobility of the kingdom, and a numerous body of guards, all unarmed, and in their gayest attire. But *Caracalla*, abusing the confidence they reposed in him with a treachery hardly to be matched, gave the signal to his soldiers to fall upon them sword in hand; which they did accordingly, and made a terrible slaughter of the unarmed multitude, expecting nothing less than such a reception.

^a HEROD. l. iv. p. 549. DIO. l. lxxvii. p. 879, 880. VIT. CAR. p. 87. ^d DIO. l. lxxviii. p. 896.

However,

However, the king had the good fortune to make his escape unhurt. After this exploit, worthy of such an emperor as *Caracalla*, the cruel and perfidious monster, enraged that *Artabanes* had escaped him, wrecked his fury on all the countries through which he passed on his return to *Syria*, leaving everywhere dismal monuments of his barbarous cruelty and insatiable avarice ^e. Thus *Herodian*. But *Dion Cassius* writes, that *Caracalla*, upon the *Parthian* king's refusing him his daughter, entered his dominions, without any further declaration of war; ravaged great part of *Media*; destroyed several cities; took *Arbela*; and there demolished the tombs of the *Parthian* monarchs, insulting their remains in a most outrageous manner. The same writer adds, that as the irruption was sudden and unexpected, he no-where met with the least opposition, or even saw the face of an enemy ^f. *Spartian* indeed speaks of a tumultuary engagement between the *Parthians* and *Romans*, in which *Caracalla* let loose wild beasts against the enemy ^g. But with us his authority is of no weight, when clashing with that of *Dion Cassius*. The emperor returned from this memorable expedition to *Edeffa*, whence he wrote boasting letters to the senate, as if he had subdued the *Parthians*, and reduced all the east. The senate, though informed of what had passed, yet decreed him a triumph, and the title of *Parthicus*, which above all he seemed to covet ^h. The following year, when *C. Bruttius Præsens* and *T. Messius Extricatus* were consuls, a bloody doom at Parthicus. length overtook this man of blood. He had often rallied as a coward, and threatened with death, *Macrinus* captain of the guards; besides, about this time a soothsayer declared publicly in *Africa*, that *Macrinus* and his son *Diadumenus* were destined to the empire. Hereupon the soothsayer was immediately sent to *Rome*, where he repeated and maintained the same thing before *Maternianus*, captain of the city-guards, whom the emperor, as he reposed in him an intire confidence, had enjoined to employ all possible means, even the detestable mysteries of magic, in order to discover, whether any one privately aspired at the empire. *Maternianus* therefore did not fail to write immediately to the emperor what he had learned of the soothsayer; but the letter being delivered to *Julia*, whom *Caracalla* had left at *Antioch*, with full power to open and read all his dispatches (for he himself was still at *Edeffa*, where he had passed the winter), *Macrinus*, who attended the emperor, was acquainted with the contents of it,

^e HEROD. l. iv. p. 551—553.^f DIO. l. lxxviii. p. 881.^g Vit. Car. p. 87.^h DIO. ibid. HEROD. p. 553.

before *Julia* could transmit it from *Antioch* to *Edeffa*. This intelligence was conveyed to him by *Ulpus Julianus* his intimate friend, who delivered the letter to a courier dispatched from *Rome* strait to the court at *Edeffa*¹. *Herodian* writes, that a packet being brought to the emperor, while he was busied in driving a chariot at the public shows, he ordered *Macrinus* to read the letters, and acquaint him with the contents of them afterwards; and that *Macrinus* found among the rest the letter of *Maternianus*. Be that as it will, *Macrinus* was, as all authors agree, informed before the emperor of what *Maternianus* had wrote; and therefore being sensible, that he could not use too much dispatch^k, he immediately gained with great promises two brothers, *Aurelius Nemesianus* and *Aurelius Apollinaris*, both tribunes of the guards; *Julius Martialis*, an exempt, whom the emperor had provoked, by refusing him the post of a centurion; *Martius Agrippa* the admiral; *Rhætianus*, tribune of the second legion, and several others; who put their design in execution on the eighth of *April* of this year 217, while the emperor was going on horse-back with a small retinue from *Edeffa* to visit a temple of the moon at *Carrhæ*; for being obliged to stop by the way to ease nature, and all withdrawing except one of the prince's domestics, as he was ready to mount again, *Martialis*, loth to let slip that opportunity, ran hastily to him, gave him with his dagger such a stab in the throat, that he expired immediately, and returning to the rest mixed with the croud, before they were apprised of what had passed; but when the emperor's death was publicly known, a *Scythian*, who belonged to the guards, observing *Martialis* with a bloody dagger in his hand, which, in that confusion, he had not had the precaution to conceal, and thence concluding him to be the author of the murder, shot him through with an arrow. *Caracalla* was killed after he had lived twenty-nine years and four months; and reigned six years, two months, and four days, from the death of his father¹ (O). The soldiers,

Macrinus
conspires a-
gainst him.

Caracalla
murdered.

¹ DIO. l. lxxviii. p. 882.
p. 891. Herod. p. 556.

^k HEROD. ibid. p. 554. ¹ DIO.

(O) The authors, who lived under *Caracalla*, were *Q. Severus Sammonicus*, who wrote a great number of books, which were much admired by *Geta*; and hence *Sammonicus* was by *Caracalla's* orders murdered, while he was at supper as a friend to *Geta* (81).

(81) *Car. vit.* p. 86. & *Get. vit.* p. 92.

diers immediately gathered about the body of the deceased prince, conveyed it to *Edeffa*, and there proceeded, even before

None of his works have reached our times, except some books in *Latin* verse on physic, and a few passages quoted by *Macrobius* out of a book in prose, which he inscribed to the emperor *Severus* (82). *Vossius* is of opinion, that he published some historical pieces (83). His library consisted of sixty-two thousand volumes, which his son who bore the same name, bequeathed to young *Gordian*, whose preceptor he had been (84). The emperor *Alexander* is said to have taken great delight in reading the works of *Horace* and *Serenus Sammonicus*, with whom he had been acquainted (85); but this must have been the son. *Ælius Maurus*, whom *Spartian* quotes in relating the death of *Severus* (86), wrote in the reign of *Caracalla*, being then very old; for he had been a slave to *Pblegon*, the celebrated freedman of the emperor *Adrian* (87). *Vossius* ranks him among the *Latin* historians; because *Spartian* does not say, that he wrote in *Greek* (88). *Oppian*, the celebrated *Greek* poet, lived under *Antoninus*, the son of *Domna*; that, is under *Caracalla*, the son of *Julia Domna*, as he himself informs us (89), and not under *Antoninus the Philosopher*, as we read in the chronicle of *Eusebius* and *St. Jerom* (90). He was a native of *Anazarbus*, a town of *Cilicia*, as appears from the short account of his life, which is prefixed to his works (91). His father being banished by *Severus* to the island of *Malta*, or to that of *Meleda* near *Ragusa*, *Oppian* accompanied him to the place of his exile, and there composed his poems, which he afterwards rehearsed at *Rome*, where they were received with extraordinary applause, and pleased the emperor *Severus* to such a degree, that he recalled his father from banishment, and rewarded the poet with as many pieces of gold as there were verses in his poem on the art of fishing; whence he used to call those verses, *golden verses* (92). He inscribed that poem to *Antoninus*, that is, to *Caracalla*, about the year 204, according to *Scaliger*, and the other, of the chase, to the same prince, after the death of his father *Severus* (93). The latter poem ought to consist of five books as well as the former, though there are but four in the *Paris* edition of 1555, and in that of *Plantin* in 1597, both which editions are evidently imperfect. *St. Jerom* cries up the poem on the art of fishing as a wonderful performance (94). *Scaliger* styles it a *divine work*; but *Sozomenus*, not so lavish of his praises, calls it only

(82) *Voss* poet. Lat. p. 52. & *Macrob.* saturn. l. ii. c. 12.
 (83) *Voss.* hist. Lat. l. ii. c. 2. (84) *Gord.* vit. p. 150. (85)
Alex. vit. p. 124. (86) *Vit. Sev.* p. 71. (87) *Voss.* hist.
 Lat. l. ii. c. 2. (88) *Idem* ibid. (89) *Oppian.* de venat. l. i.
 p. 129. (90) *Euseb.* chron. p. 121, 122. (91) *Oppian* vit.
 (92) *Sozom.* l. i. p. 394. (93) *Oppian.* de pisc. l. ii. p. 51. &
 de venat. l. i. p. 129. *Euseb.* chron. p. 222. (94) *Hier.* chron.

Onelias
Macrinus
declared
emperor by
the soldiery.

fore they had performed the funeral obsequies, to the election of a new emperor. They were in suspense that and the two following days; but on the fourth, the eleventh of *April*, and the birth-day of *Severus*, the prætorian guards, who were at *Edessa*, at the instigation of the tribunes, who had been privy to the conspiracy of *Macrinus*, declared him emperor; for no one, except his accomplices, imagined him to have been any ways accessory to the death of *Caracalla*, which they ascribed to *Martialis* alone, as if he had committed the murder out of private passion and revenge. *Macrinus* pretended at first to decline such a heavy burden; but was easily prevailed upon to submit to it; distributed on that occasion large sums amongst the soldiery; made them ample promises; and granted a general pardon to all persons accused of, or condemned for, crimes of majesty or high treason^m. *Herodian* writes, that the army first chose *Adventus*, *Macrinus*'s colleague in the command of the prætorian guards, who excused himself on account of his great ageⁿ. But, according to *Dion Cassius*, *Adventus* only bragged, that, in regard to his seniority, he had a better right to the empire than *Macrinus*, declaring at the same time, that he willingly yielded it to him^o. *Adventus* was an excellent commander; but altogether unqualified for a statesman, exceeding old, no less meanly born than *Macrinus*, and illiterate to such a degree, that he could not even read^p. However, *Macrinus* created him senator, appointed him governor of *Rome*, and the following year chose him for his colleague in the consulship.

His birth
and prefer-
ments.

As for the new emperor *Opilius*, or rather *Opelius*, *Macrinus*, he was a native of *Cæsarea* in *Mauritania*, now *Algier*, and of a very mean descent. We are told, that many things concerning his birth, his education, and first employments, were invented by his successor *Heliogabalus*, and by

^m Dio. l. lxxviii. p. 893—895.

ⁿ Herod. l. iv. p. 535.

^o Dio. p. 894.

^p Idem ibid.

an indifferent poem (95). We learn from his life, that, besides the two above-mentioned works, he composed several other admirable poems, as the anonymous author styles them (96). He tells us himself, that he described in verse the *Parthian* war, and the taking of *Ctesiphon*, no doubt by *Severus*. He is said to have retired with his father to *Anazarbus*, their native city, and to have died there of the plague in the flower of his age, being but thirty years old (97). The inhabitants of *Anazarbus*, his countrymen, erected a statue to him, with a pompous inscription.

(95) *Sozom. ibid.*

(96) *Oppian. vit.*

(97) *Ibid.*

his

his orders inserted, as true, in his life. Hence, without taking notice of what we read in *Julius Capitolinus*, who was strangely prejudiced against him, we shall chiefly follow *Dion Cassius*, who flourished under him, and seems quite free from all personal hatred and personal affection. According to that writer, he was a person of a most mild and humane temper, which gained him the affections both of the people and soldiery, and covered the meanness of his birth and first employments. He was pretty well versed in the laws, which induced *Plautianus* to commit to him the care of his estate; that is, to appoint him his steward. Afterwards *Severus* charged him with the care of the posts in *Italy*; but soon after banished him, for what transgression we know not, into *Africa*, where he supported himself with pleading causes of small consequence. He returned to *Rome* after the death of *Severus*, when *Caracalla* gave him an employment in the exchequer, in which he acquitted himself so well, that the same prince named him to succeed the celebrated *Papinian* in the command of the prætorian guards. His chief province in that office was to decide causes with the emperor, or in his name; which he did with great equity, when *Caracalla* himself was not present¹. He married one *Nonia Celsa*, a woman of a very indifferent character, and had by her a son, born on the nineteenth of *September* of the year 208, and commonly called by the *Latin* historians *Diadumenus*; but by *Dion Cassius*, by *Herodian*, and in most inscriptions, *Diadumenianus*². With the empire he took the names of *Severus* and *Aurelius*, which are still to be seen on several of his medals³: but on none appears that of *Antoninus*; whence we conclude *Capitolinus* to have been mistaken in giving him it. Before he left *Edessa*, he caused the body of *Caracalla* to be burnt with the usual solemnity, and sent his ashes, inclosed in an urn, to his mother *Julia* at *Antioch*, who not caring to outlive him, especially after *Macrinus* had ordered her to leave that city, on account of her bitter invectives against him, and her private intrigues, in order to seize the empire for herself, abstained from all food, and died starved. Her body was sent to *Rome*, and deposited in the tomb of *Gaius* and *Lucius Cæsar*, the grandsons of *Augustus*, and from thence conveyed afterwards by her sister *Mela* to the mausoleum of *Adrian*⁴. *Macrinus* was no sooner declared emperor, than he sent for his son *Diadumenus*, who was then at *Antioch*. The soldiers who at-

The death
of Julia.

¹ Idem, l. lxxviii. p. 892, 893.
p. 566. GOLTZ. p. 100.
899

² Idem, p. 888. HERON.
GOLTZ. p. 95.

³ DIO. p.

Diadume-
nus de-
clared
Cæsar.

The hatred
of the se-
nate to Ca-
racalla.

Macrinus
is know-
ledged em-
peror by
the senate.

tended him, and were intirely addicted to *Macrinus*, gave him, pursuant to their private instructions, as it were of their own motion, the title of *Cæsar*; which, upon his arrival at *Edeffa*, was confirmed to him by the whole army, his father giving on that occasion another bounty to the soldiery. The new prince did not fail to acquaint the senate immediately with the death of *Caracalla*, and his accession to the empire, by a letter, in which he spoke with great reserve of the deceased emperor, neither commending nor discommending him: he only said, that since the doom which he seemed to have deserved had at length overtaken him, and the army had chosen him to command in his room, he would acknowledge himself indebted to the senate alone for the empire, if they thought fit to confirm that choice. Though the senate had heard before the news of the death of *Caracalla*, yet apprehending it to be only a false report, they had carefully concealed their sentiments; but being now assured of the truth by *Macrinus's* letters, they loaded him with dreadful curses; ordered all his gold and silver statues to be melted down, his name to be erased out of all inscriptions; annulled his acts, and declared his memory infamous, styling him no longer *Antoninus*, but *Bassianus*, *Caracalla*, and *Tarantus*, which was the name of a little, deformed, and cruel, gladiator^u. They were so transported with joy in seeing themselves delivered from the tyranny of *Caracalla*, that, overlooking the meanness of *Macrinus's* birth, they declared him emperor without the least hesitation, heaping upon him all the honours, which they had ever conferred upon any prince. His family was ranked among the patrician families, his son proclaimed *Cæsar*, and his wife, *Nonia Celsa*, honoured with the title of *Augusta*. In their answer to his letter they earnestly intreated him to punish, according to their deserts, the ministers of the late tyrant, and utterly to extirpate the whole tribe of informers. *Macrinus* complied in some degree with their request; for he suffered them to condemn, not to death, but to banishment, three senators, and many others of an inferior rank, and ordered all the slaves and freedmen, who had informed against their masters or patrons, to be crucified. The new emperor in the mean time leaving *Edeffa*, led his army to *Antioch*, and there, in the presence of all his troops, gave his son the name of *Antoninus*, a name highly revered, and in a manner, adored by the soldiery^w. On this occasion the whole army demanded with loud cries the deification of *Caracalla*; a

^u Idem, p. 892. ^w Idem p. 896. HEROD. l. iv. p. 561.

demand

demand which greatly surprised *Macrinus*, who nevertheless *Caracalla* was in the end forced to comply with it, and command the *deified* senate to rank among the gods one, whom he himself had caused to be murdered, and who was deservedly looked upon by all, except the soldiery, as a professed foe to human race, a monster gorged with blood, a parricide, and the most inhuman tyrant that could ever wear and disgrace a diadem. The senate, pursuant to the emperor's orders, immediately decreed him divine honours, a temple, altars, priests, sacrifices, and all the apparatus of divinity. The new emperor was even obliged to cause one *Aurelianus* to be condemned and executed, for having privately removed some of the deceased emperor's statues²; so great was the authority which the army had, by degrees, usurped both over the senate and prince.

WHILE these things passed at *Antioch* and *Rome*, *Artabanes*, king of the *Parthians*, having assembled a powerful *Parthian war* army, advanced at the head of it with a design, to invade the *Roman* territories, and retaliate the injuries he had received. *Macrinus*, prompted partly by his natural timidity (for he was not a man of courage), and partly by motives of justice and equity, endeavoured to appease him, by sending back all the prisoners taken by *Caracalla*, and with them ambassadors to propose a peace, on terms equally honourable to both nations; but *Artabanes* declaring, that he would hearken to no proposals, unless the *Romans* engaged, by way of preliminary, to rebuild all the cities they had destroyed, to give up *Mesopotamia*, and to pay an immense sum, to be employed in repairing the tombs of the *Parthian* monarchs over-turned by *Caracalla*, and making good the losses his subjects had sustained by the late unjust invasion, *Macrinus*, ashamed to comply with such high demands, took the field, and met the enemy in the neighbourhood of *Nisibis*¹. *Herodian* tells us, that the battle which ensued lasted two whole days, night alone putting an end to the contest, and both parties challenging the victory. He adds, that the third day, the two armies, not being able to approach each other on account of the dead bodies, which formed a kind of wall between them, retired to their respective camps². But *Dion Cassius* writes, that the *Romans*, inured under *Caracalla* to an idle and effeminate life, were overcome in two engagements; insomuch, that *Macrinus*, not daring to venture a *third*, sent ambassadors with rich presents for *Artabanes*, and

¹ Dio. l. lxxviii. p. 892. Vit. Macr. p. 95. ² Vit. Macr. p. 96. Dio. ibid. p. 890. ³ Herod. l. iv. p. 557.

Macrinus all the grandees of his court, and by that means obtained a peace, which cost him, according to our historian, fifty millions of drachmas^a. However, the senate decreed him the surname of *Parthicus*, which he accepted as appears from some of his medals^b; but declined the triumph which was decreed him at the same time^c. As for the *Armenians* whom *Caracalla* had likewise provoked, *Macrinus* appeased them, by restoring their king *Tiridates* to the throne, and to him those lands which they had formerly possessed in *Capadocia*^d. *Capitolinus* speaks of a war with the people of *Arabia*, in which *Macrinus* signalized his courage, and was attended with great success^e; but of this war no mention is made by any other historian. *Macrinus*, having thus concluded a peace both with the *Parthians* and *Armenians*, returned to *Antioch*; and there by means of many excellent laws, endeavoured, as much as in him lay, to reform the abuses which had prevailed in the reign of his predecessor. He declared all the rescripts and decisions of the emperors void and null, unless they were found agreeable to the antient and known laws of *Rome*, saying, It was a shameful thing, that the caprices of a *Commodus* or a *Caracalla* should be held for laws. He punished crimes with great severity. When any persons, of what rank soever, were convicted of adultery, he caused the delinquents to be tied together, and, thus tied, to be burnt alive. He obliged fugitive slaves to fight like gladiators: sometimes he ordered criminals to be shut up and starved to death. He punished with death such informers as could not make good their accusations; when they did, they had the usual reward, that is, the fourth part of the criminal's estate; whence they were called *Quadruplatores*; but at the same time *Macrinus* declared them infamous. He revived according to *Capitolinus*, who betrays a strange prejudice against him, the punishment of *Mezentius*, who is said to have tied the living to the dead, that they might both putrify together. Hence the people, commending once in the circus the mild temper of his son *Diadumenus*, publicly repeated the verse of *Virgil* in commendation of *Lausus* the son of *Mezentius*; *Dignus cui pater haud Mezentius esset, It was a pity he had a Mezentius for his father*^f. He took from the inhabitants of *Pergamus* all the privileges which had been lately granted them by *Caracalla*, and appointed *Dion Cassius* the historian governor of that city and

Macrinus's severity against criminals.

^a Dio. ibid. p. 866.

^b Noris. de Dio p. 19.

^c Dio.

ibid. p. 900.

^d Idem, p. 887.

^e Vit. Macr. p. 95.

^f Vit. Macr. p. 96.

of *Smyrna* ^g. A conspiracy being discovered against him, he *An instance* punished some of the authors of it ; but pardoned *Arbrianus*, of his *cle-* *Thufcus*, and *Gellius*, of whom the former is styled duke of *mercy*. *Armenia*, and the two latter lieutenants of *Asia* and *Arabia* ; nay, he continued them in their employments, hoping to gain them by that means. We are told by *Capitolinus*, that *Diadumenus* wrote on this occasion to his father, and likewise to the empress his mother, complaining of the indulgence which the emperor had shewn them, and begging that they might be executed without mercy ^h (P). But we can hardly persuade ourselves, that *Diadumenus*, then only nine or ten years old, was capable of writing such letters.

WE have hitherto seen nothing in *Macrinus* blame-worthy : however, he was not without his faults ; for, in the *Raises only* first place, as he himself was of a mean descent, he deprived *persons of a* of their employments those who were nobly born, and raised *mean de-* to the highest posts persons of his own condition, though, *scant, and* generally speaking, void of all merit. Thus he appointed *no merit*. *Adventus*, of whom we have spoken before, governor of

^g Dio. p. 897.

^h Diad. vit. p. 100.

(P) The letter which he is said to have written to his father, was conceived in the following terms. “ I cannot be silent on the
“ present occasion, without being wanting to my duty. You were
“ surely quite unmindful of your own safety, when you spared
“ the authors of the late rebellion. Men whose minds are once
“ exulcerated, will never be reclaimed by mercy ; and friends,
“ when they once begin to hate, are of all enemies the most cruel.
“ the most implacable ; besides, they are still in a condition to do
“ mischief, they have still troops under their command :

*Si te nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum,
Ascanium surgentem, & spes hæredis Juli
Respice, cui regnum Italiæ Romanæque tellus
Debetur*—————

“ You must put them to death, if you desire to live in safety. Your
“ sparing them will encourage others (such is the perverseness of
“ mankind !) to follow their example.” In his letter to his mother
he expressed himself thus. “ The emperor my father by sparing
“ his enemies, shews that he neither loves you nor himself : there-
“ fore exert yourself on this occasion, and take care they be exe-
“ cuted ; for tho’ my father spares them, they will not, when
“ occasion offers, spare us (98).

(98) Vit. Diad. p. 100.

Rome, and prince of the senate, even before he was a senator, though altogether unequal to that high post, being incapable of speaking in public, and so illiterate, that he could not so much as read. He recalled from the government of *Pannonia* and *Dacia*, *Sabinus* and *Castinus*, men of merit and distinction; and sent *Marcus Agrippa*, a manumitted slave, formerly banished by *Severus* for treasonable practices, to succeed the former; and substituted *Decius Tricianus*, a man of no rank, in the room of the latter. In the soldiers he punished the least transgression or neglect of duty with such severity, that, instead of *Macrinus*, he was called by them *Macellinus*, from the word *macellum*, signifying *shambles*. In the reign of *Caracalla*, they had been quartered in the cities, where they indulged themselves with impunity in all manner of licentiousness; but *Macrinus* obliged them to live under tents in the fields, and would not suffer them to approach or enter any city, in order to inure them

He disoblige the soldiers by his excessive severity. to a regular and military life. This they could not endure, the more because the emperor himself wallowed in pleasures at *Antioch*, while they in the field often wanted necessaries. They therefore began to regret the loss of *Caracalla*, to hate the very name of *Macrinus*, and publicly to reproach him with the meanness of his birth and former life. At the same time, they were informed, that he had been the chief author of the murder of *Caracalla*; which incensed them against him to such a degree, that they only wanted a favourable opportunity to revolt from *Macrinus*, and appoint another emperor in his room; which they did accordingly the following year, when *Macrinus* and *Adventus* were consuls. This revolution was brought about by the contrivance and artifices of *Mesa*, sister to the late empress *Julia*, a woman of great craft, dexterity, experience, and even courage. She had lived at court with her sister during the reigns of *Severus* and *Caracalla*, and had acquired there great knowledge of affairs, and likewise immense wealth; which *Macrinus* suffered her to enjoy after the murder of *Caracalla*, but ordered her to quit the court, and retire to *Emesa* in *Phœnicia*, her native city. She had two daughters, viz. *Julia Soæmis*, or *Soæmias*, and *Julia Mamaea*. Of these the latter had a son named *Alexianus*, and the former one called *Varius Avitus Bassianus*. When *Mesa* retired by *Macrinus*'s orders to *Emesa*, she took her two grandsons with her, *Avitus* being then thirteen years old, and *Alexianus* only nine, and caused them both to be consecrated to the sun, the chief deity of the inhabitants of *Emesa*, who had erected a stately temple to him, under the name of *Eleagabalus*.

Eleagabalus. *Bassianus*, the eldest of the two, was appointed pontiff of that deity, and thence called *Eleagabalus*, or, as he is commonly styled by historians, *Heliogabalus*¹; for his name has occasioned great disputes among the learned. As the temple of the sun was but at a small distance from *Macrinus*'s camp, the *Roman* soldiers, coming frequently to visit the deity of the place, were mightily taken with the comeliness of the young pontiff, who, in his person, was tall and genteel, well-shaped, and had something in his air and looks extremely gracious and pleasing. *Mæsa*, observing her grandson thus admired by the soldiery, resolved to improve the opportunity, giving out, that *Heliogabalus* was the son of *Caracalla*; that she possessed immense treasures, and would willingly enrich with them such as should espouse the cause of the deceased emperor's son. The soldiers, who were incamped in the neighbourhood of *Emesa*, believing *Heliogabalus* to be truly the son of *Caracalla*, and allured by the mighty promises of *Mæsa*, invited her with her grandson to their camp; and, upon their arrival, proclaimed *Heliogabalus* emperor, by the name of *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, and invested him with all the ensigns of sovereignty^k. *Macrinus*, who was then at *Antioch*, when informed of this revolt, instead of marching in person to quash it at once, as he might have easily done, contented himself with sending *Ulpus Julianus*, one of the captains of the guards, with some troops, against them. *Julianus* attacked their camp with great resolution, and might have made himself master of it the very first day, the soldiers under his command being mostly *Moors*, and consequently greatly attached to *Macrinus* their countryman; but *Julianus* checking their ardour, and putting off the assault to the next day, in hopes they would in the mean time submit of their own accord, the besieged raised new works during the night, sustained the assault the next morning with great resolution, and by shewing *Heliogabalus* on the ramparts, and with him the treasures they had received from *Mæsa*, induced the *Romans* who were with *Julianus*, and highly dissatisfied with *Macrinus*, to murder their own officers and join them. *Julianus* betook himself to flight, and lay for some time concealed; but being at length discovered, one of the soldiers struck off his head, and carried it to the emperor, wrapped up in a linen cloth, and sealed with *Julianus*'s own seal, pretending it to be the head of *Heliogabalus*; and made

Heliogabalus is by some proclaimed emperor. Julianus, sent against him is betrayed by his own men, and murdered.

¹ HEROD. l. v. p. 562. DIO. in excerpt. Val. p. 111. MARC. vit p. 96. ^k DIO. p. 902. HEROD. p. 564. Vit. Macr. p. 96.

Most of
the troops
revolt.

Macrinus
abandons
his men in
an engage-
ment, who
join Helio-
gabalus.

his escape while the emperor was unfolding it. *Macrinus*, perceiving whose head it was, and thence concluding, that he had been betrayed and defeated, hastened to the camp of the *Albanians*; that is, of the soldiers who had their fixed quarters at *Alba*, and were then incamped in the neighbourhood of *Apamea*; acquainted them in a very injudicious speech with the revolt of the troops near *Emesa*; declared *Heliogabalus*, his cousin *Alexianus*, both their mothers, and their grandmother *Mæsa*, public enemies; and proclaimed his son *Diadumenus Augustus*, and his partner in the empire, promising on that occasion to each soldier five thousand drachmas, and paying them of that sum one thousand on the spot. At the same time, he wrote to the senate, acquainting them with the revolt of the troops and the promotion of his son, and injoining them to promise to the people in his name one hundred and fifty drachmas a man. The senate, by whom *Macrinus* was greatly beloved, confirmed the title of *Augustus* to his son, and declared *Heliogabalus* a public enemy. From *Apamea* the emperor returned to *Antioch*, instead of marching without loss of time against the rebels at *Emesa*; which city was but at a small distance. He was scarce gone, when the *Albanians*, and the other troops incamped in that neighbourhood, declared for *Heliogabalus*, who thereupon marched strait to *Antioch*, to attack *Macrinus*, before he had time to assemble his other forces. The emperor, upon the news of his approach, marched out of *Antioch* at the head of the prætorian bands; and the two armies meeting on the confines of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, a bloody engagement ensued, in which the troops of *Heliogabalus*, after a long and vigorous resistance, began in the end to give ground; but were brought back to the charge by *Mæsa*, *Soæmis*, the mother of *Heliogabalus*, and by *Heliogabalus* himself, who signalized his valour on that occasion in a very eminent manner. The fight being thus renewed with more fury than ever, *Macrinus's* men would have gained the day, according to *Dion Cassius*, had they not been abandoned by their leader, who, as he was naturally timorous, betook himself to flight, when he saw the troops of *Heliogabalus* return to the charge. The prætorian guards kept their ground, even after his flight, till *Heliogabalus* assured them upon his oath, that they should not be discharged, but should enjoy under him all the privileges and exemptions which had been granted them by other emperors; then they declared for him, as the other troops had already done¹. *Macrinus* retired to *Antioch*, and there giving out that he had

¹ Dio. p. 889. HEROD. l. v. p. 565.

gained

gained a complete victory, ordered his son to shelter himself in the country of the *Parthians*; and, before the news of his defeat was publicly known, fled himself in disguise, taking with him letters for those who had care of the posts, as if he had been sent by the emperor upon some important affair that required dispatch. Thus he crossed undiscovered the provinces of *Cilicia*, *Cappadocia*, *Galatia*, and *Bithynia*. To avoid *Nicomedia*, he imbarqued at a port in the neighbourhood of that city, called *Eribolus*, with a design to go by sea to *Chalcedon*, and from thence to cross over to *Byzantium*; but being driven back by a contrary wind to *Chalcedon*, when he was upon the point of landing at *Byzantium*, he was there unfortunately taken ill, and discovered by those whom *Heliogabalus* had sent to pursue him. The soldiers, to whose custody he was committed, put him into a chariot, in order to carry him to *Heliogabalus*; but he having thrown himself out of it, when he was informed that his son too had been taken, and by the fall broken his shoulder-bone, the soldiers put an end to his pain and his life, by cutting off his head; which they carried to *Heliogabalus*; who ordered it to be exposed on the point of a spear to public view ^m. Such was the end of *Macrinus* in the fifty-fourth year of his age, after he had reigned four months wanting three days; for we reckon his reign ended on the day of his defeat, which was the seventh of *June* of the year 218. His son *Diadumenus* was publicly executed by the new emperor's orders, as a common malefactor, and his head carried about, with that of his father, on the point of a spear. We are told, that some of the soldiers, considering his youth (for he was but ten years old), were for saving him; but the letters, which he was supposed to have written against *Arianus* and his accomplices, being produced, they consented to his death. *Basilianus*, governor of *Egypt*, and *Marius Secundus*, governor of *Phœnicia* (for that province had at this time its peculiar governor), refused to acknowledge *Heliogabalus*, even after the death of *Macrinus*; which occasioned several seditions in those countries, in one of which great numbers of the people and soldiery were killed, and among the rest *Secundus* himself. *Basilianus* fled to *Italy*, and lay some time concealed in the neighbourhood of *Brun-dusium*; but was in the end betrayed by one of his old friends, to whom he had written for some relief, and by *Heliogabalus*'s orders executed at *Nicomedia*, where that prince passed the first winter after his accession to the empire ⁿ.

Both he
and his son
Diadume-
nus put to
death.

^m DIO. l. lxxviii. p. 889. HEROD. ibid. p. 566. MACR. vit. p. 96.

ⁿ DIO. p. 905. HELIOG. vit. p. 102.

Heliogabalus acknowledged emperor by the senate.
His character.

His wives.

Heliogabalus, immediately after the defeat and flight of *Macrinus*, entered *Antioch*, and from thence wrote to the senate, acquainting them with the defeat of *Macrinus*, and his accession to the empire, and promising to conform in every thing to the excellent institutions of *Augustus* and *M. Aurelius*, and to do nothing without the advice and approbation of the senate, whose authority should be ever sacred to him. However, as he styled himself *Augustus* the son of *Antoninus*, that is, of *Caracalla*, and the grandson of *Severus*, and likewise assumed the proconsular and tribunitial power, and the titles of *Happy* and *Pious*, before they had been conferred upon him by the senate, his letter occasioned a general consternation in the city; nevertheless they confirmed to him all the titles he had assumed; declared *Macrinus*, tho' by them greatly beloved, a public enemy, and honoured both *Mæsa* and *Soæmis* with the title of *Augustæ*. Thus was *Varius Avitus Bassianus*, commonly known in history by the name of *Heliogabalus*, raised to the empire. He was the most profligate, impious, inhuman, effeminate, and prodigal, tyrant that ever disgraced a diadem. His grandmother *Mæsa*, who was a woman of great parts and experience, quite ashamed of his scandalous and unaccountable conduct, strove to the utmost of her power to keep him within some bounds; but he, utterly despising her, only hearkened to the wicked counsels of his mother *Soæmis*, and of such as flattered him in his crimes. Hence he may be truly said to have exceeded *Nero* himself in cruelty, *Caligula* in prodigality, and the most abandoned princes, who reigned either before or after him, in all manner of lewdness and debauchery. He did not reign full four years, and in that short time married six wives. His first wife was *Julia Cornelia Paula*, a lady of an unblameable character, and sprung from two of the most illustrious families in *Rome*; but soon after divorced her, and stripped her of the title of *Augusta*, and all the other honours he had conferred upon her. He then married *Julia Aquilia Severa*, a vestal virgin, which was accounted by the *Romans* an enormous crime; but soon put her away to marry *Annia Faustina*, the granddaughter of the emperor *M. Aurelius*, though already married to *Pomponius Bassus*, whom he caused to be murdered. *Faustina*, and three others, whose names are unknown, were in a short time obliged to give room to *Aquilia Severa* the vestal, whom he admitted anew to his bed, saying, That he hoped, as she was a priestess and he a priest, to have by her an offspring worthy of the immortal gods.

gods^o. But his frequent marriages and divorces did not give so much offence as his scandalous lewdness and unheard-of debaucheries. He turned the imperial palace into a brothel, filling it with such numbers of prostitutes, for the conveniency, *His monstrous* he said, of his friends and favourites, that it seemed a city, *lewdness.* says *Herodian*, inhabited only by lewd women. With them, and his debauched companions, he passed the greatest part of his time, abandoning himself to the most scandalous and unnatural practices. He often assembled them in one of the halls of the palace, appeared among them in the apparel, and with the air of a prostitute; encouraged them in formal harangues to lay aside all modesty, shake off all restraints, and make it their whole study to find out new methods of satisfying their lustful appetites. In his speeches he addressed them with the title of *commilitones*, *fellow soldiers*; and truly they were the only soldiers worthy of such a general. After some time he drove many of the debauched women out of the palace, and took catamites in their room; for he was himself of that infamous tribe, having been publicly married first to *Aurelius Zoticus*, one of his officers, and afterwards to *Hierocles*, a slave. He was not ashamed to satisfy his most infamous and unnatural lusts in public, in the face of the sun and the whole *Roman* people, putting thereby out of countenance even the most profligate amongst his debauched companions. But to dwell on such abominable scenes of impurity is beneath the dignity of an historian, and only worthy of such a biographer as *Ælius Lampridius*, who seems to take particular delight in describing the unheard-of pollutions and abominations of this lewd monster. His prodigality was as boundless as his lust; for in the short time of his reign he is *His prodigality.* said to have reduced almost to beggary all the subjects of the empire, and to have left at his death the exchequer quite empty. He suffered nothing to appear at his table but what was brought from the most distant countries at an immense charge. His palace, his chambers, and his beds, were all furnished with cloth of gold. When he went abroad, all the way between his chamber and the place where his chariot waited for him was strewed with gold-dust; for he thought it beneath him to tread upon the ground like other men. All his tables, chests, chairs, and such vessels as were destined for the meanest uses, were of pure gold. Though his cloaths were exceeding costly, and beset with jewels and precious stones, yet he is said never to have worn one twice, nor ever to have put on again a ring which he had once

^o Dio. l. lxxix. p. 911. HEROD. p. 568.

used. He was constantly served in gold plate; but every night after supper distributed among his guests and attendants what had been made use of that day. He often distributed among the people and soldiery, not corn only and money, as other emperors had done, but gold and silver plate, jewels, precious stones, and tickets intitling them to immense sums, which were immediately paid. He caused his fish-ponds to be filled with water distilled from roses, and the *naumachia*, where sea-fights were exhibited, with wine. His rooms, tables, couches, and galleries where he walked, were daily strewed with roses, lillies, and all sorts of flowers. His banquets and entertainments were expensive almost beyond belief, his favourite dishes being tongues of peacocks and nightingales, and the brains of parrots and pheasants. He fed his dogs with the livers of geese, his horses with raisins, and his lions and other wild beasts with partridges and pheasants. In short, the whole wealth of the Roman empire was scarce sufficient, says *Herodian*, to supply the extravagance of one man^p. As for his unheard-of follies, we refer our readers to *Lamprius*, who relates them at length, not thinking them worthy of a place in our history.

Causes several persons of distinction to be murdered.

To give some account of this strange reign, according to the order of time; *Heliogabalus*, before he left *Syria*, commanded several persons, both in the east and at *Rome*, to be put to death; and among the rest, *Julianus Nestor*, captain of the guards under *Macrinus*; *Fabius Agrippinus*, governor of *Syria*; *Reanus*, governor of *Arabia*; *Claudius Attalus*, who had governed *Thrace* in the year 194, and was then governor of *Cyprus*; and *Decius Triccius*, who commanded in *Pannonia*^q. From *Syria*, the new emperor marched to *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*, where he passed the winter, and gave many fresh instances of his cruel and inhuman temper, causing, besides many others, one *Gannys* to be murdered, for advising him in a friendly manner to abandon his former vices, and behave like a Roman emperor. *Gannys* was one of *Mæsa*'s domestics, but favoured to such a degree by *Heliogabalus*, on account of his fidelity, and the zeal he had shewn in his cause, that he designed to marry his mother to him, and declare him *Cæsar*. However, his finding fault with his vices provoked him to such a degree, that he ordered him to be put to death upon the spot, and gave him with his own hand the first blow^r. In the beginning of the following year, *Helio-*

^p HEROD. p. 569. Vit. Heliog. p. 102. ^q DIO. l. lxxix. p. 894. Idem, in excerpt. Val. p. 761, 762.

gabalus entered upon his first consulship, having for his colleague one *Sacerdos*, of whom we find no farther mention in history. Early in the spring, the new emperor set out for *Rome*; where he was received both by the people and senate, with great demonstrations of joy, though no one doubted but he would prove a second *Nero* or *Caligula*. The next day he went to the senate; and taking with him his grandmother, placed her next to the consuls, ordered her name to be set down among those of the other senators, and appointed that she should vote as the rest, and be consulted in all matters of importance. For his mother *Soæmis* he instituted a senate, consisting only of women, and declared her their head or president. The subject of their consultations, debates, and decrees, were the dress and apparel of the *Roman* matrons, their ranks and dignities, their visits, ceremonies, and other important matters of the like nature^f. The emperor himself was not employed in affairs of greater moment, being wholly taken up in establishing at *Rome* the worship of his god *Helio-gabalus*, or, as he is styled on the medals of this prince, *Eleagabalus*. He erected a magnificent temple to him, worshipped him with ceremonies never before practised at *Rome*, preferred him to *Jupiter* himself, and to all the other gods of the *Romans*, who, he said, were but the servants of his god; and declared, that he would suffer no other god to be adored, at *Rome* or elsewhere, but *Eleagabalus*. In order to this, he profaned all other temples, stripped them of their ornaments, and attempted to convey into the temple of his own god the perpetual fire of *Vesta*, the statue of *Cybele*, the bucklers of *Mars*, the palladium brought from *Troy*, as was supposed by *Æneas*, and whatever else was looked upon by the *Romans* as most sacred. From *Carthage* he ordered the goddess *Cælestis* to be brought to *Rome*, and with her all the rich ornaments belonging to her temple; married her to *Eleagabalus*, and caused the nuptials of the two deities to be celebrated with great pomp and solemnity^g. *Dion Cassius* tells us, that, in honour of his god, he abstained from hogs-flesh, and caused himself to be circumcised^h; and *Herodian*, that he erected another magnificent temple for him in the country, whither he conveyed him every year in the beginning of the summer. The same author adds, that besides many other victims, he sacrificed children to him, mostly sprung from illustrious families, and privately snatched up by the ministers of his cru-

He ranks
his grand-
mother a-
mong the
senators,
and insti-
tutes a se-
nate of
women.

Establishes
the wor-
ship of the
god Elea-
gabalus.

^f *Heliog. vit.* p. 102, 105, 106. ^g *Heliog. vit.* p. 102, 103.
HEROD. l. v. p. 568. *DIO.* l. lxxix. p. 912. ^h *DIO.* in excerpt.
Val. p. 762.

elty, dispersed all over *Italy* for that purpose ^w. *Dion Cassius* observes, that he caused several illustrious persons to be inhumanly murdered this year; and among the rest, *Seius Carus*, *Valerianus Patus*, *Silius Messala*, and *Pomponius Bassus*, all senators of great distinction, for no other crime, but because he believed they disliked his conduct ^x.

THE following year, *Heliogabalus* entered upon his second consulship, having for his colleague *Eutybianus*, an imperial freedman, and a celebrated buffoon; whence he was surnamed *Cemazon*, which, in the *Greek* tongue, signifies *waggish*, or *gay*. He had greatly contributed to the rise of *Heliogabalus*; for at his instigation the troops near *Emesa* had declared for him: on which account the new emperor immediately declared him captain of the guards, and conferred upon him the consular ornaments. This year he honoured him with the consular dignity; and when his consulship expired, appointed him governor of *Rome* ^y. The next year, when *Gratus Sabinianus* and *Seleucus* were consuls, *Mæsa*, foreseeing that the *Romans* could not long bear with such a prince as *Heliogabalus*, prevailed upon him to adopt his cousin *Alexianus*, and declare him *Cæsar*, though at that time only twelve, or, at most, thirteen, years old. The ceremony was performed with extraordinary pomp; and the young prince on that occasion took the names of *Alexander* and *Severus*, the former from the king of *Macedon*, and the latter from the emperor, his supposed grandfather ^z. *Heliogabalus* treated him at first in a very friendly and obliging manner, hoping to draw him over to his lewd courses; but finding that the excellent youth could not by any means be induced to follow his example, and that he was more beloved both by the people and soldiery than himself, he began to repent his having adopted him, and gave private orders to those who were trusted with the care of his education, to dispatch him. But all their attempts being rendered abortive, by the care and circumspection of *Mamaea*, mother to the young prince, and of his grandmother *Mæsa*, who betrayed all the emperor's secrets, *Heliogabalus*, transported with rage, ordered the senate to degrade *Alexianus* from the dignity of *Cæsar*, and annul the late adoption. At the same time he dispatched assassins to murder him; and retiring to an old palace on mount *Esquelin*, waited there till news was brought him of his death. But, in the mean time, the prætorian guards, apprised of the danger that threatened the

Alexianus
adopted
and creat-
ed Cæsar.

*Helioga-
balus re-
pents his
adopting
him, and
attempts to
destroy
him.*

^w HEROD. lib. i. *Heliog.* vit. p. 103.

^x DIO. p. 908, 909.

^y DIO. p. 888.

^z HEROD. l. v. p. 570. DIO. l. lxxix. p. 914.

young



young prince, flew to the palace, and would have put the emperor himself to death, had he not softened them with mighty promises, abandoned to them all his debauched companions, and such as were deemed enemies to *Alexander*; and solemnly declared, that he designed for the future to lead a quite different life, and to redress all the grievances, of which, he said, they had but too much reason to complain^a. The next year he took upon him his third consulship; and pretending to be reconciled to *Alexander*, chose him for his colleague; but being determined at all events, notwithstanding his late protestations, to rid himself of so troublesome a rival, in the first place he ordered all the senators to quit the city, lest they should thwart his designs; and then causing *Alexander* to be shut up in the palace, gave out, that he was all on a sudden taken ill, and almost past recovery. This report he spread abroad on purpose to discover the disposition of the soldiery, who no sooner heard it, than they flew to arms, and demanded to see *Alexander*. The young prince was accordingly brought forth to them, and by the emperor himself conducted to the camp, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy, while no one took the least notice of *Heliogabalus*; which provoked the tyrant to such a degree, that he ordered those, who had applauded *Alexander*, to be punished as traitors. But the rest, rescuing them out of the hands of the executioners, began to croud about the emperor, uttering dreadful menaces; which so terrified him, that he attempted to save himself by flight, those who had attended him to the camp endeavouring to disperse the multitude. Hereupon a quarrel ensued between the partizans of the two princes, in which those who favoured *Heliogabalus* were soon defeated and cut in pieces, with *Hierocles*, that prince's chief favourite, the captains of the guards, and all the ministers who attended him. The emperor himself withdrew, during the contest, into the most filthy place of the camp, and consequently the most worthy of him; where he was soon discovered, and murdered by the enraged soldiery, together with his mother *Soæmis*, who had retired thither with him, and held him the whole time in her arms. Both their heads were struck off; and after their bodies had been ignominiously dragged through the city, and most outrageously insulted by the populace, that of *Heliogabalus* was, with a great weight fastened to it, thrown from the *Æmilian* bridge into the *Tiber* ^b. Such was the deserved end of *Heliogabalus*.

The soldiers mutiny.

Heliogabalus and his mother Soæmis murdered.

^a DIO. p. 915. HEROD. ibid. *Heliogab. vit.* p. 106. ^b HEROD. p. 573. *Heliog. vit.* p. 106.

gabalus, the most wicked and most debauched of all the *Roman* emperors, in the eighteenth year of his age, after he had reigned three years, nine months, and four days, from the seventh of *June*, of the year 218, on which day he defeated *Macrinus*, to the eleventh of *March* of the year 222, when he met with his deserved doom. The senate caused the name of *Antoninus*, which he had assumed and disgraced with his lewd life, to be erased out of the public registers and all inscriptions; and passed a decree, excluding for ever women from the senate, and loading with curses such as should for the future attempt to transgress it ^c.

Alexander
declared
emperor.

UPON the death of *Heliogabalus*, his cousin *Alexander*, then in the fourteenth year of his age, was proclaimed emperor by the soldiery, and conducted from the camp to the senate; where he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy, and honoured with the titles of *Augustus*, of *father of his country*, and all the other marks of distinction peculiar to the imperial dignity. At the same time they offered him the name of *Antoninus*, and the surname of *Great*; but he modestly declined them both. He was the son of *Julia Mamaea*, or *Mammaea*, of whom we have spoken above, and of *Genesius Marcianus* a Syrian. He was a native of the city of *Arca* in *Phœnicia*, and born there, according to *Lampridius* ^d, in a temple consecrated to *Alexander the Great*; whence, upon his being adopted by *Heliogabalus*, he took the name of *Alexander*. His former name was *Bassianus*, according to *Dion Cassius*; but according to *Herodian*, *Alexianus*, his grandfather's name. His father dying when he was very

His birth
and educa-
tion.

His mother
Julia Ma-
maea.

young, his mother brought him up with great care; for *Julia Mamaea* is thought by many writers of great note to have been instructed in the truths of the gospel, and to have embraced the christian religion ^e: at least, *Eusebius* styles her a very pious and religious woman ^f; epithets which we can hardly persuade ourselves a christian bishop would have bestowed upon a pagan. While she was at *Antioch*, in the year 218, hearing *Origen* greatly commended on account of his knowledge in religious matters, she shewed a great desire to see him, sent for him from *Alexandria*, received him with great joy, and kept him some time with her ^g. It is not improbable, that she was by him convinced of the truth, and embraced it. Be that as it will, she brought up her son with extraordinary care, employing only such persons to instruct

^c *Heliog. vit.* p. 107. ^d *Vit. Alex.* p. 114. ^e Vide *Oros.* l. vii. c. 18. *CEDREN.* t. i. p. 256. *ABULFAR.* p. 80. *VINC. LERIN.* c. 23. ^f *EUSEB.* l. vi. c. 21. ^g *Idem* *ibid.* him

him as were equally renowned for their probity and learning and allowing no one, to come near him, whom she suspected capable of corrupting his morals. He applied himself from his infancy to the study of the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues, and was as well versed in the former as any man of his age; but his improvement in the latter was not so great, as appeared from his speeches to the senate, to the soldiery, and to the people^h: neither did he admire the *Latin* eloquence so much as the *Greek*. He was well skilled in all the other branches of polite learning, and, besides, in the arts of painting, singing, playing upon instruments, &c. From his infancy he gave innumerable instances of a most mild, humane, and generous temper; shewed an utter aversion to bloodshed and all manner of cruelty; and made it his chief study to please and oblige, not only his parents and relations, but even his domestics. As he paid an intire deference to his mother *Mamæa* and grandmother *Mæsa*, both women of great experience and extraordinary parts, at their motion, he chose, as soon as he was raised to the empire, sixteen senators for his council, all men of known probity, and long versed in public affairs, transacting nothing without their advice, and constantly conforming to it. Among these were, *Fabius Sabinus*, generally styled the *Cato* of his time; *Domitius Ulpianus* and *Julius Paulus*, two celebrated civilians; *Antoninus Gordianus*, afterwards emperor; *Catilius Severus*, *Alexander's* kinsman, and one of the most learned persons of his age; *Ælius Serenianus*, a man of extraordinary integrity; and *Quintilius Marcellus*, a great admirer of the customs and manners of the ancient *Romans*ⁱ. The deference he paid to his mother was so great, that *Herodian* reckons it among his faults; for though he was himself a man of extraordinary talents; of such discernment and penetration, says *Lampridius*, that no one ever deceived him, yet he constantly preferred her opinion to his own^k. He gave her name to several buildings, which they still retained in the end of the fourth century^l; and caused her to be honoured with the titles of *Augusta*, or *mother of her country*, *of the armies*, and *of the senate*, which had been formerly conferred on *Julia*, the wife of *Severus*^m. As *Mamæa* professed, in *Alexander* all likelihood, the christian religion, no wonder that *Alexander* shewed great favour to the christians, and would not suffer them to be any-ways molested on account of their religion. *Eusebius* tells us, that his court was filled

^h Alex. Vit. p. 115.
vi. p. 575.

ⁱ Alex. vit. p. 241.

^l AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 372.

^k HEROD. l.

^m SPON. p. 194.

with

Discharges
the minis-
ters of the
late empe-
ror.

The Persi-
an empire
re estab-
lished.

with christiansⁿ; and *Lampridius*, that in his private oratory he worshipped *Christ* and *Abraham*, and would have caused temples to be erected to the founder of the christian religion, had he not been diverted from it by the answers of the oracles, assuring him, that if he ever suffered *Christ* to be ranked among the gods, all the other temples would be soon abandoned and the gods neglected^o. He seems to have been well acquainted with the morals of the christian religion; for he had constantly in his mouth that golden rule, *Do as you would be done by*; caused it to be set up over the gates of his palace, and on several public edifices, and observed it himself, if the writers of his life may be credited, with the greatest exactness^p. For he made it his chief study to oblige all men, and is said never to have wronged any. During the first year of his reign, he was wholly taken up in reforming the many enormous abuses, which had prevailed in the court under his predecessor. With this view he banished all the freedmen, slaves, eunuchs, players, and buffoons, who had borne any sway in the late reign; and chose in their rooms persons of blameless characters, and known integrity. Having by this means reformed the court, he made a strict inquiry into the manners and conduct of the public officers, especially of the governors of provinces, and discharged most of those who had been employed by *Heliogabalus*. Such of them, as had oppressed the people committed to their care, were banished; and the rest reduced to their former condition, as persons altogether unfit for any public office^q. The next year, when *L. Marius Maximus* and *L. Roscius Ælianus* were consuls, the emperor's nuptials were celebrated with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. He married *Sulpicia Memmia*, the daughter of *Sulpicius* a consular, and granddaughter of *Catulus*. As the whole empire enjoyed at this time a profound peace, nothing remarkable happened either at *Rome*, or in the provinces, in the two following years; in the first of which *Julianus* and *Crispinus* were consuls, and in the second *Fuscus* and *Dexter*. But the fourth year of *Alexander's* reign, and during his second consulship, in which he had *Quintilius Marcellus* for his colleague, *Artaxerxes* having utterly ruined the *Parthian*, and re-established the *Persian*, empire, of which great revolution we have spoken elsewhere, advanced at the head of a mighty army against the *Romans*, with a design to recover *Mesopotamia* and the other provinces, which had formerly belonged to the *Persian* em-

ⁿ EUSEB. l. vi. c. 28.
p. 132.

^q Idem ibid.

^o Alex. vit. p. 124, 139.

^p Idem

pire.

pire. His approach occasioned great consternation in Syria; and many of the Romans quartered in Mesopotamia, abandoning the castles which they garisoned, lifted in his army; so that he might with great ease have over-run, not only Mesopotamia, but likewise Syria, had he not attacked on his march the city of Atræ, before which place he lost such numbers of his men, without being able to reduce it, that, dropping for the present his expedition against the Romans, he thought it adviseable to march back into his own country, after having ravaged great part of Media, and made some unsuccessful attempts upon Armenia^r. The next consuls were Albinus and Maximus; during whose administration nothing happened which authors have thought worth transmitting to posterity: but the following consulship of Modestus and Probus was remarkable for the death of the celebrated civilian Domitius Ulpianus, who being appointed by Alexander captain of the prætorian guards, and endeavouring to establish among them the ancient discipline, provoked their hatred to such a degree, that, after having in vain solicited Alexander to remove him, they at length murdered him in the emperor's presence. The chief authors of his death were punished with the utmost severity, and the most factious among the guards ignominiously discharged. In the room of Ulpian, the emperor chose one Decimus, and Julius Paulus, a native of Padua, who had been banished by Heliogabalus, on account of his great probity, and was perhaps as well skilled in the laws as Ulpian^s. This year several tumults happened at Rome and in the provinces. The troops, quartered in Mesopotamia revolted, murdered their general Flavius Heracleo, and went in great numbers over to the Persians^t. The troops in Syria proclaimed one Taurinus emperor, who, as they had conferred that honour upon him against his will, made his escape; and being pursued by the mutinous soldiery, threw himself into the Euphrates, and was drowned^u. Zosimus and Syncellus speak of one Uanus, who, having usurped the empire at Edessa in Osrhoene, was defeated by the troops that remained faithful to Alexander. At Rome the prætorian guards attempted to raise one Antoninus to the empire; but he, declining that burden, withdrew into the country, and never afterwards appeared in the city^w. But Ovinius Camillus, a senator, sprung from one of the most illustrious families in Rome, studying to gain the affections of the soldiery, in order to raise

The death
of Ulpian.

The soldiers
mutiny
in several
provinces.

^r Dio. l. lxxx. p. 918. & in excerpt. Val. p. 769. HEROD. l. vi. p. 176. ^s Vit. Alex. p. 122. ^t Dio. l. lxxx. p. 917, 918. ^u Idem ibid. ^w SYNCELL. p. 357. Zos. p. 639.

Ovinus
Camil-
lus aspir-
ing at the
empire,
how treat-
ed by A-
lexander.

himself, by their means, to the empire, *Alexander* was no sooner informed of his private practices, than he sent for him to court, and thanked him for offering to take upon him so great a burden, styled him his colleague, took him with him to the senate, allotted him an apartment in the palace, caused him to be attired in a far more pompous habit than his own, and treated him in every respect as his partner in the empire. As a war broke out at this time, which required the emperor's presence, *Alexander* offered the command of the army to *Camillus*; but he declining it, the emperor desired he would at least share with him the fatigues and the glory of that expedition. Accordingly they both set out from *Rome* on foot; but *Camillus*, who was not enured to a military life, being tired, after five miles march, *Alexander* begged he would pursue his journey on horseback; which he did for two days, when the emperor, perceiving he could no longer bear even that fatigue, ordered a chariot to be provided for him; which proved so great a mortification to *Camillus*, that he begged leave to resign the empire, and return home; which *Alexander* readily granted, assuring him before they parted, that he might live in safety where he pleased. *Camillus* retired to his country-seat, and there lived unmolested, during the reign of *Alexander*; but was put to death by some of his successors, for what crime we are no-where told*. The expedition which *Alexander* is said to have undertaken this year, was probably against the *Germans*; for it appears from some ancient inscriptions, that great advantages were gained over them this year, the seventh of the emperor's reign†; and *Lampridius* tells us, that the *Germans* were overcome by *Varius Macrinus*, governor of *Illyricum*‡. The same year, *Furius Celsus* signalized himself in *Mauritania Tingitana*, and *Junius Palmatus* in *Armenia*, and were both rewarded with the consular ornaments‡.

THE following year, *Alexander* entered upon his third consulship, having *Dion Cassius*, the second time consul, for his colleague. *Dion* was in the beginning of this reign in *Asia*; whence he passed into *Bithynia*, his native country, with a design to stay some time there with his friends and relations; but he was soon sent into *Africa*, to govern that province, with the character of proconsul. Upon his return to *Rome*, he was appointed governor of *Illyricum*, and from thence removed into *Upper Pannonia*, where he revived the ancient military dis-

* Vit. Alex. p. 130, 131. Not. Casaub. p. 172. & SALMAS. p. 230. † BIRAG. p. 323. ‡ Vit. Alex. p. 134. § I-dem ibid.

cipline among the troops, punishing the least neglect of duty with the utmost severity; insomuch, that the prætorian guards, who dreaded his rigour, upon a report, that he was recalled to command them, no sooner saw him appear in Rome, than they began to mutiny, and press the emperor to put him to death. But *Alexander*, without hearkening to their unjust demand, heaped many honours upon him, often appeared with him in public, and took him this year for his colleague in the consulship: however, fearing the soldiers might offer him some insult, if he appeared in Rome with the ensigns of the consular dignity, he advised him to retire from the city, and pass the time of his consulship in the country, which he did accordingly. Soon after he obtained leave to withdraw into his own country, where he spent the remaining part of his life in quiet and retirement ^b. It will not be foreign to our purpose to insert here the account which that writer gives us of the state of the Roman legions at this time, and of the provinces where they were quartered. There were in the time of *Augustus* twenty-five legions, of which only nineteen were now remaining, the other six having been either disbanded, or incorporated into some of those that still remained. On the other hand, *Nero*, *Galba*, *Vespasian*, *Domitian*, *Trajan*, *M. Aurelius*, and *Severus*, raised thirteen new ones; so that the legions at this time were in all thirty-two. Of these, three were quartered in *Britain*, one in *Upper*, and two in *Lower*, *Germany*, one in *Italy*, one in *Spain*, one in *Numidia*, one in *Arabia*, two in *Palestine*, one in *Phœnicia*, two in *Syria*, two in *Mesopotamia*, two in *Cappadocia*, two in *Lower*, and one in *Upper*, *Mæsia*, one in *Noricum*, and one in *Rhætia* ^c. Our author does not inform us where the two remaining legions were quartered, nor how many men each of them contained; but *Lampridius* seems to insinuate, that each legion consisted of five thousand men ^d. From this distribution of the legions it appears, that the Romans at this time looked upon the *Caledonians*, the *Parthians*, or rather *Persians*, and the nations beyond the *Danube*, as their most formidable enemies, and were not so apprehensive of any invasion on the side of *Germany*, as they had been in former times; for now there were but three legions in that country, whereas in the reigns of *Augustus* and *Tiberius*, the banks of the *Rhine* had been guarded by no fewer than eight legions, which were deemed the main strength of the empire ^e. This year *Alexander*, who did not spare his greatest friends, when manifestly convicted of abusing the

Dion Cassius bated by the soldiery on account of his severity.

The number of the Roman legions.

^b DIO. l. lxxx. p. 918.
vit. p. 131.

^c DIO. l. lv. p. 564.

^e TACIT. annal. iv. c. 5.

^d Alex.

Vetronius
Turinus
abuses the
confidence
placed in
him by the
emperor.

confidence he reposed in them, caused *Vetronius Turinus*, one of his chief favourites, to be put to death for a crime of that nature. The emperor had a particular esteem and kindness for *Turinus*, and often consulted him in private, as he was a man of extraordinary abilities, about affairs of the greatest importance. This honour and deference, which the emperor seemed to pay to him, the crafty courtier resolved to turn to his own advantage, and accordingly gave out, that *Alexander* transacted nothing without his advice; that he had gained an absolute sway over him; and that it was in his power to raise whom he pleased to the first employments in the empire. By this means he accumulated immense wealth in a short time, all who wanted any favour or preferment, recurring to *Turinus*, whose interest was not to be gained without rich presents. He often did not so much as mention to the emperor the persons whom he pretended to recommend; but nevertheless, when they happened to obtain, by means of others, what they demanded, he assumed the whole merit of it to himself, and exacted a proportionable acknowledgment, which in those days was called *selling smoke*. The emperor, who was a man of great penetration, began to suspect his favourite of such practices; and therefore a person, in whom he could confide, soliciting him one day for a favour, he told him he would grant him his request, provided he privately addressed *Turinus*, as if he wanted his recommendation. *Turinus*, glad of this opportunity, promised to employ all his interest in his behalf, and soon after told him, that he had already recommended him to the emperor, who, he was sure, would grant him the desired favour the very first time he had an opportunity of recommending him anew, which he hoped would be very soon. He added, that he deserved to be rewarded for his trouble; and the petitioner referring that to his discretion, he not only exacted a large sum for what he pretended to have done, but obliged him to promise, in the presence of witnesses, a far more considerable one, to be paid as soon as he obtained his request. The emperor, who was informed of the whole, immediately granted the favour; which *Turinus* no sooner knew, than he obliged his client, tho' he had never once mentioned his name to the emperor, to make good his word and pay the promised sum, pretending, that by his means alone he had obtained what he desired. Hereupon *Alexander* caused a diligent inquiry to be made into his former conduct, when it appeared, that he had received large sums, not only from those who had obtained any preferment, but from such too as had had law-suits, and often from both parties; which so provoked the emperor, that he accused him to the senate, who sentenced him

him to death ; and the sentence was put in execution in the following manner : The criminal was, by the emperor's orders, tied to a gibbet, and suffocated with the smoke of green wood and wet stubble, kindled round him, the public crier in the mean time proclaiming, *He who sold smoke, dies with smoke* ^{f.} The following year, *L. Virius Agricola* and *Sex. Catus Clementinus* being consuls, the emperor retired into *Campania*, and there spent this and the following year, when *Pompeianus* and *Pelignianus* were consuls ^{g.} The next consuls were *Lupus* and *Maximus* ; during whose administration, *Artaxerxes*, the restorer of the *Persian* monarchy, having reduced all the neighbouring countries, unexpectedly invaded the Roman dominions at the head of a mighty army, ravaged *Mesopotamia*, and advanced to the very confines of *Syria*. Hereupon *Alexander*, following the advice of his council, dispatched ambassadors with a letter to that conqueror, exhorting him not to engage the two empires in a long and dangerous war, without provocation, and putting him in mind of the victories gained over the eastern nations by *Augustus*, *Trajan*, *L. Verus*, and *Severus*. But *Artaxerxes*, puffed up with his late successes, despised the remonstrances of *Alexander*, and pursued his ravages in *Mesopotamia*, laid siege to *Nisibis*, and entering *Cappadocia*, destroyed all with fire and sword. Hereupon the emperor resolved to march against him in person ; and accordingly, to the great grief both of the senate and people, left *Rome* in the spring of this year 232, the eleventh of his reign ; and bending his march through *Illyricum*, where he was joined by the troops quartered in that province, arrived at *Antioch* about the beginning of the autumn ; whence he sent a second embassy to *Artaxerxes*, hoping that his presence would add some weight to the reasons he had formerly alledged. But the haughty *Persian*, deriding the peaceable temper of the *Roman* emperor, chose four hundred of the tallest men in his army, and sent them, well mounted and richly apparalled and armed, in quality of ambassadors, to acquaint the *Romans* and their emperor, that the great monarch *Artaxerxes* ordered them to retire forthwith from *Syria* and *Asia*, and all the countries between the *Euphrates* and the *Ægean* sea, which had formerly belonged to the *Persians*. *Alexander* heard their message with great temper, and then caused the ambassadors to be stript of their rich armour and apparel, and sent under a guard into *Phrygia*, where he allotted them houses and lands to culti-

How punished by the emperor.

Artaxerxes invades the Roman dominions.

Alexander hastens to Antioch.

Haughty embassy of the Persian monarch.

^f Alex. vit. p. 124, 125.
p. 146. BIRAG. p. 313.

^g NORIS. epist. consul.

Alexander vate ^b. After this, he began to prepare for war in good earnest, ordered the legions quartered in the different provinces of the east to join him with all possible expedition, caused a great number of warlike engines to be got ready, and dispatched officers into all parts to raise new levies. In imitation of *Alexander the Great*, whose name he bore, and for whom he had a particular veneration, he armed some companies of foot with shields covered with gold and silver, and formed six legions into a body of thirty thousand men, which he called his *phalanx*. These distinguished themselves, during the war, in a very eminent manner, and were, when it was ended, rewarded for their services with double pay ⁱ. *Lampridius* tells us, that the emperor being informed, soon after his arrival at *Antioch*, that some of his soldiers were gone to *Daphne*, and there bathed with the lewd women of that dissolute place, he immediately ordered them to be arrested and laid in irons. Hereupon the whole legion, to which they belonged, beginning to mutiny, *Alexander* went out to them, and, without betraying the least fear, told them, that as the ancient discipline was the main and only support of the empire, he was resolved to maintain it at all events, and punish with the utmost severity, nay, with death, those disorders and debaucheries which had been allowed in the late reign. At these words, the whole legion began to utter their rage in horrible cries; but *Alexander*, with an air of authority, *Silence*, said he, *I command silence; keep these clamours to terrify the Persians, the Sarmatians, and the Germans: you have learnt of those, who taught you the art of war, that you are to frighten the enemy with that savage noise, and not your emperor, who, at the expences of his people, maintains, cloaths, and pays, you. Forbear therefore these unseasonable clamours, which are only fit for battle, lest I disband you all, or inflict upon you a more severe punishment*. Hereupon the uproar increasing, and some of the boldest even menacing him with their swords; *Reserve your menaces*, said he, *for the enemy; them you may frighten, but not me, who despise your impotent rage: should you murder me, the republic will not be at a loss to find me a successor, who will punish you according to your deserts*. As the mutiny still continued, he cried out with a loud voice, *I disband you all; citizens, lay down your arms, and be gone*. With these words the whole legion was thunderstruck; they obeyed, quitted their arms, laid down even their military garments, and retired in silence, while the emperor's guards took up their standards, and carried them, together with the arms

*A legion
mutinies.*

The intrepidity of Alexander.

^b *HEROD.* l. vi. p. 579.

ⁱ *Alex. vit.* p. 131.

of the disbanded legion, to the camp. However, before the emperor set out against the *Persians*, he restored them, upon the intercession of several persons of distinction, to their former rank, after having punished with death their tribunes, for having suffered the soldiers under their command to transgress with impunity the military laws, and for neglecting to suppress the tumult ^k. This legion signalized themselves above the rest in the *Persian* war, and shewed more concern for the death of *Alexander* than any other ^l.

At length *Alexander* took the field at the head of a numerous army, observing in all his marches and motions such order and discipline, that his camp seemed a well governed city, his soldiers citizens, and his officers so many senators ^m. He punished with great severity such as offered the least injury to any of the inhabitants of the countries through which he marched. One of his soldiers having injured an old woman, he not only disbanded him, but obliged him to maintain her, as her slave, with his labour, so long as she lived. Others he punished for very small offences with death, causing the public crier to repeat during the execution, *Do as you would be done by*. It was death for any officer of what rank soever, to detain the least part of his soldiers pay or allowances. But notwithstanding his great severity, no emperor was ever more beloved both by the officers and soldiers, as no one ever rewarded them with more generosity, when they complied with their duty; took more care of them when sick or wounded; or supplied them on all occasions more plentifully with provisions. He kept constantly in his cabinet certain registers, in which were marked the names of all the officers and soldiers, the provinces where they were quartered, the time of their service, the dates of their commissions, the names of the persons at whose recommendation they had been preferred, their exploits, if they had performed any, their good and evil qualities, &c. These registers he frequently perused, and by that means became acquainted with most of the officers and soldiers of his different armies, often mentioned their names, and preferred only persons of merit ⁿ. When they were sick, he visited them in their tents, even the common soldiers, supplied them with chariots, and suffered them to want nothing that could any-ways relieve or comfort them in their sickness. If they were not in a condition to pursue their march, he recommended them to the care of persons of known integrity and good-nature, whom he rewarded with great generosity for their trouble, whether the soldiers

Marches against the Persians.

His care of the military discipline, and of the soldiery.

^k Vit. Alex. p. 133.

^l Idem, p. 136.

^m Idem, p. 130.

ⁿ Idem, p. 120, 121.

died or recovered^o. He was always ready to hearken to the complaints of the meanest in the army against their tribunes and other officers, punishing them, when guilty, according to the quality of their crime, without any favour or distinction^p. He frequently distributed large sums among them, ascribing chiefly to their poverty the disorders they committed. They were all so well clad and armed, says *Lampridius*, and the cavalry so well mounted, that nothing gave a more true idea of the grandeur of the *Roman* empire, than the army of *Alexander Severus*^q. In his marches he caused provisions to be got ready before-hand at the several places where the army was to encamp; whereas before his time each soldier used to carry with him subsistence for seventeen days. In the enemy's country where he could not use that precaution, he caused the necessary provisions to be carried on horses, mules, and camels; which gained him the affections of the soldiery, and at the same time rendered his marches so quick and expeditious, that he is said in most of his wars to have surprised the enemy^r. In his garb and dress he little varied from the common soldiers, and his diet was the same with theirs. He constantly dined and supped in public with his tent open, and in the sight of the whole army, and visited, before he withdrew to repose, each quarter in the camp. Thus, partly with a seasonable severity, partly with his affable and obliging behaviour, he re-established the antient discipline among the troops, which had been intirely neglected in the reign of *Heliogabalus*; and gained, by his firmness and intrepidity, such an authority over them, as to disband whole legions; which no emperor had offered to do since the time of *Julius Cæsar*^s. With an army thus disciplined, the emperor marched early in the spring of this year 233, against *Artaxerxes*, who, flushed with his former successes, would hearken to no terms, however reasonable; but advanced towards the frontiers of the *Roman* dominions at the head of an army consisting of an innumerable multitude of foot, and one hundred and thirty thousand horse, with eighteen hundred chariots armed with scythes, and seven hundred elephants bearing towers on their backs, filled with archers after the Persian manner^t. Of this war *Herodian* gives us the following account: *Alexander*, having divided his army into three bodies, ordered one to enter *Media*, another to march into the country of the *Parthians*, and led himself the third, against the *Parthians*.

^o Idem, p. 130. ^p Idem, p. 119, 121. ^q Idem, p. 132.
^r Idem, p. 134. ^s Idem, p. 117. ^t Idem, p. 133. *HERODIAN*. l. vi. p. 580.

which

which consisted of the flower of the army, at an equal distance from the other two. They were all to meet at an appointed place; but *Alexander*, either through want of courage, or yielding to the intreaties and tears of his mother, instead of pursuing his march and entering the enemy's country, halted in *Mesopotamia*; so that the body which had marched through the country of the *Parthians* were intirely cut off, while they waited the arrival of the emperor at the appointed place, and the other obliged to retire, and repass in the depth of winter the mountains of *Armenia*, in which painful march great numbers of them died either with cold or hunger. The body which *Alexander* commanded was greatly diminished by sickness, and the emperor himself was seized with a dangerous malady, which almost brought him to the point of death^a. Others write, that *Alexander* was betrayed by some of his own people, and obliged to save himself and his army by flight. But most historians assure us, that he gained a complete victory over the *Persians*; and *Lampridius* quotes the very words of *Alexander* to the senate on that occasion. According to him the emperor entered the enemy's country, without so much as acquainting before-hand his officers with the rout he intended to take. He was soon met by *Artaxerxes*, at the head of the most numerous army that had ever been seen in those parts; whereupon a battle ensuing, the emperor distinguished himself in a very eminent manner, encouraging the foldiers more by his example than by words; exposed himself to the enemies darts and arrows like a common soldier; visited, during the engagement, both the wings of his army; flew through the ranks; and, in short, discharged every duty of a valiant soldier and experienced commander^w. The numerous army of *Artaxerxes* was utterly routed, and that conqueror obliged, notwithstanding his former victories and conquests, to save himself by a shameful flight. The particulars of this engagement we may learn from *Alexander* himself, who, on his return to *Rome*, gave the senate an account of this memorable expedition in the following speech: "Conscript fathers, we have overcome
 " the *Persians*, and there is no need of great eloquence to *His speech*
 " acquaint you with the particulars of the victory. The *to the se-*
 " enemy came with seven hundred elephants, the greatest *enate.*
 " number ever seen together in the field. These carried
 " towers upon their backs, filled with archers and arrows.
 " Three hundred of the elephants we took, two hundred
 " we killed upon the spot, and eighteen we have brought

^a HEROD. *ibid.*^w Vit. Alex. p. 130, 131.

“ hither with us. They had eighteen hundred chariots arm-
 “ ed with scythes, of which we took two hundred. We
 “ have cut in pieces an army of one hundred and twenty
 “ thousand horse, and ten thousand men armed cap-a-pé,
 “ with whose spoils we have enriched our troops. We took
 “ a great number of prisoners, whom we have sold. The
 “ country of *Mesopotamia*, lying between the *Tigris* and the
 “ *Euphrates*, which my predecessor *Heliogabalus* had ne-
 “ glected, we have reconquered, and brought again under
 “ subjection. We have put the most potent king *Artaxer-*
 “ *xes*, as he is styled, to flight ; the country of *Persia* be-
 “ held him flying for the first time. In the place where
 “ the *Romans* formerly lost their ensigns and standards, the
 “ *Persians* have now lost theirs. You see, conscript fathers,
 “ what we have achieved ; the subject needs no eloquence
 “ to adorn or set it out ; the army is returned rich, and
 “ loaded with booty. It is incumbent upon you to appoint
 “ public thanksgivings for so signal a victory, that we may
 “ not seem ungrateful to the gods, who have blessed our arms
 “ with such success*.” This speech, *Lampridius* assures us,
 he copied out of the journals of the senate, and found it
 word for word, in the works of many historians ; and there-
 fore he cannot conceive how *Herodian* could write, that
Alexander lost his army by famine, cold, and sickness ; which,
 he says, is contradicting all the records, memoirs, and
 histories, of those times. *Julius Capitolinus* tells us, that
Herodian hated *Alexander*, and therefore gave an unfaithful
 and detracting account of his *Persian* expedition†. How-
 ever, he is followed by *Zonaras*‡ and *Cedrenus*§. But *An-*
relus Victor, *Festus*, *Eutropius*, *St. Jerom*, and *Syncellus*,
 abandon him in this particular, and follow *Lampridius*. All
 the oriental historians write, that *Alexander* was utterly de-
 feated, and obliged to purchase a peace, by yielding to the
Persian all the countries lying between the *Euphrates* and
 the frontiers of *Palestine*¶. But, after all, *Lampridius* re-
 lates so many particulars of this victory, and appeals with
 such confidence to the journals of the senate, and the histo-
 rians of those time, that we cannot help preferring his au-
 thority to that of the oriental historians, and of *Herodian*
 himself. After this victory *Alexander* returned to *Antioch*,
 with a design to pursue the war with fresh vigour the fol-
 lowing year ; but, in the mean while, being informed,
 that the *Germans* had invaded the *Roman* dominions, and

Disagree-
ment among
authors, a-
bout the
success of
this expedi-
tion.

* Idem ibid.

† Vit. Maxim. p. 143.

‡ ZONAR. p. 225.

§ CEDREN. p. 256.

¶ REIN. epist. xlviii. p. 438.

at the same time that *Artaxerxes* had disbanded great part of his army for want of provisions, he resolved to quit the east and return to *Rome*, apprehending greater evils from the *Germans*, than from the *Persians*. Accordingly, having erected several forts in *Mesopotamia*, and left numerous garisons to defend them, he set out from *Antioch* in the spring of the following year, when *Maximus* and *Urbanus* were consuls; and arriving safe at *Rome*, was there received by persons of all ranks with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable. He entered the city in triumph, his chariot being drawn, not by four white horses, as was usual, but by four of the elephants which he had taken. When the ceremony was over, he went to the senate, where he made the speech we have related above. From the senate he repaired to the capitol, and there consecrated some of the *Persian* spoils to *Jupiter Capitolinus*. Then turning to the people, *I have overcome the Persians*, said he, *and the army is returned loaded with booty. I promise you a largess, and propose to exhibit to-morrow the Circensian sports.* From the capitol he marched to the palace on foot, followed by his triumphal chariot, and attended by the senate, the equestrian order, and such crouds of people, all crying, *Rome is safe, while Alexander is safe*, that with much-ado he reached the palace in four hours. The next day, he exhibited the *Circensian* sports, gave the promised largess, and, in honour of his mother, established a fund for the maintenance of the children of the poor citizens, who were thence called the children of *Mamæa* ^d.

IN the mean time, news being brought to *Rome*, that the *Germans* and other northern nations had passed the *Rhine* and the *Danube* in great numbers, the emperor, to the inexpressible grief of the senate and people, left the city, and hastened with his victorious army into *Gaul*, to stem this furious torrent. We are told, that a woman, by profession a *Druid*, meeting him on his march, cried out to him in her language, *You may go; but hope not for victory, nor trust your own soldiers.* The historian does not inform us whether or no *Alexander* heard and understood her; but he assures us, that *Alexander* feared neither death, nor the omens that were thought to presage it, whereof he gives us the following instance: A celebrated astrologer, by name *Thrasybulus*, the emperor's particular friend, having one day told him, that his fate was to fall by the hand of a barbarian, he was transported with

^c Alex. vit. p. 135. Fast. p. 553.
133, 134.

^d Vit. Alex. p.

Who retire
at his ap-
p each.

The Gau-
lish legions
complain of
the severi-
ty of Alex-
ander.

They are
encouraged
by Maxi-
minus.

joy, not doubting, but he should die in the field, which, he said, was a death worthy of an emperor, observing to the astrologer, that many great men had ended their days by a violent death, and naming among the rest *Alexander the great*, *Pompey*, *Julius Cæsar*, *Demosthenes*, and *Cicero* ^e. In the beginning of the following year, when *Severus* and *Quintilianus* were consuls, *Alexander* advanced with his army to the banks of the *Rhine*; but finding the enemy had repassed that river upon the news of his approach, he ordered a bridge to be built over it, with a design to attack them in their own country, as soon as the season would allow him to take the field ^f. *Herodian*, who always paints *Alexander* as a weak and timorous prince, tells us, that he sent ambassadors to the *Germans* with proposals of peace, which he even offered to purchase at any rate; and adds, that during the time of this shameful negotiation, he diverted himself with driving chariots, and such-like unprincely exercises; which provoked the soldiers, and occasioned his ruin ^g. But *Lampridius* clears the emperor from these ill-natured aspersions, and ascribes the discontent of the soldiery, that is, of the legions quartered in *Gaul*, to their licentiousness, and to the severity of *Alexander*; which they could not endure, after having been, under *Heliogabalus*, long inured to idleness and all manner of debauchery. Among these troops was one *Maximinus*, by nation a *Goth*, whom *Alexander*, in regard of his valour, had preferred to the command of a body of *Pannonians*; but he unmindful of his duty and of the obligations he owed to the emperor, instead of attempting to appease the licentious and discontented soldiery, fomented under-hand the tumult; and, by his seditious speeches, inspired the multitude with contempt for *Alexander*, as one who was governed by a woman, meaning *Mamæa*; and consequently unfit for carrying on the war with vigour ^h. The emperor was then either at *Mentz* or *Sicilia*, which most geographers take to be the present village of *Siclingen* in the neighbourhood of *Mentz*, or that of *Ober-Wesel* on the *Rhine*, in the territory of *Treves*, between *Boppard* and *Bingen*. As *Alexander* had but a small body of troops with him, *Maximinus* resolved to lay hold of that opportunity, and to dispatch him, not doubting, but the troops under his command, whom he had gained with mighty promises, would, upon the death of that prince, proclaim him emperor. He imparted his design to some of the most bold and resolute among his men, who, animated with the hopes

^e Idem, p. 135, 136.
585, 589.

^f Idem, p. 137.

^h Idem, ibid.

^g HEROD. l. vi. p.

of great preferments; readily engaged to put it in execution; and immediately set out for the place where the emperor then was; which they contrived to reach about an hour after mid-day, when those who attended the emperor were withdrawn to refresh themselves, according to the *Roman* custom, with a short sleep after dinner. They no sooner appeared, than the few soldiers who were upon guard betook themselves to flight, having probably been gained over before-hand by *Maximinus*. *Mamæa*, alarmed at the unexpected noise and tumult, ran out attended by the captains of the guards, to appease it; but the assassins, having first murdered both her and them, entered with their drawn swords the emperor's tent; who, as he was unarmed and left quite alone, threw his imperial mantle over his face, and received, without uttering a single word, the many blows with which they dispatched him; deriding him the whole time as a child unfit to be at the head of an army, and inveighing against his mother, as one whose only care was to amass riches ^b. Such was the unfortunate and undeserved end of *Alexander Severus*, after he had lived, according to the most probable opinion, twenty-six years, five months, and nineteen days, and reigned thirteen years and nine days. The loss of no prince was ever more regretted by the senate, the people, and the soldiery; than that of *Alexander*, who, by his wise administration, had gained the affections of all ranks of men. The senate immediately decreed both to him and to his mother *Mamæa* divine honours, appointed them altars, priests, and sacrifices, and instituted, in honour of the deceased emperor, an annual feast, which was still kept in the time of *Constantine the Great*, on the first of *October*, *Alexander's* birth-day ^c. The soldiers were no sooner apprised of his death, than they put to the sword all those who had been any-ways accessory to it, except the chief author of it, *Maximinus*, who, by persuading the soldiery that he had no hand in the murder, escaped for the present the deserved punishment. *Alexander* was according to the testimony of all the antients, *Herodian* alone excepted, one of the best and wisest princes that ever swayed a sceptre; and would, had he lived longer, have intirely reformed those abuses, which, after his death, involved the empire in endless calamities. He was sparing of the public money, liberal of his own, kind and generous to all good men; but an irreconcilable enemy to the wicked, especially to such as were convicted of having plundered the provinces, and op-

Alexander is assassinated.

His character.

His hatred to those who robbed the public.

^b Idem, p. 135. *VICT. epit. Zos. l. i. p. 639. HEROD. l. vi. p. 587.*

^c *Alex. vit. p. 136.*

pressed the people committed to their care. These he never spared, though his friends, favourites, and kinsmen; but sentenced them to death, and caused them to be executed, notwithstanding their quality or former services, like common malefactors. *Eucolpius* the historian, one of *Alexander's* chief favourites, tells us, as quoted by *Lampridius* ^d, that he could not even bear the sight of such public robbers; inasmuch, that one *Septimius Arabinus*, who had been tried for that crime, but acquitted by favour of *Heliogabalus*, coming one day with other senators to wait upon the emperor, *Alexander*, on seeing him, cried out in a violent passion, *O ye immortal gods! is Arabinus still alive, and a senator! Does he even presume to appear in my presence! Surely he takes me to be as wicked as himself!* After this, he caused it to be proclaimed by the public crier, that if any one guilty of the same crime ever presumed to appear in his presence, he should immediately receive his deserved punishment, notwithstanding the pardon granted him by his predecessor ^e. He used to say, that it was not a sufficient punishment to deprive corrupt magistrates and governors of their places; but that, as the trust reposed in them was great, they ought to pay for the breach of it with their lives. He banished one of his secretaries, for giving to his council in writing a false account of an affair, and caused the sinews of his fingers to be cut, that he might never write after. One of his slaves, convicted of having received a bribe, he caused to be crucified on the road which led from the city to the villa, where he frequently resided, that by the sight of the body, which was left on the cross, his other slaves might be deterred from the like practices ^f. He never pardoned any crime committed against the public; but suffered no one to be condemned, till his cause was thoroughly heard, and his offence evidently proved. The first thing he did after his accession to the empire was, to discharge all the officers, ministers, and governors, employed by *Heliogabalus*, and appoint in their room persons of known probity. He retrenched all the pensions which that prodigal prince had settled on his freedmen, on buffoons, stage-players, charioteers, gladiators, &c. saying, that the emperor was but the steward of the people, and therefore could not, without the utmost injustice, thus wantonly squander away their revenues upon persons no-ways useful to them. No prince ever paid greater deference to the senate than *Alexander*. He was the first emperor who allowed the senators to sit when they came to wait upon him. He appointed no governors or magistrates without

His deference to the senate.

^d Alex. vit. p. 119.

^e Idem, ibid.

^f Idem, p. 124. advising

advising with them, and never failed to prefer such as they recommended to him. He admitted none into the senate without the concurrence and approbation of all the members of that venerable body, asking the opinion of each in particular, and examining, with great strictness, into the manners and former conduct of the person who was to be admitted. If upon this inquiry he was found unworthy of a place in the senate, such of the senators as had recommended him, were themselves degraded, and such as had given testimony of his probity, condemned, as in cases of perjury, to lose their estates, and banished for ever. He never admitted either freed-men, or their children, to the equestrian order, which he used to call *the nursery of the senate*. He appointed, that the captains of the guards should no longer be chosen out of the equestrian, but only out of the senatorial, order; that no one should have the power of judging a senator, but who was himself a senator; for the captains of the guards had been long the ordinary judges of the senators in cases of treason⁸. Thus by degrees the captains became the most powerful officers in the state, and their office more considerable than even that of the consuls, which in the end ruined the authority of the senate. In the administration of justice *Alexander* never took upon him to decide any law-suit, without consulting his council, which consisted of the most learned civilians in *Rome*; whom he obliged to give their opinions in writing, after having allowed them time to examine and weigh matters at their leisure, that they might not pronounce sentence without due premeditation. Thus were all matters of justice determined by persons of known integrity, and well skilled in the laws. In military affairs he consulted only such persons as had acquired experience by their long service, and were well acquainted with the situation of places, or men versed in history, inquiring of them what had at any time been done on the like occasions by his predecessors or other great captains. He is said never to have given any public office out of favour or friendship; but to have employed such only as were both by himself and the senate judged the best qualified for the discharge of the trust reposed in them. He preferred one to the command of the guards, who had retired into the country on purpose to avoid that office, saying, that with him the declining such honourable employments was the best recommendation to them. He would not suffer any employments to be sold, saying, *He who buys, must sell in his turn; and it would be unjust to punish one for selling, after he has been suffered to buy.*

*He bestows
the office of
captain of
the guards
only on se-
nators.*

*Impartial
in the ad-
ministrati-
on of jus-
tice.*

*Prefers on-
ly persons
of merit.*

⁸ Idem, p. 120.

Alexander
an enemy to
all pomp
and show.

Reduces the
taxes.

In appointing governors of provinces he observed a commendable custom, which was to publish their names, and encourage all persons to declare, either in public or private, whether they had any thing to lay to their charge : *Since Jews and Christians, said he on this occasion, use such commendable methods in the choice of their priests, it is reasonable we should proceed with the like care in the choice of rectors of provinces, who are intrusted with the lives and fortunes of so many persons.* As he punished with the utmost severity those who betrayed their trust, so he rewarded with great generosity such as had answered the good opinion he entertained of them, and either raised them to employments of greater profit, or, if they chose to retire, presented them with houses and lands, saying, that since corrupt governors enriched themselves at the expence of the people, good governors ought to be enriched at the expence of the prince ^h. He was an utter enemy to all pomp and show, and extremely modest in his apparel, telling those who found fault with him on that account, that a prince ought to be distinguished from the rest, not by his apparel, but by his gallantry and virtuous actions. The rich presents sent him by foreign princes he bestowed on the temples ; but sold all the jewels, employing the money accruing from them to the relief of the poor citizens. The ambassadors of an eastern prince having presented the empress with two pearls of an extraordinary size, *Alexander* ordered them to be sold ; but no one being found rich enough to purchase them, he consecrated them to serve as pendants to a statue of *Venus*, that the empress might not seem by wearing them to encourage luxury in others. He kept such a small number of slaves and freed-men, whom he caused to wear a particular habit, in order to put them in mind of their condition, that when he gave any public entertainment, he was obliged to use those of his friends, nay, and to borrow their plate ; for he sold all the gold and most of the silver plate belonging to the palace, to defray the necessary charges of the government, without burdening the people. He reduced the imposts with which *Heliogabalus* had loaded both *Rome* and the provinces, to the thirtieth part, and suffered several cities to apply even that towards the repairing of their public buildings. He lent money without interest to the poor, wherewithal to purchase houses and lands, allowing them time to pay the capital with the product of their lands. He was so far from filling the exchequer at the expence of the people, that he could not abide the sight of those, whose province it was to levy the

^h Idem, p. 119, &c.

taxes ; he used to call them *necessary evils*, and never suffered any of them to continue in his office a full year. He filled at a vast charge the public granaries, which, upon his accession to the empire, he found almost empty ; distributed weekly great quantities of oil and corn amongst the poor citizens ; and allotted funds for the maintenance and education of their children^l. He would not suffer the money levied upon the public prostitutes and calamities to be returned into his private coffers, as other emperors had done ; but allotted it towards the repairing of the theatre, the circus, and the amphitheatre. He built granaries in all the quarters *His public* of the city, for the use of those who had none of their own *works*. Of these public and common granaries frequent mention is made by the ancients. He caused baths to be likewise erected in each quarter of the city, and at his own expence furnished them with wood, and oil for the lamps in the night ; whereas before his time they were never opened till the rising, and were shut again at the setting, of the sun. He built a great many fine houses for such of his friends and ministers as had served him faithfully, and lived without reproach^k. He furnished the governors of provinces at their first setting out with money and other things which were thought necessary ; that is, according to *Lampridius*, with twenty pounds weight of silver, eight mules, two horses, two gowns, an hundred pieces of gold, one cook, one coachman, and one concubine, if the person he named was not married^l. He founded a great many free schools in *Rome*, and took particular care of the children of noble, but decayed, families. He imbellished *Rome* with an incredible number of stately buildings ; repaired most of the ancient structures, leaving upon them the names of their first founders ; and erected in the great square of *Nerva* statues in honour of most of the emperors his predecessors, with inscriptions on columns of brass, containing succinct accounts of all their memorable actions^m. *Alexander* was a great encourager of learning, took great delight in conversing with learned men, and spent all the time he could spare from public affairs in reading the *Greek* and *Latin* authors, especially *Plato's* commonwealth, *Tully's* offices, the works of *Horace*, of *Virgil*, whom he used to style the *Plato* of the poets, and of *Serenus Sammonicus*, another poet, whom we have mentioned aboveⁿ. He was himself well-*His learn-*
ing.

^l Idem, p. 124, 130.
p. 130.

^m Idem, p. 123.

^k Idem, p. 127.

ⁿ See before p. 85. sub

not.

versed in all the branches of polite literature, and described in verse the exploits of some of his predecessors *. He applied himself chiefly to the study of judicial astrology, which was by his orders publicly taught at *Rome*, and pretended to be thoroughly acquainted with the science of the soothsayers and augurs, both as to entrails of sacrifices and the flight and chirping of birds †. He often went to hear the poets and orators declaim in the public schools; but would not allow them to write any thing in his praise. In short, *Alexander*, to end the history of his reign, with the words of *Aurelius Victor*, made it his whole study to encourage virtue and learning, to reform abuses, to restore the military discipline, and to discharge with the greatest fidelity and disinterestedness each duty of an excellent prince. His endeavours were attended with such success, that the empire would have still retained its former lustre, had those who succeeded him firmly maintained what he had so wisely established. Some of his predecessors, namely *Trajan*, *Antoninus*, and *M. Aurelius*, performed perhaps greater things; but were older when they came to the empire, than *Alexander* was at the time of his death ‡. Of the writers who flourished in his reign, the reader will find a succinct account in our note (Q).

* Vit. Alex. p. 123. † Idem *ibid.* ‡ AUR. VICT. in vit. Alex.

(Q) *Lampridius*, in his life of *Alexander*, often quotes *Acholius*, *Septimius*, and *Eucolpius*, but seems to prefer *Septimius* to the other two (99). They flourished under *Alexander*, and wrote the history of that prince's reign. *Vossius* ranks them among the *Latin* historians, tho' none of their works have reached our times; and *Lampridius* does not inform us whether they wrote in *Greek* or *Latin* (100). *Acholius* lived in the time of *Alexander*, but died long after; for he was *admissionum magister*, that is, in the modern phrase, master of the ceremonies, to the emperor *Valerian*, who began his reign in the year 253, eighteen years after the death of *Alexander* (1). He even wrote the life of *Valerian*, and consequently outlived him; nay, *Vossius* is of opinion, that he was still alive in the reign of *Aurelian*, who was raised to the empire in 270 (2). *Eucolpius* not only lived in the time of *Alexander*, but was highly favoured by that prince (3). A treatise on government, ascribed to *Eucolpius*, was translated out of *Greek* into *English* above a hundred years

(99) Vit. Alex. p. 119. 131. 136. (100) Vide Voss. hist. Lat. p. 719. (1) Aur. Vict. p. 213. (2) Voss. hist. Lat. l. ii. c. 4. p. 182. (3) Alex. vit. p. 119. (4) Vide Selden. in Eutyeb. Ægypt. Ec. not. p. 174, 175. Londin. ann. 1642.

since

since, in which the reader will find a particular account of a supposed conference between the emperor *Alexander* and *Origen*. But as some circumstances of that conference are inconsistent with what we read in the best historians, we are inclined to ascribe that piece to some modern *Greek* writer, and to look upon the whole as a mere fable (4). *Gargilius Martialis*, wrote likewise the history of the reign of *Alexander*, and is ranked by *Vopiscus* among those historians who wrote with more exactness than elegance (5). *Servius* and other writers quote a treatise on gardening by one *Gargilius Martialis* (6); but whether this be the historian, or another author of the same name, we cannot take upon us to determine. *Marius Maximus* wrote the history of the emperors from *Trajan* to *Alexander*, and is often quoted by the *Augustine* writers. *M. Valois* takes him to be the same person with *L. Marius Maximus*, who had been consul, and was preferred by *Marinus* to the government of *Rome* in the year 248 (7). *Ammianus Marcellinus* observes, that at *Rome*, in the fourth century, when learning was utterly neglected, many, who never looked into any other book, read with great attention the satires of *Juvenal* and the history of *Marius Maximus* (8). *Capitolinus* commends his sincerity and exactness (9); but *Vopiscus*, whose judgment is of great weight with the learned, styles him, of all historians, the most tedious and long-winded, and finds fault with him for filling his books with fables (10). The life of *Alexander* was likewise published by *Aurelius Philippus*, his father's freedman (11). *Julius Granius*, who instructed *Alexander* in rhetoric, left some declamations, which were still extant in the time of *Lampridius* (12). Besides the celebrated civilians *Ulpianus* and *Paulus*, of whom we have made mention above, *Florentinus*, *Ælius Marcianus*, *Hermogenes* or *Hermogenianus*, *Callistrata*, and *Q. Claudius Venuleius Saturninus*, whose names are famous in the pandects, were all *Papinian's* disciples, and flourished under *Alexander*; as did likewise *Herennius Modestinus*, who was preceptor to *Maximinus*, the son of the emperor of that name, and wrote several books of jurisprudence, and, among the rest, one in *Greek*, on the excuses of guardians. He was honoured with the consulship by *Alexander*, but was still alive in the reign of *Gordian*, which began in 239 (13). In the time of *Alexander*, flourished, as we suppose, the sophists, who are mentioned by *Philostrophus* in the end of his work; for he wrote soon after that prince's reign (14). Among these was *Aspasius*, who attended the emperor into

(5) *Vopisc. Prob. vit. p. 234.* (6) *Vide Casaub. not. p. 158.*

(7) *Ammian. not. p. 364. Spon. p. 114.* (8) *Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 372.* (9) *Vit. Alb. p. 84.* (10) *Vide Voss. hist. Lat. l. ii. c. 3. p. 178.*

(11) *Vit. Alex. p. 118.* (12) *Idem ibid. p. 115.* (13) *Alex. vit. p. 137 & Casaub. not. p. 178. Maxim. vit. p. 148. Cod. Justin. l. ii. tit. 12. leg. 11. p. 195.* (14)

Philos. soph. lix. p. 622. (15) *Idem. p. 623.*

the east, afterwards taught at *Rome*, and was in the end preferred to be one of the emperor's secretaries, and charged with the province of drawing up his rescripts, which he did in a bombastic and obscure style. He was a native of *Ravenna* (15). *Canisius* published in, 1602, the work of an anonymous christian writer, composed, as the author informs us, in the thirteenth year of *Alexander's* reign, and the 236th after the birth of our Saviour. But he counts two hundred and six years since our Saviour's death, supposing him to have lived only thirty years. This work is an ill-digested abridgment of geography and chronology, and, in the opinions of the learned, full of anachronisms and other faults. The transcribers of *Canisius's* copy have left out the chronological table of the *Roman* emperors, which is twice promised in the preface (16). Father *Labbe*, who has published the same author, found in his copy the above mentioned table, which is far from being exact (17). It ends with the thirteen years and nine days of the reign of *Alexander* (18); whence it is plain, that the author put the last hand to it in the beginning of the reign of *Maximinus*. In father *Labbe's* edition of this work, the author promises a catalogue of the bishops of *Rome*, and the time of their respective episcopacies; but that catalogue is wanting in the manuscript. The author was perhaps a native of *Rome*, and a priest; for in father *Labbe's* edition, he addresses himself to a deacon, whom, he says, he designs to instruct; which, in the primitive church, no ecclesiastic of an inferior rank, and much less a layman, would have taken upon him to do. Of this writer *Vossius* takes no notice.

But the most famous of all the writers, who flourished under *Alexander*, was the celebrated historian *Dion Cassius*, called also *Cassius Cocceius*, or *Cocceianus*. He was a native of *Nicæa* in *Bitthynia*, and probably related to *Cocceianus Dion*, a citizen of *Prusa* in the same province, in whose behalf *Pliny* the younger wrote to *Trajan* (19). Under *Trajan* flourished another *Dion* of *Prusa*, a famous sophist, commonly known by the name of *Dion Chrysostomus*, who wrote several works, which have reached our times (20). The historian was the son of *Apronianus*, who was governor of *Cilicia* about the year 183, when the two brothers *Quintilii* were put to death by *Commodus's* order (21). He was likewise for some time governor of *Illyricum* (22). His son was at *Rome* in the reign of *Commodus*, at least towards the latter end of it (23). He was senator in the year 192, the last of the reign of *Commodus*, and named prætor for the ensuing year by *Pertinax*, who had a particular kindness and esteem for him (24). He was appointed consul by the emperor

(15) *Canis. antiq. lect. tom. ii. p. 594.* (17) *Labbe bibl. nov. tom. i. p. 308.* (18) *Idem p. 309.* (19) *Plin. l. x. epist. 87. p. 612.* (20) *Suid p. 753, & 765.* (21) *Dio. l. lxi. p. 788. & l. lxxii. p. 820.* (22) *Idem. l. xlix. p. 413.* (23) *Idem. l. lxxii. p. 818.* (24) *Idem ibid. p. 820, 827. & l. lxxiii. p. 835.* (25) *Idem l. lxxvi. p. 869.*

Severus (25), attended, after that prince's death, his son *Caracalla* into the east (26), and spoke with him, for the last time, at *Nicomedia*, about the latter end of the year 215 (27). *Macrinus* named him to the government of *Smyrna* and *Pergamus*, which he held under *Heliogabalus*, and was still in *Asia* in the year 221 (28). From *Asia*, he went into *Bithynia*; whence he was recalled, and appointed governor, first of *Africa*, afterwards of *Illyricum*, and lastly of *Pannonia*; in which governments he acquitted himself so well, that *Alexander* upon his return to *Rome*, honoured him with a second consulship in the year 228 (29). When the time of his consulship expired, he obtained leave to return into his own country, where he passed the remaining part of his life in retirement. *Dion Cassius* wrote in eight decades, that is, in eighty books, the *Roman* history, from the landing of *Aeneas* in *Italy*, to the reign of the emperor *Alexander* (30). In the time of *Severus*, he wrote a book on the dreams and other prodigies, which seemed to presage the rise of that prince; which being well received by the emperor, *Dion* dreamt the following night, that his genius commanded him to undertake the writing of history. Accordingly he immediately began that of the reign of *Commodus*; and being encouraged by *Severus* and others, to whom he read what he had done, to apply himself to the writing of history, he undertook that of *Rome* (31), and spent ten years in collecting the necessary materials for so great a work, and twelve more in composing it (32). He is very minute in his history of the emperors to the death of *Heliogabalus*; but gives us only a summary account of the eight first years of *Alexander*, having been, as he himself informs us, most part of that time absent from *Italy* (33), and consequently not so well acquainted with what passed at *Rome*. He had, it seems, begun his history before the death of *Plautianus*, that is, before the year 204, and ended it soon after the year 229, for he takes no notice of *Alexander's* war with the *Persians*. His account of the public transactions, from the reign of *Commodus* to that of *Alexander*, is very particular and minute; for he then began to write, not what he had learnt of others, but what he had himself seen and observed. He assures us, that no one capable of writing a history was better acquainted than himself, both with the public and private transactions: which is not at all incredible in a person of his rank. His style, according to *Photius*, is sublime, and answerable to the greatness of his subject; his terms expressive, his phrase elegant, his periods full and well sounding, and the whole worthy of the best historians of ancient *Greece*. He proposed *Thucydides* for his model, and does not, in the opinion of *Photius*, fall much short of that excellent writer (34). *Vossius*, however, blames him for crying down

(26) *Idem*. l. lxxviii. p. 883, 884.(27) *Idem*. l. lxxix. p. 908.(28) *Idem* p. 915. (29) *Idem*, l. lxxx. p. 917. (30) *Suid.*p. 753. (31) *Idem* l. lxxii p. 828. *Phot.* c. 71. p. 105. (32)*Idem*, l. lxxii. p. 829. (33) *Idem*. l. lxxvi. p. 860. (34)*Phot.* c. 71. p. 103. (35) *Voss. hist. Græc.* l. ii. c. 15. p. 238.

the

the greatest men of antiquity, namely, *Cicero*, *Brutus*, *Cassius*, and *Seneca*; but others clear him from that censure, and think he acted the part of an unbiassed historian, in discovering the faults (for no man is without faults) even of those whom he himself most admired (35). He blame only what in them was blame-worthy, and commends what to him seemed commendable. Others think him too diffuse in his accounts of dreams, prodigies, and other things of that nature, beneath the dignity of an historian. He wrote, as we have observed above, the *Roman* history in eighty books; but of that great work only a small part has reached us. For the first thirty-four books have been long since entirely lost; and of the thirty-fifth only some fragments are remaining: the following books, from the end of the thirty-fifth to the fifty-fourth, are thought to be intire; but the next six are, in some places, strangely maimed and corrupted. Of the twenty last, we have only some fragments published by *Fulvius Ursinus* and *M. Valois*. However, that great loss has been in some degree supplied by *John Xiphilin*, who was patriarch of *Constantinople* in the eleventh century, and epitomized *Dion's* history from the thirty-fifth book to the end. This epitome is greatly esteemed by the learned, and thought to be very exact. The history of *Zonaras* may likewise be called an abridgment of *Dion's* work; for he copied, as he himself owns, most of his history from *Dion*, and followed him with great exactness. These abridgments have been of great use to us in the compiling of our history; for in them are to be found the most material transactions of the *Romans*, from the period where *Tacitus's* history ends, to the time of the emperor *Alexander*: from that prince to *Constantine*, the history of the emperors is more perplexed and less certain. For *Herodian* wrote with more elegance than exactness; and *Lampridius* and the other *Augustine* writers scarce deserve the name of historians. They wrote in the beginning of the fourth century; and *Aurelius Victor* and *Eutropius* only copied them about the close of the same century. *Zosimus*, who wrote at the end of the fifth century, shews, by the mistakes of which he is guilty in the very beginning of his work, that he either made use of bad memoirs, or did not understand the good ones. *Dion Cassius*, besides his *Roman* history, published a particular history of *Trajan*, the life of the philosopher *Arrian* the disciple of *Epictetus*, itineraries, the history of the *Persians*, and that of the *Getæ* (36). The latter was known to *Jornandes*, who copied from it what he writes of *Telephus*, king of the *Getæ* in the times of *Achilles* and *Ulysses* (37).

(36) *Suid. d. p 714.*(37) *Jornan. de reb. Gothic. c. 9.*

C H A P. XXIII.

The Roman history, from the death of Alexander Severus, to the captivity of Valerian, when the empire was usurped by thirty persons at once, commonly called the thirty tyrants.

THE murder of *Alexander* occasioned a great tumult and confusion in the army; during which the *Pannonian* troops, under the command of *Maximinus*, proclaimed him emperor; and the rest, finding no other appeared to claim or dispute that title, followed their example, and took the usual oaths to *Maximinus*, after he had solemnly declared, that he had been no-ways concerned in or accessary to the death of *Alexander*. The new emperor immediately declared his son *Maximinus Cæsar* and prince of the *Roman* youth, invested him with the tribunitial and proconsular power, honoured him with the title of *Augustus*, and took him for his partner in the sovereignty. The senate, whom he took care to acquaint as soon as possible with his assumption to the empire, not daring to oppose the choice of the soldiery, confirmed it; so that *Maximinus* was, without the least opposition, acknowledged emperor by the senate, the people, and the army^r. He was, according to *Syncellus*^s, a native of *Thrace*; according to *Herodian*, *Capitolinus*, and *Jornandes*, born in a village on the confines of that province, and the country of the barbarians. His father, by name *Micea*, or *Micca*, was a *Goth*; and his mother *Ababa*, or *Abala*, an *Alan*^t. He is styled in the antient inscriptions *C. Julius Ve-*

Maximi-
nus declar-
ed emperor,
and his son
Maximi-
nus Cæsar.

His ex-
traction
and pre-
ferments.

^r Max. vit. p. 142. ^s SYNC. p. 361. ^t HEROD. l. vi. p. 585. Max. vit. p. 138. JORNAND. regn. c. 22.

*His mighty
strength.*

rus Maximinus. He was of a very mean extraction, and in his early youth a shepherd, but of a gigantic stature, being eight foot and a half tall, and withal exceeding well-shaped, all his limbs answering his stature in symmetry and proportion. Of his strength wonderful things are related by the antients, viz. that he was often seen to draw a loaded waggon, which two oxen could scarce move, to tear up trees by the roots, to crumble pebbles between his fingers, &c. Besides, he was so bold and courageous, that he took delight in exposing himself to the greatest dangers: whence he was called, for his courage and valour, *Achilles*, *Hector*, and *Ajax*; for his strength, *Hercules*, *Antæus*, and *Milo*; but at the same time, for his savage cruelty, *Busiris*, *Phalaris*, and *Cyclops*. He was first known to the emperor *Septimius Severus* on the following occasion: That prince having exhibited, as he passed through *Thrace*, some military games and exercises in honour of his second son *Geta*, and proposed prizes for the conquerors, *Maximinus*, at that time about twenty years old, begged leave of the emperor, partly in the *Latin*, and partly in the *Thracian*, language, to enter the lists, and try his skill with the rest. The emperor, admiring his size, matched him, not with the soldiers, as he was a barbarian, but with some of the strongest slaves, in the camp, whom he overcame, sixteen, one after the other. Hereupon the emperor ordered him to be listed among the horse. A few days after, as the emperor was visiting the different quarters of the camp on horseback, *Maximinus*, accosting him, began to run by him. The emperor, to try whether he could run as well as he could wrestle, put his horse upon a full gallop, and rid round the camp, *Maximinus* keeping close by him the whole time, till both he and his horse were quite spent. Then turning to him, *Thracian*, said he, *art thou now disposed to wrestle?* *I am*, answered *Maximinus*, *as much as you please*. The emperor immediately dismounted, and ordered some of the strongest soldiers and best wrestlers in the army to enter the lists with him, of whom he overcame and threw down seven, as if they had been so many children; which so pleased the emperor, that he presented him with a golden collar, placed him among his guards, and heaped many favours upon him, appointing him extraordinary allowances, the common pay not being sufficient to support him. For he used to eat, according to *Julius Capitolinus*, forty, according to *Ælius Cardus*, a more antient historian, sixty, pounds weight of flesh a day; and to drink eight amphoræ of wine, that is, six gallons,

lons, without ever eating or drinking to excess ^u. He was preferred by *Caracalla* to the post of a centurion, but quitted the army upon that prince's death, being unwilling to serve under *Macrinus*, the chief author of the murder, and retired to his own country. When *Heliogabalus* came to the empire, he offered his service to him; and being admitted again into the army, he was, by the interest of his friends, raised to the rank of a tribune; but always declined, under some pretence or other, attending the emperor, who had disobliged him with an impure jest, alluding to his mighty strength ^w. He had even absented himself from *Rome*, not being able to bear the sight of that lewd monster; but returned thither when he understood that *Alexander* was raised to the empire, and was by that prince received with the greatest demonstrations of kindness and esteem, recommended by him to the senate, created senator, and honoured with the command of a new-raised legion, which the emperor thought him well qualified to instruct in the military exercises. In that office he acquitted himself so well, that *Alexander* preferred him to a higher command, and, at the breaking out of the *German* war, charged him with the care of disciplining the new-raised troops, consisting chiefly of *Pannonians*. We are told, that *Alexander* had even some thoughts of marrying his sister *Theoclia* to the son of *Maximinus*, who, in most inscriptions, is styled *C. Julius Verus Maximinus*. He was a youth of extraordinary beauty, in stature almost equal to his father, well-shaped, brave, courageous, but proud and haughty to such a degree, that, upon his being proclaimed *Augustus*, and his father's partner in the empire, he suffered his soldiers not only to kiss his hand, but his knees and feet, which his father could never endure. When he was killed with his father in the year 238, he was betrothed to *Julia Fadilla*, the great niece of *Antoninus Pius* ^x.

Maximinus no sooner saw himself invested with the sovereign power, than he dismissed all those who had been employed by *Alexander* in places of trust, and appointed creatures of his own in their room, selected for the most part out of the very dregs of the people. He made it his chief study to gain the affections of the soldiery; but chusing rather to be feared than loved by the rest of his subjects, he began his reign with unheard-of cruelties. All those who had been intimate with *Alexander*, or shewed the least concern for his death, were by his orders inhumanly massacred; the senators,

He is
greatly fa-
voured by
Alexander

His cruelty
after his
accession to
the empire

^u HEROD. l. vi. p. 585. Max. vit. p. 138, 139.
vit. p. 139, 140. ^x Max. vit. p. 119, &c.

whom he had created, degraded ; and such officers as he had raised, under various pretences, discharged, and most of them banished. Being ashamed of the meanness of his extraction, he caused all those who knew his parents, or any of his family, to be privately murdered, though many of them had relieved him when in a low condition, and by their interest raised him in the army. His cruelty was heightened by the conspiracy of *Magnus*, a consular of an illustrious family and great merit. He conspired with several of *Alexander's* old soldiers to break down the bridge which that prince had built over the *Rhine*, after *Maximinus* had passed it, and abandon him to the enemy. But the conspiracy being discovered, all those, whom *Maximinus* only suspected to have been privy to it, were inhumanly massacred, to the number of four thousand, without being tried, or even examined ; which induced many to believe, that the plot was only a contrivance of *Maximinus*, to rid himself of those who gave him umbrage ¹. A few days after the conspiracy of *Magnus*, the *Osrhoenians*, who served in the army, and had been always greatly attached to the late emperor, no longer doubting that he had been assassinated by *Maximinus's* orders, openly revolted, proclaimed *T. Quartinus* emperor, and attired him, much against his will, with the imperial purple and all the ensigns of sovereignty. But soon after, one *Macedo*, who had been the chief author of the revolt, and pretended great friendship for *Quartinus*, murdered him while he was reposing in his tent, and carried his head to *Maximinus*, who, instead of rewarding him according to his expectation, caused him some time after to be executed for rebelling against his prince and betraying his friend ². The *Osrhoenians* returning to their duty after the death of *Quartinus*, the following year, when *Severus* and *Quintianus* were consuls, *Maximinus* entered *Germany* at the head of a mighty army, ravaged the country far and wide, burnt the enemies habitations, carried off their corn and cattle, and took an incredible number of prisoners. Several battles were fought in the woods and marshes, in each of which the emperor killed many of the enemy with his own hand, discharging every duty of a gallant soldier and experienced commander. He chose always to fight at the head of his troops, and often grappled with the enemy hand to hand like a common soldier. Having, in one encounter, to encourage his men, rushed sword in hand into the midst of the enemy, he was

The conspiracy of Magnus.

The Osrhoenians revolt.

Quartinus betrayed and murdered.

Maximinus gains several victories over the Germans.

¹ Idem, p. 142. HEROD. l. vii. p. 589. p. 590. Max. vit. p. 142, &c.

² HEROD. l. vii.

surrounded

surrounded on all sides, and had been either killed or taken, notwithstanding his extraordinary strength, in which he placed too much confidence, had not his men, animated by the example of their general, hastened to his rescue. He took care to transmit an account of his victories to the senate, telling them among other things, that he had laid waste the enemy's country four hundred miles round; destroyed near one hundred and fifty of their villages; taken an incredible number of prisoners; and fought more battles than any of the antients had ever done^a. He ordered his exploits to be represented in painting, and hung up in the squares and public places at *Rome*. For these victories the senate decreed both to him and his son the title of *Germanicus*; which is still to be seen on several of his medals^b. From *Germany* he marched into *Illyricum*, and having passed the winter at *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, where he entered upon his first consulship, and took *Africanus* for his colleague, early in the spring he led his army into the countries of the *Dacians* and *Sarmatians*, gained several victories over those barbarous nations, and obliged them to submit to such terms as he was pleased to impose upon them. He had nothing less in view than to extend the borders of the empire to the northern ocean; which he would have easily accomplished, says *Herodian*^c, had he not been interrupted by a civil war and great disturbances at home, occasioned by his unheard-of cruelty and insatiable avarice. He encouraged informers, feigned plots, and condemned, without distinction of quality, sex, or age, all who were accused, seizing their estates, and reducing the richest families in *Rome* to beggary. Persons of the greatest distinction were snatched away from their friends and relations, and, upon various groundless accusations, carried into *Pannonia*, to be judged by the emperor; who never failed to condemn them either to death or banishment, and to seize their estates, whether the crimes laid to their charge were proved or no. Not satisfied with the wealth of so many illustrious families, he began to plunder the temples, to strip the public buildings of their ornaments, and to seize on the public money in the cities allotted for the maintenance or diversions of the people. This alarmed the populace, and disposed them to a general revolt, which first broke out in *Africa*, about the middle of *May* of the ensuing year, when *Perpetuus* and *Cornelianus* were consuls, on the following occasion: Two young men of great distinction, being condemned by the emperor's receiver in

Overcomes
the Daci-
ans and
Sarma-
tians.

His cruelty

The people
in Africa

revolt.

^a Idem ibid. ^b GOLTZ. p. 101, 102. BIRAC. p. 329.
^c HEROD. l. vii. p. 592.

Gordian
proclaimed
emperor in
Africa.

He writes
to the se-
nate.

that province, who oppressed the people in a most tyrannical manner, to pay a fine, which would have reduced them to beggary, conspired to save their fortunes, by destroying him; and accordingly, having gained some soldiers of the legion quartered there, they fell upon him unexpectedly, and cut in pieces both him and such of the soldiers as attempted to defend him. This murder, they well knew, the emperor would never forgive; and therefore, well apprised, that the only means of escaping the punishment due to their crime, was to create a new prince, they openly revolted, and with the concurrence of the people, who could no longer bear the tyrannical government of *Maximinus*, proclaimed *Gordianus*, at that time proconsul of *Africa*, emperor in his room. *Gordianus* was descended of an illustrious family, possessed of immense wealth, and universally beloved both at *Rome* and in the provinces, many of which he had governed, on account of his extraordinary merit and virtues; but as he was stricken in years, being at this time eighty and upwards, when the people broke unexpectedly into his house, and saluted him with the title of *Augustus*, he threw himself upon the ground, and begged with many tears they would suffer him to spend the poor remains of his life in quiet, and chuse some other more able, on account of his age, to deliver the state from the tyrannical yoke under which it groaned. But the people, and at their head one *Mauricius*, a person of great authority among them, continuing unalterable in their former resolution, *Gordianus* was in the end constrained to accept the ensigns and title of emperor; which he had no sooner done, than, to the inexpressible joy of all the *Africans*, he took his son, who bore the same name, was then his lieutenant, and had been consul, for his partner in the empire. From *Thydrus*, a city of no small note in *Byzacene*, not far from *Adrumetum*, where this happened, *Gordianus* marched to *Carthage*, and made his entry into that city arrayed with the imperial purple, amidst the loud acclamations of the people, saluting him with the title of *Gordianus Africanus*. From *Carthage* he wrote to the senate and people of *Rome*, acquainting them with what had happened in *Africa*, and assuring them, that he had accepted of the empire against his will, and was ready to resign it, if they did not think fit to confirm his election. In the decrees which he sent with his letters, and ordered to be publicly set up with the approbation of the senate, he gave leave to all exiles to return home, banished the informers, promised large sums to the people, and to the soldiery a greater largess than any emperor had ever given. At the same time, he wrote to all the great men in *Rome*,

Rome, most of whom were his particular friends, encouraging them to exert themselves on the present occasion, and join him in rescuing *Rome* from the insupportable tyranny of *Maximinus*, which was the only motive that had prompted him in his old age to submit to so heavy a burden as the empire. In his letter to *Junius Syllanus*, then consul, he charged that magistrate to dispatch without delay *Vitalianus*, who commanded the body of the prætorian guards that had been left in *Rome*, and was greatly attached to *Maximinus*, being of a no less cruel and savage temper than that tyrant. *Syllanus*, upon the receipt of this letter, sent the quæstor, attended by some resolute men, with letters to *Vitalianus*, which he pretended to have just received from *Maximinus*, injoining them to draw him aside, and dispatch him while he was persuading them; which they did accordingly, and then gave out, that what they had done was by *Maximinus's* orders; which was believed; for thus he used to treat even his best friends. After this, the consul *Syllanus* assembled at his house the prætors, ædiles, and tribunes of the people, and attended by them, went to the senate, and there read, on the twenty-seventh day of *May*, the letters which *Gordianus* had written both to them and to him. Hereupon the senate, in great transports of joy, declared, without the least hesitation, the two *Gordians* emperors, the two *Maximins* public enemies, and decreed a great reward to such as should kill either of them. At the same time, they named to the prætorship of the ensuing year a third *Gordian*, grandson to the elder, tho' then only but twelve years old. These proceedings, however, were kept secret, till such time as the senate had taken the necessary measures for quashing at once the party of the *Maximins* in *Rome*; which was no sooner done, than they gave out, that they were both killed, and that the two *Gordians* reigned in their room. The edicts of the latter were publicly hung up, and their images carried to the camp, with their letters to the soldiery, who being, after the death of *Vitalianus*, destitute of a leader, readily submitted to the *Gordians*. As for the people, transported with rage against *Maximinus* hardly to be expressed, they immediately ran and pulled down all his statues and monuments, uttering dreadful imprecations against the bloody tyrant and his son. At the same time, the senate enacted a decree, sentencing to death all the friends of *Maximinus*, and the ministers of his cruelty. Hereupon such of them, as had not the good luck to escape, were massacred without mercy by the enraged multitude, dragged through the streets, and thrown into the common sewer. Several innocent persons perished with the guilty, many laying hold

Who ac-
knowledge
him empe-
ror, and
declare
Maximi-
nus a pub-
lic enemy.

The friends
of Maxi-
minus at
Rome
murdered.

of that opportunity to dispatch their private enemies or creditors. *Sabinus*, governor of *Rome*, endeavouring to put a stop to these disorders, had his brains dashed out with a blow from one of the mob, and his body was left for some time in the public street ^d.

The senate
all to a
man revolt
from
Maximi-
nus.

IN the mean time, it being publicly known; that *Maximinus* was still alive, the senate issued a second decree against him, declaring anew both him and his son public enemies, and at the same time dispatched persons of the greatest interest and authority into all the provinces, with letters to the proconsuls, presidents, lieutenants, tribunes, &c. exhorting them to join in the common cause, and exert themselves in defence of their common liberties, against a raging tyrant and public enemy (S). They likewise chose twenty senators, who had all been consuls, and sent them into different parts of *Italy*, with orders to guard night and day all the roads, ports, and harbours, that no account of what had passed at *Rome* might be transmitted to *Maximinus* before the arrival of *Gordian*. The letters of the senate were received in most cities and provinces with incredible joy, and a dreadful slaughter was made of the officers and friends of *Maximinus*. Only a few places continued faithful to him, and either delivered up to the tyrant, or massacred, the deputies of the senate. At *Rome* persons of all ranks and ages, even the women and children, crowded to the temples, beseeching the gods, that they would never suffer the bloody tyrant to approach the

^d Gordian. vit. p. 153, & seq. Max. vit. 143. & seq. HEROD.
l. vii. p. 595—598.

(S) The letter, which the senate wrote on this occasion, was conceived in the following terms: "To all proconsuls, presidents, lieutenants, commanders, tribunes, free towns, cities, villages and castles, the senate and people of *Rome*, whose deliverance from the tyranny of the cruel monster *Maximin* is begun by the Gordians, greeting: By the favour of the gods we have for emperor *Gordian*, a person of the greatest merit and virtue. We have proclaimed him emperor, and, for the greater security of the state, his son in conjunction with him. It is incumbent upon you to concur with us in procuring and promoting the public welfare and safety; in opposing the wicked designs of those who threaten us; and in pursuing to death the cruel tyrant *Maximin* and his friends; for we have declared him and his son public enemies (33)."

(33) Vit. Max. p. 143, 144.

city

city *. *Maximinus*, who was at this time either in *Thrace* or *Sarmatia*, soon received intelligence of what had passed at *Rome* and in *Africa*, notwithstanding all the precautions of the senate; nay, a copy of the decree of the senate, declaring him a public enemy and setting a price upon his head, was transmitted to him; upon the reading of which he flew into such a passion, as can hardly be expressed or conceived: more like a wild beast than a human creature, says the author of his life, he beat his head against the wall, threw himself upon the ground, tore his royal robes, drew his sword, and, after having uttered dreadful menaces against the senate, fell upon those who stood next to him, and would have killed his son, had he not quickly withdrawn, for having refused to quit him and live at *Rome*; which the father advised him to do upon their first coming to the empire; and which would, in his opinion, have kept the senate and people in awe, and prevented the present revolt. In short, such was his fury and rage, that his friends looking upon him as a man bereft of his understanding, with much-ado snatched his arms from him, and carried him to his room. Being returned to himself, he spent some days in deliberating with his council about the most proper measures to be pursued at such an important conjuncture. Then assembling his army, he acquainted them with the state of affairs, pretending to be under no apprehension, and promising to distribute among them the estates of the senators and *African* rebels. Having ended his speech, he gave his soldiers a great bounty, and without loss of time began his march towards *Italy*. The troops not shewing so much ardour and forwardness as he expected, he wrote to his son, who was marching with a separate body at some distance, to join him with all possible expedition, lest the army should, in his absence attempt upon his life. At the same time, he dispatched persons to *Rome*, to publish there in his name a general pardon with respect to all past injuries, and with them letters to *Sabinus*, not being yet apprised of his death, in which was inclosed a copy of the decree declaring him a public enemy; for he supposed *Sabinus*, who had absented himself that day from the senate, to be altogether ignorant of what had passed there †. While *Maximinus* was marching towards *Italy*, the face of affairs was quite changed in *Africa*: A senator, by name *Capelianus*, had been appointed governor of *Mauritania* by *Maximinus*, with a con-

* HEROD. l. vii. p. 399. Max. vit. p. 141. † Gord. vit. p. 157, 158. HEROD. p. 601. Max. vit. p. 141.

Capelianus
raises for-
ces against
the Gordi-
anus.

Relation
of
the two
Gordians.

considerable body of troops under his command, to make head against the *Moors* not subject to *Rome*, who infested with daily incursions the *Roman* territories. But *Gordianus*, to whom he had ever been a declared enemy, and whom he had on all occasions opposed, immediately discharged him, and named another in his room. *Capelianus*, who was an officer of great valour and experience, instead of obeying the orders of the new emperor, assembled all his forces, levied several companies of *Moors*, and having with incredible dispatch drawn together a very considerable body of well-disciplined and resolute men, marched at the head of them strait to *Carthage*. His approach alarmed the city. The inhabitants, however, betook themselves to their arms, and marched out under the conduct of *Gordianus* the younger to meet the enemy. Hereupon a bloody engagement ensued, in which *Gordianus's* raw and undisciplined troops performed wonders; but were in the end put to flight, and most of them cut in pieces either in the battle or the pursuit. *Gordianus* himself was killed in the field; which, together with the loss of the battle and the approach of the enemy, reduced the father to such despair, that he strangled himself with his own hand^a. Such was the end of the two *Gordians*, after having reigned, according to the most probable opinion^b, one month and six days. They were sprung from two of the most ancient and illustrious families in *Rome*. *Gordianus* the father, styled in most medals and inscriptions *M. Antonius Gordianus*, was the son of *Mæcius Marullus*, descended from the *Gracchi*, and of *Ulpia Gordiana*, of the family of the emperor *Trajan*. His father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had been consuls, and he himself twice discharged that honourable office, first with the emperor *Caracalla* in 213, and the second time with *Alexander Severus* in 229. His wealth was answerable to his quality; for he possessed, according to *Julius Capitolinus*, more land in the provinces, than any private man in *Rome*^c. The same writer observes, that he was the first private person who had a consular habit of his own, the rest, and even some of the emperors, contenting themselves with the common robes that were lodged in the capitol^d. He was well-shaped, of a comely and majestic aspect, and thought to resemble the emperor *Augustus*. He was highly esteemed by the emperor *Alexander*, who returned public thanks to the senate for preferring so

^a HEROD. l. vii. p. 602. 603. Gord vit. p. 158. Max. vit. p. 145. ^b Vide PETAV. doct. temp. p. 337. ^c Gord. vit. p. 151, 152. ^d Idem, p. 152.

deserving

deserving a person, to the government of *Africa*, styling him in the letter which he wrote on that occasion, a nobleman of great magnanimity, eloquence, justice, moderation, integrity, goodness, &c. He was exceeding kind to all his relations, and paid such respect to his wife's father, *Annius Severus*, that he never presumed before he was prætor, to sit down in his presence, and never failed waiting upon him once a day, even when he was consul. He was very sober in his diet, modest, but proper, in his dress, and regular in all his actions, without ever being guilty of any excess, or discomposed by any passion¹. He was well versed in all the branches of literature, especially in poetry, and wrote in his youth several poems, which were greatly esteemed, and, among the rest, one intitled *Antoniniades*, describing in thirty books the lives and wars, the public and private actions, of *Antoninus Pius* and *Marcus Aurelius*, and *Antoninus Philosophus*. He wrote likewise in prose the praises of the *Antonini*. His chief entertainment was to read *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Cicero*, *Virgil*, and the other antient authors. No one ever gave greater satisfaction to the people, or discharged the public offices with more generosity, than *Gordianus*. During the year of his ædileship, he exhibited public shows once a month, sometimes five hundred couple of gladiators at a time, and never less than one hundred and fifty. He caused an incredible number of wild beasts to be brought to *Rome*, for the diversion of the people, from the most distant parts of the empire. In one day a thousand bears were hunted and killed, and, in his other shows, such numbers of wild beasts of all kinds, as had never before been seen in *Rome*; which gained him the affections of the people, intirely addicted to diversions of that nature. After his second consulship, he was immediately sent into *Africa*, in quality of proconsul; which office he discharged with such justice, equity, and moderation, that he was universally adored, and more beloved by the people than any governor had ever been before him, some calling him a *Scipio*, some a *Cato*, some a *Mutius Scævola*, a *Rutilius*, a *Lælius*. He married *Fabia Orestilla*, the daughter of *Annius Severus*, and granddaughter of the emperor *M. Aurelius*, and had by her a daughter named *Mæcia Faustina*, who was married to *Junius Balbus*, a consular; and a son styled in the antient inscriptions and medals *M. Antoninus Gordianus*^m, with the title of *pontifex*; whereas his father is distinguished with that of *pontifex*

¹ Idem, p. 152, 153. ^m GOLTZ. p. 102.

maximus. The son was killed in the year 237, the forty-sixth of his age^a, and consequently was born in 191, the twelfth of the reign of *Commodus*. He had an extraordinary memory, and was well versed in polite literature, having had *Serenus Sammonicus* for his preceptor, who bequeathed to him his famous library, consisting of sixty-two thousand volumes; He wrote several pieces both in prose and verse; which shewed, says *Capitolinus* ^o, that he had a fine genius, but neglected to cultivate and improve it. He was well skilled in the law, and one of *Alexander's* chief counsellors. He was universally beloved on account of his obliging carriage and extraordinary sweet temper; but loved his pleasures, and spent most of his time in baths, gardens, and groves. He kept constantly twenty-two concubines, and is said to have had by each of them three or four children; whence he was called the *Priamus*, and satirically the *Priapus*, of his time. *Ælius Cordus* writes, that he could never be prevailed upon to marry, and consequently had no lawful issue. On the other hand, *De-xippus* tells us, that he married, and had by his wife *Gordian*, afterwards emperor ^p. But, according to *Herodian*, the emperor was not his, but his sister's son. But of him hereafter. *Gordian*, of whom we are now writing, was highly favoured by *Heliogabalus*, as a young man addicted to his pleasures, and by that prince raised to the quaestorship. *Alexander* preferred him, as he was a man of known integrity and great abilities, to the praetorship, and soon after honoured him with the consular dignity. In the reign of *Alexander* or *Maximinus* he was sent into *Africa*, in quality of lieutenant to his father, who took him for his partner in the empire, and, upon his death, put an end to his own life in the manner we have related above.

To resume now the thread of our history. The dismal tidings of the death of the two *Gordians* in *Africa* threw the whole city into the utmost consternation. However, as they dreaded above all things the cruel effects of *Maximinus's* resentment, and expected to find no mercy at the hands of so barbarous a tyrant, they resolved, not to submit to him, but to defend themselves to the last. The senate therefore, assembling in the temple of *Concord*, chose two new emperors, *M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus* and *Decimus Caelius Balbinus*. The former was a person of low birth, but extraordinary merit. His father was, according to some, a cartwright, according to others, a lock-smith; but the son raised himself, chiefly by his courage and valour, to the first em-

Pupienus
and Balbi-
nus pro-
claimed
emperors.

^a Vit. Gord. p. 158.

^o Idem, p. 160.

^p Idem ibid.
ployments

ployments in the empire. He served first in quality of a *The rise* private soldier; but was soon preferred, as he distinguished *and prefer-* himself on all occasions, to the post of a centurion, then to *ments of* that of a tribune, and not long after to the command of se- *Pupienus.* veral legions, in which he acquitted himself so well, that he was admitted into the senate, created prætor, honoured with the consulship, and successively appointed governor of *Bithynia, Greece, and Narbonne Gaul.* From *Gaul,* he was sent to command the troops in *Illyricum,* where he gained great advantages over the *Sarmatians,* and the forces in *Germany,* where he was attended with equal success against the *Germans.* Upon his return from *Germany,* he was made governor of *Rome,* in which place he acquitted himself with such prudence, integrity, and discretion, that he was both esteemed and beloved by persons of every rank and condition. He appeared always grave and serious, and shewed no great complaisance to any one; but was just, merciful, and never guilty of the least action that favoured of inhumanity, but on the contrary always ready to forgive. He addicted himself to no party, was steady and inflexible in his resolutions, and, without trusting to others, examined every thing himself with great care and attention. In short, the senate entertained such an high opinion of his extraordinary merit and virtues, that in declaring him emperor, they solemnly protested, that, in the whole empire, they knew no person better qualified than he for sustaining the name and dignity of a prince¹. He is commonly called *Pupienus* by the *Latin* historians, and by the *Greek* writers *Maximus,* which has strangely perplexed *Capitolinus,* who, after a long descant, concludes that they were two names of one and the same person: this trouble he might have saved himself by only looking upon one of that prince's coins. *Balbinus* was *The extra-* descended of an illustrious family, and pretended to derive his *tion and* pedigree from *Cornelius Balbus Thophanes,* a celebrated histo- *employ-* rian, and a man of the first rank in the island of *Lesbos,* *ments of* who was made free of *Rome* by *Pompey the Great.* The pre- *Balbinus.* sent emperor had been twice consul, and had governed without blame several provinces, viz. *Asia, Africa, Bithynia, Galatia, Pontus, Thrace, and Gaul.* He had likewise commanded armies; but, being somewhat timorous, he was thought better qualified for civil than military affairs. He possessed immense wealth, lived with great splendor, was addicted to pleasures, but at the same time universally beloved on account of his integrity (for he injured no man but

¹ Max. & Balb. vit. 166. 167.

himself), his humanity, sweet temper, and obliging behaviour. He was an excellent orator, no mean poet, and had an uncommon talent in making extemporary verses ^r.

The people
mutiny.

Young Gor-
dian de-
clared Cæ-
sar.

Maximus
marches a-
gainst
Maximi-
nus.

Maximus and *Balbinus* being, with the unanimous consent of the senate, raised to the sovereignty, and invested with the tribunitial and proconsular power, went, at the breaking up of the assembly, to the capitol. But while they were offering there the usual sacrifices, the populace rose, and, armed with stones and clubs, declared, that they would not obey the new emperors, and demanded, with great clamour, a prince of the *Gordian* family. *Maximus* and *Balbinus*, backed by some young knights, attempted to open themselves a way through the croud, sword in hand ; but were in the end, in spite of all their efforts, obliged to send for young *Gordian*, then only twelve years old, who was received by the populace with loud shouts, of joy, and carried to the capitol ; where the senate to appease the multitude, declared him *Cæsar*, arrayed him with the habit peculiar to that dignity, and in that attire shewed him to the people ; who thereupon dispersed, and retiring quietly to their houses, suffered the new emperors to take possession of the palace ^c ; where they began to discharge the functions of sovereignty with deifying the two *Gordians*. When that ceremony was over, they appointed *Sabinus* governor of *Rome*, and *Pinarius Valens*, uncle by the father to *Maximus*, commander of the prætorian guards ; and then, without loss of time, began to levy what forces they could, and make the necessary preparations for taking the field against *Maximinus*, who, upon the news of their election, quickened his march, breathing nothing but ruin and destruction. As most of the provinces had espoused the party of the senate, troops were sent from all parts to reinforce the army of *Maximus* ; who being charged with the conduct of the war, as the more able commander, set out from *Rome* soon after his election, leaving the prætorian guards, and part of the new raised-forces, to defend the city and awe the populace. After his departure, the senate dispatched the most considerable men of their body into the different parts of *Italy*, with orders to fortify all the cities, and supply the inhabitants with arms ; to remove all manner of provisions into the fortified towns, and either to reap or destroy the corn in the fields ; to mow the grass, and lay waste the whole country, through which *Maximinus* was to march with his numerous army. At the same time, they sent circular letters into all the provinces,

Idem, p. 168, & seq. *Histor. l. vii. p. 604.*
p. 145.

^c *Max. & Balb.*

declaring

Dreadful disorders committed in the city.

Gerdian,

Gordian, and shewed him to the people in his purple robes, the fury of both parties asswaged at once, hostilities ceased, the people retired to their houses, and the soldiers to the camp. So great was the esteem, respect, and veneration, both of the people and soldiery, for one sprung from the *Gordians*, who had lost their lives in the defence of the people of *Rome* ^u.

Maximi- THE next year, when *Annius Pius* or as others call him, nus pursues *Ulpus*, and *Pontianus* were consuls, *Maximinus* early in his march the spring pursued his march towards *Italy*, having with him, into Italy. we may say, all the forces of the empire. Being arrived at the foot of the *Alps* that part *Italy* from *Illyricum*, he found the city of *Hemona* or *Æmona* abandoned by its inhabitants; which inspired him with hopes of certain victory; for he thence concluded, that no place or city would dare to withstand him. *Herodian* calls *Æmona* the first city of *Italy*; but he ought rather to have styled it the last of *Pannonia*; for in that province it is placed by all the antient and modern geographers. *Sanfon* supposes it to have stood where the present city of *Laubach* stands, the capitol of *Carniola*; others place it in the neighbourhood of *Igg*, in the same country. *Maximinus*, leaving *Æmona*, passed the mountains without meeting with the least opposition; which heightened his joy and confidence. But his men, who expected to be refreshed, after passing the mountains, with plenty of all manner of provisions in *Italy*, finding the country laid waste far and wide, and themselves destitute even of necessaries, began to mutiny; *Maximinus* punished the ring-leaders of the tumult with great severity, which only served to exasperate the rest. However, he pursued his march; and being informed, that the city of *Aquileia* had shut its gates against a party, which he had sent to take possession of the place, he marched thither in person with all his forces, not doubting, but the inhabitants would submit upon the approach of so formidable an army. But *Crispinus* and *Menophilus*, two consulars of great resolution and intrepidity, to whom the senate had committed the defence of the city, answered the tribune sent by *Maximinus* to summon them to surrender, that they were determined to hold out to the last, and rather forfeit their lives, than betray their trust, or yield to such a cruel, bloody, and faithless, tyrant. At the same time, to animate the inhabitants, who began to waver, they gave out, that *Apollo*, the tutelar god of the place, had assured them of victory; which dispelled all fear, so that every one began to prepare for a vigorous defence.

Maximi-
nus sum-
mons the
city of A-
quileia to
surrender.

^u Vit. Max. & Balb. p. 168, 169.

In the mean while, *Maximinus* having spent some time in passing the river *Sontius*, now *Isonzo*, about sixteen miles from *Aquileia*, approached the city; and having caused all the vines and neighbouring groves, which were a great ornament to the place, to be cut down, he began to batter the walls with an incredible number of warlike engines, and to harrafs the besieged with repeated assaults, which they sustained with such resolution and intrepidity as can hardly be expressed. Even the women and children appeared on the ramparts, and bore their share in the common danger; the women especially signalized their zeal by yielding their hair to be employed in making strings for the bows and other warlike machines. The senate, out of gratitude, after the death of *Maximinus*, caused a magnificent temple to be erected, which they consecrated to *Venus calva*, or *Venus the bald*: on a medal of *Quintia Crispilla*, wife to the emperor *Maximus*, is to be seen a temple with that legend and the figure of a bald woman ^w. The soldiers of *Maximinus*, in the beginning of the siege, shewed great ardour; which, however, began to abate, when they found the inhabitants firmly determined to undergo all labours and hardships, rather than submit. *Maximinus*, highly provoked at their backwardness, and besides enraged at the bitter reproaches uttered by the inhabitants against him and his son, as often as they approached the walls, caused several of his officers to be publicly executed, ascribing the coolness of the soldiers to want of courage in them. This exasperated the soldiers, already inclined to mutiny for want of provisions, of which, and even of water, there was great scarcity in the camp. Besides, a report was spread, that the whole empire was arming against *Maximinus*, and ready to fall upon those who supported him in his tyranny. Hereupon the *Albanians*, that is, the soldiers belonging to the camp in the neighbourhood of *Alba*, took a sudden resolution to dispatch the author of so many calamities; and, without further deliberation, went straight, at noon-day, to the tent of *Maximinus*, dispatched both him and his son with many wounds, cut off their heads, and sent them to *Rome*, and threw their bodies into the river. With them were killed *Anolinus*, their captain of the guards, and all their chief ministers and friends ^{*}. Such was the end of the reign, or rather, of the tyranny, of the two *Maximins*, after it had lasted three years and a few days, the father being then in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the son in the twenty-first.

^w Vide DE MENESTRIER medailles des emper. & imperatr. p. 145. à Dijon, 1642.

The *Pannonians*, *Thracians*, and some other troops, heard the news of their death with regret, but did not attempt to revenge it. Thus the whole army presented themselves unarmed before the gates of *Aquileia*, acquainted the besieged with the death of *Maximinus*, and desired to be admitted into the city. It was not thought advisable to open the gates to them; but after they had adored the images of *Maximus*, *Balbinus*, and *Gordian*, placed for that purpose on the ramparts, a great quantity of provisions was sent to their camp; for they were almost famished: and the next day they all took the usual oaths to *Maximus* and *Balbinus* ¹.

His death
occasions
great joy
at Rome.

AN express was immediately dispatched to *Rome* with these joyful tidings, who passing through *Ravenna*, found the emperor *Maximus* there busy in assembling his forces, in order to march against the tyrant. But when he understood, that both the *Maximins* were killed, that their army had submitted, and sworn fidelity to him and his colleague, transported with joy, and laying aside all military preparations, he repaired to the temples to return thanks to the gods for such signal and unexpected success. In the mean time, the express pursuing his journey, and often changing horses, reached *Rome* the fourth day, distant from *Aquileia* about two hundred and eighty miles, which no one, says our historian, had ever done before. Upon his arrival, he found *Balbinus* and *Gordian* assisting with the people at the public sports in the theatre, where he delivered his letters to the two princes; which he had no sooner done, than the whole multitude cried out with one voice, *Maximinus is killed*; and rising up left the theatre, and crowded to the temples, whither *Balbinus* and *Gordian* followed. The senate immediately assembled; and after decreeing several honours to the three princes, appointed sacrifices to be offered in all the temples, and a day of public and solemn thanksgiving for their happy delivery. *Balbinus*, who used to tremble at the very name of *Maximinus*, offered an hecatomb, which was never done but upon some very extraordinary occasion, and caused the same sacrifice to be offered in all the cities of the empire ². Those who brought the heads of the two *Maximins*, arrived at *Rome* soon after the courier; for they made what haste they could. They were met every-where by crowds of the people, and received with the greatest demonstrations of joy. They entered *Rome* with the heads stuck upon two lances, that every one might see them; and no sight was ever more pleasing. They re-

¹ HEROD. l. viii. p. 614. ² HEROD. l. viii. p. 626, 627.
Max. vit. p. 146. * Max. vit. p. 169, &c.

paired again to the temples, offered new sacrifices, and seemed no less transported with joy, than if they had been delivered from imminent death or captivity ^a. The two heads were abandoned to the rage of the populace, and, after many insults, burnt in the field of *Mars*. The names of the *Maximins* were, by a decree of the senate, erased out of all inscriptions, their statues overturned, and their bodies ordered to be left unburied. The emperor *Maximus* hastened from *Ravenna* to *Aquileia*, where he was received with loud acclamations, and acknowledged emperor by the army of *Maximinus*, among whom he distributed large sums, and then sent them back to their respective quarters, retaining with him only the prætorian guards, and a small body of *Germans*, in whom chiefly he confided. During his stay at *Aquileia*, the senate, to do him honour, sent a deputation to him, consisting of twenty of their body, who had been all consuls, prætors, or quæstors. With them he set out from *Aquileia*; *Maximus* returning there received at the gates by *Balbinus*, *Gordian*, the senate in a body, and all the people, and conducted in triumph to the palace ^b. The two emperors governed with great prudence and moderation, enacted excellent laws, administered justice with the utmost impartiality, maintained military discipline with due rigour, paid great respect and deference to the senate, and conducted themselves in all things with such wisdom, equity, and moderation, that they were in a manner adored both by the senate and people ^c. But the happiness and tranquillity which they enjoyed, under these excellent princes, were short-lived. The *Carpi*, a people beyond the *Danube*, passing that river, ravaged the province of *Mæsia*. The *Goths*, provoked perhaps by the death of *Maximinus*, invaded the *Roman* territories on the side of *Scythia*; and the *Persians*, who had continued quiet since the year 233, when *Alexander* made war upon them, threatened the eastern provinces. It was therefore agreed among the princes, that *Maximus* should march against the *Persians*, *Balbinus* against the *Goths* and the *Carpi*, and *Gordian* remain in the mean time at *Rome*. But while great preparations were making for the intended expeditions, the prætorian guards, dissatisfied to see princes, who had been created by the senate, so much applauded, and provoked at the bitter invectives which were daily uttered against *Maximinus*, and reflected no small dishonour upon them, who had raised him

^a Max. vit. p. 169. HEROD. p. 617. ^b HEROD. l. viii p. 620. Max. & Balb. vit. p. 170.

The præ-
torian
guards mu-
tiny.

Jealousies
between
the empe-
rors.

to the empire, began to mutiny, and complain with one another, that the right of naming the emperors, which had hitherto proved so advantageous to them, was snatched out of their hands, and transferred to the senate. Besides, they grew jealous of the *Germans*, whom *Maximus* had brought to *Rome* with him, with a design, as they imagined, to discharge the prætorian guards, as *Septimius Severus* had formerly done, and to take the *Germans* in their room. Being thus prejudiced against the two emperors, they resolved to dispatch them, and resume their pretended authority, by setting up another in their room. Having taken this resolution, they only waited for an opportunity of putting it in execution, which soon offered; for the *Capitoline* games being celebrated a few days after, and most of the emperors guards and domestics resorting thither, the discontented and mutinous soldiery marched straight to the palace, where the two princes were left almost alone. *Maximus*, informed of their arrival before they had entered the palace, was for calling the *Germans* to his assistance, but was therein opposed by *Balbinus*. For these two princes were not, for all their great qualities, free from private jealousies. *Balbinus* was piqued at the extraordinary honours which the senate had heaped upon his colleague, as if the death of *Maximinus*, and blessings thence accruing, had been chiefly owing to him; and besides, looked upon him as one greatly inferior to himself in birth and nobility. On the other hand, *Maximus*, knowing himself to be by far the better soldier and abler commander, tacitly claimed on that score the chief authority. These mutual jealousies, though prudently concealed, and rather guessed at by others, than seen, bred some misunderstanding between them, and occasioned in the end the ruin of both. For *Balbinus*, not giving credit to what he was told of the designs of the prætorian guards, but rather suspecting that his colleague intended to employ the *Germans* against him, would not suffer *Maximus*, to whom they were greatly attached, to send for them. This occasioned a warm dispute, and gave time to the prætorian guards to break into the palace, and disperse such of the emperor's friends and domestics as offered to oppose them. When they came to the apartment where the two princes were, they rushed upon them with a fury hardly to be expressed, tore in pieces their imperial robes, dragged them out of the palace with a design to carry them to their camp, wounded and insulted them in a most outrageous manner. But, while they were hurrying them through the city to the camp, being in-

formed, that the *Germans* had taken arms, and were advancing to rescue the princes out of their hands, they killed them both, and leaving their bodies in the street, retired to the camp, carrying with them young *Gordian*, whom they proclaimed emperor, giving out, to appease the populace, that they had killed those whom the people had at first rejected, and set up in their room the person whom they had demanded. The *Germans*, informed that the emperors were killed; retired; without committing any hostilities, to their quarters without the city. Thus *Gordian* remained in peaceable possession of the empire ^d. *Maximus* and *Balbinus* had reigned about one year and two months.

They are both killed: Gordian proclaimed emperor.

OF the descent and birth of *Gordian* we have spoken above. He was, according to *Herodian*, the son of *Junius Balbus*, by the sister of *Gordian* the younger, from whom he borrowed the name of *M. Antonius Gordianus*, as he is styled in all the antient inscriptions ^e. He was about thirteen years old when he came to the empire, and consequently must have been born in the year 225, the fourth of *Alexander's* reign. He was a youth of a gay temper, comely aspect, and exceeding sweet disposition, which gained him the love of all who approached him: *Capitolinus* tells us, that he was beloved by persons of all ranks, more than any prince had ever been before him. The senate used to style him their son, the soldiers their child, and the people their darling. He was addicted to study and learning, and well instructed in most branches of polite literature. He had all the necessary qualifications for forming an excellent prince; but as he wanted experience, and such a mother to direct and advise him as *Mamæa*, in the beginning of his reign, he fell into the hands of one *Maurus* and some other crafty freedmen and eunuchs, who playing booty, and abusing the confidence he reposed in them, persuaded him to do many things, which he ever after regretted. They soon drove all good men from the court, raised to the first employments persons altogether unworthy of them, plundered the exchequer, and did all the mischief which wicked and avaricious ministers are capable of doing ^f. In the beginning of the year, the young prince entered upon his first consulship, to which he had been named in the reign of *Maximus* and *Balbinus*, and took for his colleague *Aviola*. This year he entertained the people with magnificent sports, in order to make them forget their past heats and animosities.

His excellent qualifications.

Is deceived and imposed upon by his ministers.

^d HEROD. p. 621. Max. & Balb. vit. p. 170. ^e HEROD. l. vii. p. 605. OCCO. GOLTZ. ONUPH. &c. ^f HEROD. l. viii. p. 621. Gord. vit. p. 160—164.

The following year, when *Sabinus* was consul; the second time, with *Venustus*, *Sabinianus* revolted in *Africa*, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor; but the governor of *Mauritania* reduced the rebels to such straits, that they delivered up *Sabinianus* to him, acknowledged their fault, and submitted. All the partizans of *Sabinianus* were pardoned⁸; but what was his fate, we are no-where told. The next year, the emperor took upon him his second consulship, having *Pompeianus Civica* for his colleague. The young prince married this year *Furia Sabina Tranquillina*, the daughter of *Misitheus*, who was immediately honoured with the title of *Augusta*; but whether he had any children by her, history does not inform us. The emperor chose *Misitheus* for his father-in-law, purely on account of his great wisdom, integrity, and learning; and appointed him captain of the guards, that he might have a person of his extraordinary talents with whom to advise, not daring to trust to his own judgment. *Misitheus* had no sooner taken possession of that important employment, than he acquainted the emperor with the misdemeanour of *Maurus*; and base practices of the other freedmen and eunuchs; who were thereupon all discharged and banished the court. From a letter of *Misitheus* to the emperor, quoted by *Capitolinus*, it appears, that the young prince had been strangely misled; and grossly imposed upon by that infamous crew (T); and

Misitheus,
captain of
the guards,
and father-
in-law to
the emperor

⁸ Gord. vit. p. 161. Zos. l. i. p. 640.

(T) This letter was conceived in the following terms: " It is
" with the greatest pleasure I congratulate you upon the alteration
" of times. Every thing was formerly bought and sold by the
" eunuchs, and such as pretended to be your friends, but were in
" reality your greatest enemies. I am glad that this blot is removed
" from your reign; the more, because you are glad of it yourself;
" which will convince the world, that the disorders hitherto
" complained of ought not to be imputed to you. All posts in
" the army have been disposed of to persons no-ways qualified for
" them; others have been denied the rewards due to their services;
" innocent persons have been condemned, and such as were guilty
" saved; the public revenues misapplied, the exchequer plundered,
" &c. But these, and many other disorders, will no longer
" be imputed to you, but to those who entered into cabals to deceive
" you, to remove from the court all persons of virtue, honour,
" and integrity, and to introduce in their room men as wicked
" as themselves, that they might make you a property to their
" evil designs. But now your eyes are opened, you have begun to
" reform the state, and many disorders have been already redressed.
" I reckon it my greatest happiness to be father-in-law to so good
" a prince;

and from the emperor's answer to it, that he was sensible of his former misconduct, and desirous to correct his faults; to know the truth, and to employ only such persons as would speak it without flattery or disguise (U). He respected *Misitheus* as his father, gave him that title, ordered him to call him his son, and returned thanks to the senate for distinguishing his father-in-law with the titles of *father of princes*, and *guardian of the republic*^a; titles which he well deserved, being one of the few ministers who are said to have had nothing in view, but the glory of their prince and the welfare of the state^b. This year, happened a dreadful earthquake, which overturned a great many cities, and destroyed an infinite number of people^c. The following year, when *C. Vettius Aufidius Atticus* and *C. Asinius Prætextatus* were consuls, Rome was alarmed with news from the east, where the *Per-* Sapor,
sians, under the conduct of *Sapor*, son and successor to *Ar-* king of
taxerxes, the restorer of the *Persian* monarchy, had entered Persia,
the *Roman* dominions at the head of a mighty army, reduced over-runs
all *Mesopotamia*, with the cities of *Nisibis* and *Carrhæ*; and the Ro-
entering *Syria*, committed most dreadful ravages in that pro- man domi-
nions in the
east.

^a Gord. vit. p. 161.^b Idem, p. 163.^c Idem, p. 162.

" a prince; a prince who, without trusting to others, examines
" into every thing himself, and has banished from his court those,
" who, consulting not his honour, but their own interest, led him
" astray (34)."

(U) The emperor returned to his father-in-law the following answer. " If the immortal gods had not protected the *Roman* em-
" pire, I had been deluded, and, together with the empire, utter-
" ly ruined by slaves and eunuchs. I am now fully convinced,
" that *Felix* ought not to have been trusted with the command of
" the guards, nor *Serapamio* with that of the fourth legion. But
" not to mention all my errors, I own, that I have done many
" things amiss, and now return thanks to the gods for having by
" your means discovered many things to me, which have been hi-
" therto maliciously concealed from me. *Maurus* entering into
" a confederacy with *Gaudianus*, *Reverendus*, and *Montanus*, who
" confirmed whatever he said, imposed upon me; so that, what-
" ever they approved or condemned, I accepted or rejected, rely-
" ing intirely upon their integrity. Unhappy therefore is that
" prince, who has not such about him, as will tell him the truth
" without disguise. For, as he cannot immediately know what
" passes among his people, he must understand it by the relation
" of others, and take his measures according to their information
" (35)."

(34) Gord. vit. p. 161.

(35) Idem ibid-

He is defeated by Gordian, and obliged to retire.

vince, putting all to fire and sword. *Capitolinus* writes, that he had made himself master of *Antioch* itself, and threatened to over-run the other provinces; most of the *Romans* who defended them, having; through fear, lifted themselves in his army. *Gordian* resolved to march in person against so formidable an enemy; and accordingly having caused the temple of *Janus* to be opened, according to the antient custom, which had been long omitted; and perhaps was never after practised, he set out from *Rome* this year 242, the fourth of his reign, with a numerous and well-disciplined army; and taking his rout through *Mæsia*, defeated in that province the *Goths* and *Sarmatians*, who disputed his passage, and obliged them to abandon their conquests, and return to their respective countries ^d. However, he was overcome in a tumultuary engagement by the *Alani*; in the celebrated plains of *Philippi* in *Macedon*; or, as others will have it, of *Philippopolis* in *Thrace*^e. But the barbarians neglected, it seems, to improve their victory, and withdrew; for *Gordian* pursued his march unmolested through *Thrace*, and, passing the *Hellepont*, arrived safe in *Asia*. To this passage perhaps alludes the ship, which is to be seen on some of his medals bearing no date ^f. From the *Hellepont* he marched through *Asia* into *Syria*, where he gained signal advantages over the enemy, of which historians give us but a confused account. However, they all agree, that he overcame the *Persians* in several battles; that he recovered the cities of *Nisibis* and *Carrhæ*, and obliged the mighty *Sapor*, with his powerful and numerous army, to abandon the *Roman* dominions, and retire with shame and disgrace into his own country, whither he pursued him as far as *Ctesiphon*^g. These successes were chiefly owing to the wise counsels and directions of the brave *Misitheus*, as the emperor himself with great modesty acknowledged, in a letter which he wrote to the senate upon his arrival at *Nisibis* in *Mesopotamia*. In that letter he first acquaints the senate with the advantages he had gained over the barbarians in *Macedon* and *Thrace*; then coming to his victories over the *Persians*, he tells them, that he had delivered the *Antiochians* from the *Persian* yoke, recovered *Carrhæ* and other cities, and was arrived at *Nisibis*; whence he designed to proceed to *Ctesiphon*, provided the gods, adds he, continue their protection to us, and preserve *Misitheus*, my father, and captain of the guards, by whose wise conduct we have atchieved these, and hope to atchieve still greater things. It is incumbent

^d Idem, p. 163.

^e Idem, p. 165.

^f BIRAG. p. 339.

^g Gord. vit. p. 162. AUR. VICT. EUTROP.

upon

upon you, conscript fathers, to appoint public processions to recommend us to the gods, and to return thanks to *Misitheus*.

Upon the receipt of this letter, the senate decreed a triumph *Gordian* to the emperor, and a triumphal chariot to *Misitheus*, with *is decreed* a pompous inscription, styling him *the father of princes, captain of the guards, and the guardian of the republic* ^a. This *and Misitheus* inscription, which was placed on the basis of his triumphal statue, is still to be seen at *Rome* almost intire. But the happiness which the whole empire enjoyed under the government of *Gordian*, and the wise administration of *Misitheus*, was short-lived. The latter died the following year, in the consulship of *Arrianus* and *Papus*, and by his last will left the *Roman* people his heirs. We are told, that *Misitheus* being ill of a flux, the physicians prescribed him a remedy to stop it, which, by the contrivance of *Julius Philippus*, of whom hereafter, was exchanged, and another administered in its room, which, as it had a quite contrary effect, put an end to his life. Upon his death, *Philip* was appointed captain of the guards, and commander in chief under the emperor of all the forces of the east; for of him *Gordian* did not entertain the least suspicion ¹. The following year, when *Peregrinus* and *Æmilianus* were consuls, the emperor entered the *Persian* dominions, in order to pursue the war, which he had so successfully begun. *Plotinus*, the celebrated philosopher, lifted himself in his army, hoping by that means to have an opportunity of conferring with the *Persian* and *Indian* philosophers ². The philosopher was then in the thirty-ninth year of his age, which, according to the chronology of *Porphyrus*, the author of his life, answers the present year, the 243d of the christian æra and sixth of *Gordian's* reign.

Philip no sooner saw himself raised to the important post of *Julius Philippus*, captain of the guards, than he began to aspire at the sovereignty itself. As the soldiers were greatly attached to the young prince, in order to lessen their affection to him, he sometimes led them into places where no provisions could be found; at other times sent in his name the vessels, which attended the army, loaded with corn, another way, hoping that the troops, distressed for want of necessaries, would, notwithstanding their attachment to *Gordian*, begin to mutiny; which they did accordingly, the most turbulent among them, whom *Philip* had gained, whispering about in the mean time, that *Gordian*, a youth only nineteen years old, was not fit to command such powerful forces; that they wanted such a ge-

^a Idem, p. 160. ¹ Idem, p. 162. Zos. l. i. p. 641. ² PORPHYR. vit. Plot. p. 2.

neral as *Philip*, whom long experience had taught how to govern an empire, how to command an army¹. *Gordian*, however, advanced against *Sapor*, and meeting him in *Mesopotamia*, gave him a total overthrow on the banks of the *Aboras*, or *Aburas*, and obliged him to take shelter in the heart of his own dominions². But while the young conqueror was pursuing the advantages of his victory, *Philip*, who had already gained the chief officers of the army, led the troops through barren and desert countries, where, through want of provisions, which they ascribed to want of experience in *Gordian*, they openly mutinied, and demanded, that *Philip* might reign in conjunction with *Gordian*, as his guardian and governor. The virtuous young emperor, unwilling to shed Roman blood, granted them their request, and took *Philip* for his partner in the empire, who seeing himself upon the level with his sovereign, soon began to usurp an authority over him, and to dispose of all employments, as if he had been sole emperor. This *Gordian* could not bear, and therefore attempted to depose him; but *Philip's* party prevailing, he was himself deposed, and in the end murdered by the usurper. *Capitolinus* writes, that *Gordian*, finding himself reduced to a private life, offered to serve under *Philip* as captain of the guards, and even condescended to beg his life; at which demand, *Philip* began to relent; but afterwards, considering how dear the young prince was to the senate and people of *Rome*, and not doubting, but they would use their utmost efforts to reinstate him in the sovereignty, he commanded him to be slain³. Other writers take no notice of these particulars, which, if true, betray great meanness and want of courage in *Gordian*; but only tell us, that *Philip* caused him to be murdered, and reigned in his room. His death happened, according to the most probable opinion, founded on the authority of the code⁴, about the beginning of *March*, after he had lived nineteen years, and reigned five years and eight months. He was killed on the farthest borders of *Persia*, in the place where his tomb was still to be seen in the year 363, beyond the *Euphrates* and the *Aboras*, between the cities of *Cercusa*, which stood near the conflux of those two rivers, and that of *Dura*, which stands very near the latter, and is about twenty miles distant from the former river. The place was called *Zantha* or *Zaithe*⁵. There the soldiers erected to the me-

He induces
the soldiers
to mutiny.

Gordian
deposed.

and slain

His tomb
and epi-
taph.

¹ Gord. vit. p. 163. Zos. l. i. p. 641. ^m AMMIAN. l. xxiii. ^a Gord. vit. p. 163. 165. ^o Cod. Just. l. ix. tit. 2. leg. 7. p. 813, &c. ^p AMMIAN. l. xxiii. p. 244—246. Zos. l. iii. p. 716. NORIS epist. d. 287.

mory of the deceased emperor a stately tomb with the following epitaph in the *Greek, Latin, Persian, Hebrew, and Egyptian* tongues, that it might be read by all nations: *To the deified Gordian, who conquered the Persians, Goths, and Sarmatians, suppressed the civil discords, subdued the Germans, but could not overcome the Philips.* The last words allude, according to *Capitolinus*, to his having been overcome by the *Alani* in the plains of *Philippi*, and his being killed by *Philip*^a. But we can hardly persuade ourselves, that this epitaph was put up during the life and reign of the emperor *Philip*. The same writer adds, that *Licinius*, who pretended to derive his pedigree from *Philip*, caused this epitaph to be taken down. *Victor* the younger writes, that the body of *Gordian* was interred in that tomb; but *Eutropius* and *Festus* assure us, that it was conveyed to *Rome*, where the deceased prince was with the usual ceremonies ranked among the gods. The senate granted this extraordinary privilege to the *Gordian* family, that they might for ever be exempted from taking upon them, unless it were by their own choice, guardianships, embassies, or any other public duty whatever^r. All those who had imbrued their hands in the blood of this excellent prince, perished soon after^r. *Capitolinus* writes, that they dispatched themselves with the same swords which they had employed against him^r (W).

Philip

^a Gord. vit. p. 165. ^r Gord. vit. p. 164. ^r AMMIAN. l. xxiii. p. 246. ^r Gord. vit. p. 165.

(W) The writers who flourished under *Gordian* were *Censorinus*, who wrote, or rather finished, his famous book, intitled *de die natali*, in the first year of that prince's reign, the second of the 254th olympiad, the 991st of *Rome*, when the *Capitoline* games were celebrated the thirty-ninth time (36). All these particulars give great light to chronology. He wrote the abovementioned book, designing it as a present to one of his friends, by name *Q. Cerellius*, against his birth-day. Thence he takes occasion to treat of the birth of man, and to make many learned observations on days, months, and years. This work was known to, and greatly esteemed by, *Apollinaris Sidonius* and *Cassiodorus*, of whom the latter quotes a book, written by *Censorinus*, on accents; but of that work only some fragments have reached our times, quoted by *Priscian*, who styles *Censorinus* a very learned grammarian (37). He is, by the best critics, looked upon as the most exact writer of his time (38).

(36) *Censor. de die natal. c. 8. p. 131, 132, & c. 21. p. 155, 156.* (37) *Vide Voss. hist. Lat. l. ii. c. 3.* (38) *Vide append. ad Cyprian. dissert. c. 9.*

Birth and extraction of Philip. Philip was by birth an *Arabian*, being born in *Bostra*, a city of *Arabia Petraea*. He was of a very mean descent; for his

Censorinus himself quotes, as a work of his own, a book intitled *indigitamentorum*, in which he took particular notice of all the gods, who, in the opinion of the pagans, contributed to the life of man (39). *Herodian* wrote, in eight books, the history of the emperors, from the death of *M. Aurelius* to that of *Maximus* and *Balbinus*. He assures us, that he wrote nothing but what he himself had seen; so that he must have died very old; for his work comprehends the space of sixty-eight or seventy years (40). All we know of his life is, that he was at *Rome* in the latter end of the reign of *Commodus* (41), and had several employments under the succeeding emperors (42). As for his history, *Photius* commends his style as noble and sublime, and at the same time clear, and free from all affectation (43). *Capitolinus*, who in many places only translates and copies him, bestows great encomiums upon his writings, but at the same time censures him, and with a great deal of reason, as too favourable to *Maximinus*, and highly prejudiced against *Alexander* (44). *Vossius* and others approve of this censure (45); whence, in our history of the reigns of these two princes, we have preferred the authority of *Capitolinus* to his. He omits the dates, and many other things, which would have cleared up great difficulties in history and chronology, and seems to have been quite unacquainted with geography, as appears from the account he gives us of the rout, which he supposes the emperor *Alexander's* forces to have taken, when that prince marched against the *Persians*. Under *Gordian* likewise flourished *Arrian*, a *Greek* historian, quoted by *Capitolinus* in his history of the reigns of *Maximinus* and *Gordian* (46); and *Ælius Junius Cordus*, often quoted by the *Augustine* historians (47). He wrote the lives of the emperors, from *Trajan* to the two *Gordians*; but filled his history, according to *Capitolinus*, with many impertinent and trifling accounts, telling his readers how many suits of cloaths each emperor had, what number of courtiers and domestics, &c. (48). *Vossius* places him among the *Latin* historians, with *Ælius Sabinus*, who wrote the life of *Maximinus*, *Vulcanius Terentianus*, author of the lives of the three *Gordians*, in whose times they lived, and *Curius Fortunatianus*, who wrote the history of the reign of the two *Maximins* (49). Some pretend, that

(39) *Censor. c. 3. p. 17.* (40) *Herod. l. i. p. 465. & l. ii. p. 514.* (41) *Idem, l. i. p. 484.* (42) *Idem ibid. p. 465.* (43) *Phot. c. 99. p. 276.* (44) *Maximin. vit. p. 143. Alex. vit. p. 134.* (45) *Voss. bist. Græc. l. ii. p. 239.* (46) *Voss. ibid. l. iv. p. 17. Maximin. vit. p. 150.* (47) *Voss. bist. Lat. l. ii. c. 3. p. 179. Macrin. vit. p. 93.* (48) *Gord. vit. p. 152, 160.* (49) *Voss. bist. Lat. l. ii. c. 3. Max. vit. p. 150. Gord. vit. p. 160.*

his father is said to have been a famous captain of robbers in that country ^w. In the antient inscriptions he is styled *M. Julius Philippus*, and his wife *Marcia Otacilia Severa*. He had a son, named likewise *Philip*, born in the year 237, and consequently seven years old when his father came to the empire. The emperor himself was at that time, according to the chronicle of *Alexandria* ^z, about forty; but *Aurelius Victor* supposes him to have been much older. Whether or no *Philip* was the first Christian emperor, has been the subject of great disputes among the learned. The affirmative seems to us by far the most probable, being maintained by the following writers, viz. *Jerom*, *Chrysostom*, *Dionysius of Alexandria*, *Zonaras*, *Nicephorus*, *Cedrenus*, *Rufinus*, the chronicle of *Alexandria*, *Syncellus*, *Orosius*, *Jornandes*, the anonymous writer published by *Valesius*, with *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the learned cardinal *Bona*, *Abulfaragius*, *Vincentius Lirinensis*, and *Huetius*. The arguments which some modern critics have alledged in favour of the opposite opinion, are not of weight enough with us to bear down the authority of so many eminent writers; nay, most of them have but little or no force in themselves, and only prove, that *Philip* was guilty of several actions highly discountenanced by the christian religion; such as his murdering his sovereign; his styling him a god; his assisting at the public shows, which were always attended with idolatrous ceremonies; and his being deified after his death. But in all times there have been christians, whose lives were a disgrace to their profession; and in that number some rank the present emperor, though there are not wanting writers of no small account, who, bating the murder of *Gordian*, for which, they say, he atoned by submitting to a public penance,

Whether
the first
christian
emperor.

^w GORD. vit p. 163. ZONAR p. 229. VICT. epit. ^z Chron. Alexand. p. 630.

the history of *Fortunatianus* is still extant, and lodged in the emperor's library; nay, that it was formerly printed in *Italy*. To this *Fortunatianus Vossius* ascribes the three books on rhetoric, which have reached our times, under the name of *Curius Fortunatianus Consultus*, and are deservedly esteemed by the learned (50). In the reign of the emperor *Constantine* were still extant some books of epigrams by *Fabius* a Greek grammarian, and one of the preceptors of *Maximinus* the younger, and various poems written by *Toxotius*, a senator of the family of *Antoninus Pius*. He married *Junia Fadilla*, formerly betrothed to young *Maximinus*, and died soon after he had discharged the office of prætor (51).

(50) *Voss. ibid.*

(51) *Maximin. vit.* p. 148.

think he did nothing inconsistent with the principles of the religion which he professed : and truly we are no-where told, that he demanded of the senate the apotheosis of *Gordian*. He used indeed, as we read in *Capitolinus*, to honour that prince, when he mentioned his name, with the title of *divus*, the deified *Gordian* ; but that title was given even by *Constantine* after his conversion, and by other christian emperors, to the princes who had reigned before them, as appears from their rescripts. *Philip* is said by *Victor* the younger to have been present at the public shows, that were exhibited on occasion of the thousandth year of *Rome* ; but that he assisted at the religious, or rather idolatrous, ceremonies, which usually preceded the sports, we find no-where recorded. His being deified after his death was no crime in him, but a kind of compliment paid by the senate to most emperors : the same honour was conferred upon *Mamæa* the mother of *Alexander* ; and yet no one pretends to infer from thence, that she was not a christian. But to proceed to the history of this prince's reign. Upon the death of *Gordian*, *Philip* was acknowledged emperor by the whole army, on the fourteenth of *March* of the year 244. The new prince no sooner saw himself invested with the sovereign power, than he declared his son *Cæsar*, and took him, though but seven years old, for his partner in the empire. He then wrote to the senate, acquainting them with the death of *Gordian*, which he falsely ascribed to a natural distemper, and with his own election¹. Some authors write, that the senate believing, or pretending to believe him, confirmed without hesitation the choice of the soldiery ; while others pretend, that the senate did not acknowledge *Philip*, till *M. Marcius*, and *L. Aurelius Severus Hostilianus*, two senators of great distinction, whom they successively created emperors, were snatched away by sudden deaths². *Philip*, desirous to return to *Rome*, immediately concluded a peace with the *Persians*, and led back his army into *Syria*. *Zonaras* writes, that he yielded to *Sapor*, *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia* ; but soon after broke the treaty, and recovered, to the great satisfaction of the *Romans*, both countries³. Be that as it will, he arrived at *Antioch* before *Easter*, which, according to *Eusebius*⁴, was celebrated this year on the fourteenth of *April*, and went with the empress to assist at the prayers and sacred ceremonies that were performed by the primitive Christians the night preceding that great festival.

He takes
his son for
his partner
in the em-
pire.

He con-
cludes a
peace with
the Persi-
ans.

¹ Gord. vit. p. 164.

CEDREN. p. 257.

c. 34.

² ZONAR. p. 229. ONUPH. p. 260.

³ ZONAR. ibid.

⁴ EUSEB. l. vi.

But

But *Babylas*, who was then bishop of *Antioch*, and afterwards suffered martyrdom under *Decius*, apprised of his coming, went out to meet him; reproached him with the murder of his sovereign; declared him unworthy of being admitted into the congregation of the faithful; and stopping him with his hand, protested, that he would by no means suffer him to enter the sacred place, unless he made a public confession of his sins, and ranked himself among the penitents. The emperor with great humility submitted to both, and was thereupon by the holy bishop admitted into the church. This *St. Chrysostom*^c and several other writers relate as a thing altogether certain; but *Eusebius* speaks of it as what in his time was said to have happened^d. It was probably on this occasion that *Origen* wrote both to *Philip* and his wife *Severa*, which *St. Jerom* mistakes for his mother, commending their piety, and putting them in mind of their duty^e. Both these letters were still extant in *St. Jerom's* time^f; that is, about the end of the fourth century. From *Syria* the emperor set out for *Rome*, where he was received with the usual demonstrations of joy by the senate and people; whose affections, though they at first seemed averse to him, he soon gained by his mild administration and obliging behaviour^g. He appointed his brother *Priscus* commander in chief of the troops in *Syria*, and *Severianus*, his father-in-law, of the forces in *Mæsia* and *Macedon*, persons but ill qualified for those important posts^h. As the works of *Trebellius Pollio* and others, who wrote the lives of *Philip* and his successors to *Valerian*, have not reached our times, we cannot help borrowing many things of *Zosimus*; but we think it incumbent upon us to acquaint our readers, that he was a professed and implacable enemy to the christian religion, and therefore omits no opportunity of blackening the character of *Philip*, and crying up his successor *Decius*, by whom the church was most cruelly persecuted.

THE following year, the emperor entered upon his first consulship, having *Titianus* for his colleague; and soon after, leaving the city, marched against the *Carpi*, who, passing the *Danube*, had invaded *Mæsia*, and laid waste great part of that province. The emperor defeated them in two battles, and obliged them to repass the *Danube*, and sue for peace; which

He gains the affections of the people at Rome.
He defeats the Carpi.

^c CHRYSTOS. de S. Babyla, contra Gentil. tom. 1. p. 656, 657. Paris. ann. 1636.

^d EUSEB. l. vi. c. 34.

^e Idem ibid. c.

36. VINCENT. LIRIN. c. 23. RUFIN. c. 26.

^f HIER.

vit. illust. vir. c. 54. p. 285.

^g AUR. VICT. Zos. l. i. p. 646.

^h Idem p. 642, 643.

The thousandth
year of
Rome.

Unnatural
lust sup-
pressed at
Rome.

Several
rebellions.

he readily granted, and returned to *Rome*¹. The next year, when *Præfens* and *Albinus* were consuls, nothing happened at *Rome*, or in the provinces, which historians have thought worth transmitting to posterity, except the burning by accidental fire of the theatre of *Pompey*, and another stately building called *Centum Columnæ*, or the *Hundred Pillars*. In the beginning of the following year, the emperor entered upon his second consulship, having his son for his colleague, whom he honoured with the title of *Augustus*, and invested with the tribunitial power^k. Both princes retained the fasces all this and the following year, to celebrate with the greater pomp and magnificence the thousandth year of *Rome*, begun on the twenty-first of *April* of the year 247 of the christian æra, and fifth of *Philip's* reign, according to the computation of *Varro*; which was then, and is still, followed by most historians and chronologers. Extraordinary rejoicings were made at *Rome*, shows of all kinds exhibited for ten days together, and an incredible number of wild beasts, reserved by *Gordian* for his triumph over the *Persians*, killed and distributed among the people^l. *Orosius* writes, that the pious emperor turned this extraordinary solemnity to the honour of *Christ* and his church^m. We wish he had informed us in what manner.

This year the emperor published an edict truly worthy of a christian prince, forbidding under the severest penalties all manner of unnatural lust, and those infamous practices which had long prevailed in *Rome*, being countenanced by the wicked, and tolerated by the good, princesⁿ. The following year when *M. Æmilianus* was, the second time, consul with *Julius Aquilinus*, the eastern provinces, no longer able to pay the taxes with which they were loaded, nor bear with the haughty conduct of *Priscus* their governor (we follow *Zosimus* for want of a better guide), openly revolted, and proclaimed one *Papianus*, or *Gotepianus*, emperor; but he was soon killed, and with his death put an end to the disturbances on that side^o. At the same time the provinces of *Mæsia* and *Pannonia* revolted, continues *Zosimus*, and set up one *P. Corvilius Marinus*, who was but a centurion. Hereupon *Philip*, in great consternation, besought the senate either to enable him to quash the rebellion, or to depose him, if they were dissatisfied with his conduct. This unexpected speech surprised the senate; but *Decius*, while the other senators

¹ Idem. p. 641.

^k ONUPH. p. 260.

GOITZ. p. 107.

^l PAGI, D. 247. SPANH. l. iii. p. 147.

^m OROS. l. vii. c.

10. ⁿ ALEX. vii. p. 121. AUR. VICT.

^o ZOS. l. i. p.

642.

continued

continued silent, addressing the emperor, told him, that he had no reason to fear *Marinus*, whose presumption, as he was unequal to any great undertaking, would soon prove his ruin. What *Decius* had foretold, happened a few days after, when *Marinus* was killed by those very persons who had raised him to the empire. Hereupon *Philip*, recalling his father-in-law *Severianus*, obliged *Decius*, much against his will, to accept of the government of *Mæsia* and *Pannonia* in his room. He no sooner appeared there, than the soldiers proclaimed him emperor, and forced him to accept the sovereignty, by threatening to put him to death, if he declined it. Fear therefore getting the better of his fidelity, he suffered himself to be arrayed with the imperial purple, and the soldiers to swear allegiance to him ^p. *Zonaras* tells us, that he immediately wrote to *Philip*, assuring him, that he designed to resign the sovereignty as soon as he reached *Rome* ^q. But *Philip*, without relying upon such promises marched with all possible expedition against the usurper, hoping to surprise him. His son he left at *Rome*, with a detachment of the prætorian guards, to keep the city in awe. *Decius*, having timely notice of his march and approach, received him with his troops in battle array. Hereupon a battle ensued, in which great numbers of *Philip's* men were cut in pieces, and the rest obliged to retire to *Verona*, where he himself was killed by the army; whether by his own, or by that of *Decius*, we are not told. The news of his death no sooner reached *Rome*, than the prætorian guards dispatched his son, who was then in their camp. Such was the end of the emperor *Philip*, after he had reigned five years and some months; for he was proclaimed emperor on the fourteenth of *March* of the year 244, and killed after the seventeenth of *June*, of the year 249, as appears from the dates of his laws ^r. Both he and his son were, according to *Eutropius*, ranked among the gods; which, however injurious to the memory and religion of *Philip*, shews, that his administration was not displeasing to the senate, though he had succeeded *Gordian*, a prince so much and so universally beloved. *Eusebius* and *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, who was raised to that see in his reign, tells us, that under him the christian religion was publicly preached; that it flourished and increased more than it had done under any other prince; And no wonder,

Decius declared emperor by the troops in lyricum.

Philip overcome and killed.

The christian religion flourished under him.

^p Idem ibid. & p. 643. ^q ZONAR. p. 229. ^r Zos. l. i. p. 643. AUR. VICT. ZONAR. p. 229. Cod. Just. l. ix. tit. 32. leg. 6. p. 489 & l. viii. tit. 50. leg. 1. p. 804. &c. ^s EUSEB. l. vi. c. 36. p. 232.

adds the former writer, without explaining himself any further ; but meaning, as to us seems plain from the context, that he professed it himself ^u. *Gregory of Nyssa* writes, that, in the reign of *Philip*, all the inhabitants of the city and territory of *Næocæsarea* in *Pontus* being converted to christianity, the idols were every-where overturned with their altars and temples, and churches erected in their room to the honour of the true God ^w. Of *Philip* the son authors observe, that he was of such a grave, or rather melancholy, temper, that no one could, by any contrivance, ever make him laugh or smile ; and add, that his father one day breaking out into a loud laughter, he could not help turning away his face, and expressing his displeasure with a more grave and reserved look than usual ^x. Both he and his mother *Marcia Otacilia Severa* professed, according to St. *Jerom* ^y and the chronicle of *Alexandria* ^z, the christian religion ; nay, *Petrus de Natalibus*, reckons the two *Philips* among the martyrs of the church ^a, upon the authority of *Orosius* ; who writes, that *Decius* put them to death, either because they were christians, or that he might, when they were removed, persecute the christian religion ^b. But the authority of *Orosius*, who lived many ages after, is of no great weight with us, unless confirmed by that of more ancient writers. *Eusebius* says, that *Decius* persecuted the church out of hatred to *Philip* ^c ; but we cannot from thence conclude, that he put *Philip* to death on account of his religion. Of the authors who flourished under him, we shall speak in our note (X).

UPON

^u Idem, c. 41. p. 238. ^w GREG. NYSS. vit. Greg. Thaum. tom. 3. p. 563. ^x VICT. epit. ^y HIER. chron.
 ^z Chron. Alexand. p. 630. ^a PET. DE NATAL. catalog. sanct. c. 92. p. 218. ^b OROS. l. vii, c. 21. ^c EUSEB. l. vi. c. 39.

(X) Under *Philip* flourished *Nicagoras*, a celebrated sophist of *Athens*. He was the son of one *Mneseus*, an orator, and wrote the lives of illustrious men (52). *Philostratus* reckons him and *Apfinas* among the great men of his time, with whom he was intimately acquainted (53). *Minucianus*, the son of *Neagoras*, published a book of rhetoric, on which *Porphyrus* wrote comments (54), and a small treatise on syllogisms, which has reached our times (55). *Apfinas* flourished at the same time, and is greatly commended by *Philostratus*, on account of his exactness in writing, and extraordi-

(52) *Suid.* p. 223. (53) *Philos. soph.* lix. p. 629.
 (54) *Suid.* p. 573. (55) *Porphyr. vit.* c. 6. p. 51. *Jonsf. l.* iii. c. 14.

nary

UPON the death of *Philip* and his son, *Decius* was acknowledged emperor, first by the soldiery, and soon after by the senate and people, who wanted both strength and courage to dispute the election of the new prince. He was a native of *Bubalia*, or *Budalia*, a borough in the territory of *Sirmium* in *Lower Pannonia*, and, according to the chronicle of *Alexandria* ^a, raised to the empire in the fifty-seventh, but, according to *Victor* the younger, only in the forty-seventh, year of his age. He had by his wife *Herennia Etruscula* four sons, viz. *Decius*, *Hostilianus*, *Etruscus*, and *Trajan*. The name of *Messius* was common to them all; whence we may conclude, that it was the name of the family. The emperor is styled in the ancient inscriptions *Ca- ius Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius*. He was, according to *Zosimus* his panegyrist, descended of an illustrious family, and

*The birth
and descent
of Decius.*

*His cha-
racter.*

^a Chron. Alexand. p. 632.

nary memory (56). He was a native of *Phœnicia*; but spent great part of his life at *Athens*; and is thence by *Suidas* called an *Athenian* (57). *Onasimus*, the *Athenian* sophist, whom we must distinguish from another of the same name and profession, born in *Cyprus* or *Sparta*, was the son of *Apfinas*, and father to another *Apfinas*, who seems to have flourished under *Constantine* (58). *Suidas* mentions a third sophist of this name, who flourished under *Maximian*; but was a native of *Gadara* on the confines of *Palestine* and *Syria*, and attained to the rank and title of consular (59). *Major*, an *Arabian* sophist, flourished likewise under *Philip*, and published thirteen books of rhetoric (60), none of which have reached us. *Syncellus* mentions one *Theopompus* a philosopher, who became very famous at *Cheronea* in *Boeotia* (61); but of him no notice is taken either by *Suidas*, or any other writer. *Afinius Quadratus* wrote the *Roman* history in the *Ionic* dialect, from the foundation of the city to the reign of *Alexander*, says *Suidas* (62); but he must have brought it down to the fifth year of *Philip's* reign, which was the thousandth of *Rome*; for his book was intituled the χίλιας, or the thousand years (63). This work is quoted by *Stephanus* the geographer, by the *Augustine* writers, by *Zosimus*, and by *Xiphilin*; but has been long since lost. He likewise wrote the history of the *Parthians*, often quoted by the ancients, and that of *Germany*. Of the former *Stephanus* cites the ninth book; and *Agathias*, speaking of the latter, tells us, that he was a native of *Italy*, and wrote with great exactness (64).

- (56) *Philos.* p. 623. (57) *Suid.* p. 523. (58) *Idem*
ibid. (59) *Idem ibid.* (60) *Euseb. præp. evang.* l. x. c. 3.
p. 464. (61) *Syncel.* p. 362. (62) *Suid.* p. 1484.
(63) *Voss. hist. Græc.* l. ii. c. 16. p. 239. (64) *Agath.* l. i. p. 17.
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His cruel
persecution
of the
church

endowed with every good quality ^e. *Victor* the younger styles him *the best of princes*, and *Vopiscus* equals him to the most renowned commanders of antiquity ^f. He was no sooner invested with the sovereignty, than he declared his eldest son *Cæsar*, and *prince of the youth*. The same title he soon after bestowed upon his three other sons ^g. In the very beginning of his reign, he raised the most dreadful and bloody persecution that had ever oppressed the church, prompted thereunto by his hatred to the deceased emperor, and his zeal for the cause of declining paganism, which he saw fatally undermined by the wonderful progress of christianity. Concluding therefore, that the one could not be supported but by the utter ruin of the other, he enacted most cruel edicts against all who professed the christian religion; pursuant to which, the christians were in all places driven from their habitations, stripped of their estates, dragged to execution like public malefactors, and racked with the most exquisite torments cruelty itself could invent. The laws of nature and humanity were trod under foot; friend betrayed his friend, brother his brother, and children their parents; every one thinking it meritorious to betray a christian, and procure his death. It is easier, says *Nicephorus*, speaking of this persecution, to count the sand on the sea-shore, than the martyrs who suffered under *Decius*. The tyrant vented his rage chiefly upon the bishops, of whom many were seized, inhumanly racked and executed, and among the rest *Fabian* bishop of *Rome*, *Babylas* bishop of *Antioch*, and *Alexander* bishop of *Jerusalem*. Great numbers of christians betook themselves to barren mountains, rocks, and deserts, chusing rather to live among wild beasts, than men who had divested themselves of all reason and humanity. Among these was the celebrated hermit *Paul*, who, withdrawing into the deserts of *Egypt*, led there a solitary life for the space of ninety years at least, and became the father and founder of the order of anchorets ^h. This persecution did not rage, at least with its first violence, above a year, as appears from the epistles of *St. Cyprian* ⁱ, the emperor and magistrates being, by the invasion of several barbarous nations, diverted from searching after the christians; for about the end of the first year of *De-*

^e Zos. l. i. p. 641. ^f AUREL. VICT. p. 223. ^g GOLTZ. p. 109. ONUPH. p. 261. OCCO. p. 454. ^h HIER. vit. Paul. p. 237. EUSEB. l. iii. c. 39. LACT. perfec. c. 4. GREG. NYSS. vit. Thaum. p. 567. CYP. dif. xi. c. 53. OPTAT. l. iii. p. 71. HILAR. in Conf. p. 113. CYP. epist. 52. ⁱ CYP. epist. 36, &c.

cius's reign, when he was consul, for the second time, with *Vicius Gratus*, the *Scythians*, that is, the *Goths*, having passed the *Danube*, under the conduct of their king *Cniva*, invested with seventy thousand men the city of *Eusterium* in *Lower Mæsia*; but meeting there with a vigorous opposition from *Gallus*, who was afterwards emperor, they raised the siege of *Eusterium*, and sat down before *Nicopolis*, another city in the same province. Against them *Decius* dispatched his eldest son, at the head of a numerous and well-disciplined army; who, falling upon them unexpectedly, cut thirty thousand of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to retire beyond mount *Hæmus*, which parted *Mæsia* from *Thrace*. However, they soon recruited their army, and, entering *Thrace*, laid siege to *Philippopolis* on the *Hebrus*. Young *Decius* hastened to the relief of the place; but while his troops were refreshing themselves, after a long march, in the neighbourhood of *Be-rea*, a city of the same province, *Cniva*, coming unawares upon them, cut the whole army in pieces, and obliged the young prince to save himself by flight into *Mæsia*. *Cniva* then returned before *Philippopolis*; and having made himself master of the place, put the inhabitants, to the number of one hundred thousand souls, says *Ammianus* ^k, without distinction of sex or age, to the sword, ravaged *Thrace*, and laid waste great part of *Macedon* ^l, where *L. Priscus*, probably brother to the late emperor, commanded at that time; but he, instead of opposing, joined the enemy, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. Hereupon *Decius*, who had staid at *Rome* to consecrate the walls of the city, which he had ordered to be built, or rather repaired, immediately set out for *Pannonia*; where, in the beginning of the following year, he took upon him his third consulship, and honoured with that dignity his eldest son, stiled in the inscriptions of this year *Q. Herennius Decius Cæsar*; whence it is manifest, that the emperor had not yet conferred upon him the title of *Augustus* ^m. *Decius* overcame the *Goths*, says *Zosimus*, in several engagements, obliged them to quit the booty they had taken, and drove them out of the *Roman* dominions ⁿ. What that author writes is confirmed by several medals, mentioning his conquests in *Dacia*, and victories over the *Carpi*, who had probably joined the *Goths* ^o. *Priscus* was declared by the senate a public enemy, and slain; but where, or in what manner, history does not inform us. From *Thrace* the emperor wrote

^k AMMIAN. l. xxxi. p. 446.
de reb. Goth. c. 18. p. 637.
p. 643.

^o Occo. p. 450.

^l Zos. l. i. p. 644. JORNAND.
^m SPANH. p. 234. ⁿ Zos.

The office
of censor
re-estab-
lished.

Valerian
chosen
censor.

Decius
gains new
advanta-
ges over
the Goths.

to the senate, acquainting them, that he designed to re-establish the office of censor, an ancient magistracy of great authority, and leaving to them the choice of a person for the discharge of so great a trust. This employment, famous in the times of the republic, had been abolished by the emperors, who discharged the functions annexed to it, without assuming the title; for, since *Domitian's* time, the title of *censor* had been quite laid aside, and neglected by most of the princes who reigned before him^p. The last private persons who discharged that office, were *Paulus Æmilius Lepidus* and *L. Munatius Plancus*, in the year of *Rome* 722, the tenth of *Augustus's* reign, and twenty-second before the birth of Christ. The senate, upon the receipt of the emperor's letter, assembled in the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*; and there, instead of waiting till their votes were asked, cried out with one voice, as soon as the letter was read, *Let Valerian be censor; let him censure and correct the faults of others, who has no faults of his own*. Of *Valerian*, who was raised to the empire two years after, we shall speak in a more proper place. He was then in *Thrace* with *Decius*; who, upon his receiving the decree of the senate, caused it to be publicly read; exhorted *Valerian* not to decline an office, to which he had been named by the republic with such extraordinary marks of esteem and distinction; and explained to him the nature and importance of his new employment, with the authority and power annexed to it; which, he said, extended over all persons civil and military, of what rank and condition soever, except the governor of *Rome*, the consuls for the time being, the pontiff styled *rex sacrorum*, and the superior of the vestal virgins, so long as, mindful of her vow, she preserved herself undefiled. *Valerian*, says the author of his life, earnestly besought the emperor not to lay a burden upon him, to which he was in every respect unequal; but does not tell us whether he was in the end prevailed upon to submit to it. Soon after the emperor marched against the *Goths*, overcame them, and reduced them to such straights, that they offered to set at liberty all the prisoners they had taken, and relinquish their booty, provided he would suffer them to retire unmolested. But the emperor, bent upon cutting off at once the whole nation, and delivering *Rome* from so troublesome an enemy, without hearkening to their proposals, sent *Trebonianus Gallus* with a strong detachment, to cut off their retreat; and pursuing them close with the rest of the army, came up with them before they reached the *Danube*, and engaged them a second time. The *Goths*, knowing that

^p *Dio*. l. liii. p. 598.

^q *Valer.* vit. p. 173, 174.

all lay at stake, fought like men in despair. Young *Decius* signalized himself on this occasion in a very eminent manner, and is said to have killed many of the enemy with his own hand; but being in the end mortally wounded with an arrow, *Young Decius is killed.* he fell from his horse in the sight of the whole army. The emperor, seeing him fall, cried out to his soldiers, without betraying the least concern, *We have lost but one man; let not, fellow-soldiers, so small a loss discourage you.* Having uttered these words, he rushed into the midst of the enemy; but, instead of revenging the death of his son, he was himself surrounded on all sides, overpowered, and killed. Thus *Zosimus* ^r and *Jornandes* ^r. But *Aurelius Victor* and *Zonaras* tell us, that *Gallus*, who kept a private correspondence with the *Goths*, advised them to encamp behind a morass, in which the emperor, while he attempted to pass it, pursuant to the treacherous counsel of the same *Gallus*, perished with his son and the greatest number of the army, partly suffocated in the mud, and partly destroyed by the showers of arrows, which the barbarians discharged upon them, while they could neither advance nor retire ^t. The same writers add, that the bodies of the two princes could never be found. *Eusebius* ^u and the chronicle of *Alexandria* ^w only say, that the two *Decii* were killed by the treachery of one of their own officers. *Lactantius* writes, that *Decius* having engaged the *Carpi*, was by them surrounded, cut in pieces with great part of his army, and left unburied a prey to the ravens and wild beasts. Thus, concludes that writer, an enemy to God, and a persecutor of his church, deserved to perish ^x. *St. Jerom* likewise ^y, *St. Cyprian* ^z, and *Constantine the Great* ^a, ascribe the unhappy end of *Decius* to divine vengeance. With him perished, according to *Eusebius*, three of his sons, viz. *Decius*, *Etruscus*, and *Trajan* ^b. He had reigned two years and some months ^c, and was, after his death, ranked among the gods, with the usual ceremonies.

THE *Goths*, after the death of *Decius*, pursued their victory, and made a dreadful havock of the disheartened army. Such of the *Romans* as escaped the general slaughter, fled to the legions commanded by *Gallus*; who, by pretending a

And likewise the emperor.

The Roman army cut in pieces.

^r Zos. l. i. p. 643. ^r JORNAND. de reb. Goth. c. 18. p. 637.
^r ZONAR. p. 231. AUR. Vict. in Dec. ^u EUSEC. chron. p. 236.
^w Chron. Alexand. p. 251. ^x LACTANT. persecut. c. 4. p. 4, 5. ^y HIER. in ZACH. xiv. p. 285. ^z CYPR. epist. de laps. p. 238. ^a CONSTANT. orat. apud. eum. EUSEB. oper. c. 24. p. 600. ^b EUSEB. l. vii. c. 1. p. 250. ^c GOLTZ. p. 108.

Gallus
proclaimed
emperor.

great concern for the unfortunate end of *Decius*, and the defeat of his army, and feigning to march against the barbarians, gained the hearts of the soldiery, and was by them, with loud shouts of joy, proclaimed emperor. He immediately declared his son *Volusianus Cæsar*; married him to *Herennia Etruscilla*, the daughter of the deceased prince; and, to remove all suspicion of his being any-ways accessory to the misfortunes which had befallen him and his army, he adopted *Hostilianus*, his only surviving son; conferred upon him the title of *Augustus*; invested him with the tribunitial power; and named him consul for the ensuing year^d. *Caius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus*, as he is styled in the ancient inscriptions, was, according to *Victor* the younger, a native of the island of *Meninx*, on the coast of *Africa*, called afterwards *Garba*, and at present *Gerbi* and *Zarbi*. Of his family no mention is made by the writers who have reached us; and all we know of his employments is, that he commanded the troops on the frontiers of *Mæsia* in 250, and in the present year 251. He was, according to the chronicle of *Alexandria*, fifty-seven; but, according to *Victor* the younger, only forty-five, when raised to the empire. *Hostilia Severa*, honoured on some medals with the title of *Augusta*^e, is supposed to have been his wife. His son is styled in some inscriptions *C. Vibius Volusianus*, and in others *Annius Gallus Trebonianus* f. His election was no sooner confirmed by the senate, than, instead of revenging the death of *Decius* and the overthrow of his army, he concluded a dishonourable peace with the *Goths*; suffered them to retire unmolested with all their booty and prisoners, among whom were many *Romans* of great distinction; and even engaged to pay them yearly a considerable sum, provided they continued quiet in their own country^g. After this ignominious peace, he returned to *Rome*; and in the beginning of the following year, entered upon his first consulship, having his son for his colleague. He began his reign with reviving all the edicts which had been published by his predecessor against the christians, and which he caused to be put in execution with the utmost rigour. At the same time, a dreadful plague, breaking out in *Ethiopia* on the confines of *Egypt*, spread in a short time over all the provinces of the empire, and swept a way incredible numbers of people, especially at *Rome*, where it raged with great violence. Some authors write, that it

He concludes a
dishonourable
peace
with the
Goths.

He persecutes the
christians.

^d Zos. l. i. p. 644. GOLTZ. p. 111. ZONAR. p. 644.

^e GOLTZ. p. 110. OCCO. p. 457.

SPON. hist. de Genev. p. 371.

^f GOLTZ. p. 110. Zos. p. 644.

^g GOLTZ. ibid. JORNAND. de reb. Goth.

carried

carried off among the rest *Hostilianus*, the son of *Decius*, soon after he had been honoured with the title of *Augustus* ^h; but *Zosimus* assures us, that *Gallus* caused him to be put to death, and then gave out, that he was dead of the plague ⁱ. The same year was remarkable for a general drought, a great famine, and wars kindled in most parts of the empire. *M. Aufidius Perperna Licinianus* took upon him the title of *Augustus*; but this revolt was soon quashed ^k; in what manner we are no-where told. The *Goths*, the *Borani*, and *Carpi*, the *Brugundi*, or *Burgundiones*, a people dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, broke into *Mæsia* and *Pannonia*; the *Scythians* over-ran *Asia*; and the *Persians*, entering *Syria*, laid waste that province, and even made themselves masters of *Antioch* ^l. *Æmilianus*, who commanded in *Mæsia*, overcame the barbarians in a pitched battle, and obliged them to quit the *Roman* dominions. Elated with this success, and despising *Gallus*, who was wallowing in pleasures at *Rome*, while his generals were exposing their lives in defence of the empire, he caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and was saluted by the troops under his command, whose affections he had gained, with the titles of *Augustus* and *father of his country*. This roused *Gallus* from his lethargy, who immediately ordered *Valerian* to march with the *Gaulish* and *German* legions against this new rival. But *Æmilianus*, without giving him time to assemble his troops, marched strait to *Italy*, and, by long marches, arrived in a short time at *Interamna*, now *Terni*, about thirty-two miles from *Rome*. There he was met by *Gallus* and his son, at the head of a considerable army; but the troops of the latter, despising their leaders, slew them in the fight of *Æmilianus's* army, and proclaimed him emperor. Such was the end of the emperor *Gallus*, after he had reigned a year and six months ^m. Mention is made on some medals of the apotheosis of *Volusianus* ⁿ; whence we may conclude, that *Gallus* was likewise deified. No sooner was the news of their death brought to *Rome*, than the senate confirmed the election of the soldiery, and honoured the new prince with the usual titles. *Æmilius Æmilianus*, as *Aurelius Victor* calls him, or *C. Julius Æmilianus*, as he is styled on the ancient coins, was by nation a *Moor*, and of a very mean descent. He had served from his youth in the *Roman* armies, and raised himself to the first employments in the state; for he had

Æmilianus proclaimed emperor in Mæsia.

Gallus is killed by his own men.

Æmilianus proclaimed emperor.

^h VICT. epit. ⁱ Zos. p. 644. ^k VICT. epit. ^l Occo. p. 454. ^m Zos. p. 645. ⁿ Zos. p. 645. ZONAR. p. 242. SYNC. p. 376. ^o BIRAC. p. 362.

He is killed
by his own
men, and
Valerian
proclaimed
emperor in
his room.

been consul before he came to the empire^o. In the letter which he wrote to the senate after the death of *Gallus*, he promised to drive the *Goths* out of *Thrace*, and the *Persians* out of *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*; to comport himself in every thing as the lieutenant of the republic; and to leave the exercise of the sovereign power to the senate^p. *Aurelius Victor* writes, that he governed with great moderation; wherein he disagrees with *Zonaras*, who tells us, that he acted more like a soldier than a prince, and did many things highly unbecoming an emperor^q. Be that as it will, the troops, which *Valerian* was leading to the assistance of *Gallus*, hearing in *Rhætia* that he was dead, refused to submit to the new prince, and proclaimed their own general emperor; who thereupon quickening his march, passed the mountains, and entered *Italy* at the head of a very numerous and well-disciplined army. *Æmilianus's* army no sooner understood, that *Valerian*, of whom they entertained a mighty opinion, had been proclaimed emperor by the troops under his command, than they fell upon their own leader, and dispatched him, to avoid, says *Zonaras*, a civil war, and the shedding of the blood of their fellow citizens^r. *Æmilianus* was killed at *Spoletum*, now *Spoleti*, or at a bridge in that neighbourhood, which *Victor* the younger pretends to have been thence called *The bloody bridge*. He died in the forty-sixth year of his age, after a short reign of three, or, at most of four, months^s. *Eusebius* does not even rank him among the emperorst, and is therein followed by the chronicle of *Alexandria*, and that of *Nicephorus*, in which *Valerian* is placed immediately after *Gallus*. *Aurelius Victor* writes, that *Æmilianus* died a natural death^u. In his reign *C. Virius Paulinus* was governor of *Rome* and comes domesticorum^w. This is the first time we find the latter employment, which in the fourth century became very famous, mentioned in history. *Pancircellus* takes the words *domestici* and *protectores* to be synonymous terms. The province of the latter was to guard the prince's person, and, under the christian emperors, to carry the great standard with the cross. They were superior in rank to the prætorian guards, and distinguished with particular badges peculiar to them. This corps consisted of three thousand five hundred men before *Justinian's* time, who is said to have increased them to the number of five thousand five hundred. They were divided

^o Idem, p. 364.

^p ZONAR. p. 233.

^q Idem ibid.

^r Idem ibid.

^s HIER. chron. EUTROP. AUR. VICT.

EUSEB. l. vii. c. 10. p. 255.

^u AUR. VICT. in Æmil.

^w ONUPH. in fast. p. 262.

into

into several bands of horse and foot, called *scholæ*, and commanded by some person of great distinction, styled *comes domesticorum* *. From several inscriptions of this time, we learn, that the word *comes* was already a title of dignity; so that the title of *comes*, or *count*, does not, as some imagine, owe its original intirely to *Constantine*.

Æmilianus being killed, according to the most probable opinion, in the month of *August* of the year 253, the senate with great joy, confirmed the election of *Valerian*, and conferred upon his son *Gallienus* the title of *Cæsar*. *Valerian* was descended from one of the most illustrious families in *Rome*, had commanded armies, and discharged with great reputation the chief employments of the empire, both civil and military. He was adored by persons of all ranks, on account of his integrity, prudence, modesty, and extraordinary accomplishments; for he was well versed in all the branches of learning, and had ever lived free from the vices, which generally prevailed in those dissolute times; a friend to virtue, an enemy to all wickedness and tyranny, a great admirer of the customs of the primitive *Romans*, and no-ways inferior to those among them, who were most cried up for their love of virtue, and aversion to vice; insomuch, that if every person in the empire had been allowed the liberty of naming to the sovereignty whom he pleased, no one, says the historian, would have thought of choosing any but *Valerian* †. Thus he was universally judged worthy of the empire before he attained it; but was afterwards found no-ways equal to such a mighty charge; whence most writers ascribe to his want of activity, prudence, and resolution, the many calamities which beset the empire in his and his son's reign ‡. Before his accession to the empire, he was prince of the senate, which gave him a right to vote before all the consulars. Afterwards he commanded the third legion, and was by degrees raised to the first posts in the army. He attended *Decius* in his wars with the *Goths*, and was, while he continued with him in *Thrace*, named by the senate to the censorship, in the manner we have related above. In the antient inscriptions he is styled *P. Licinius Valerianus*; to these names *Victor* the younger adds that of *Colobius*; and *Onuphrius* quotes an inscription, in which he is named *P. Aurelius Licinius Valerius Valerianus* §. He married two wives, and had by the first, whose name is not mentioned in history, *Gallienus*, who succeeded him in the empire. By his second

His descent
employ-
ments, and
character.

* PANCIR. in not. imp. Rom. c. 89.

† Valer. vit. p. 173.

‡ VICT. epit. EUTROP. Zos. l. i. p. 640.

§ ONUPH. ubi supra.

wife, named by some writers *Mariniana* ^b, he had *Valerian*, who was twice consul, viz. in 258, and 263, and honoured either by his father, or by his brother *Gallienus*, with the title of *Cæsar*. He had other sons, for *Gallienus* is said to have married his brothers sons, and to have styled himself the brother of many princes ^d. *Valerian* began his reign with great applause, and behaved himself so as to gain the affections both of the senate and people, paying the utmost respect to the former, and easing the latter of the heavy taxes, with which they had been loaded by his predecessors. He enacted many excellent laws; and by that means suppressed most of the disorders, which in those unhappy times prevailed, not only at *Rome*, but all over the empire. Authors observe, that he employed only men of merit, and that most of those whom he preferred to the command of his armies, were afterwards raised to the empire ^k. In the beginning of the following year 254, he entered upon his second consulship, having his son *Gallienus* for his colleague. *Zosimus* writes, that this very year, the first of his reign, he took *Gallienus* for his partner in the empire, being prompted thereunto by the danger to which the empire, invaded on all sides by the barbarians, was then exposed ^l: for the *Germans* and the *Franks* committed great devastations in that part of *Gaul* which bordered on the *Rhine*; the *Goths* and the *Carpi* invaded the provinces of *Mæsia*, *Thrace*, and *Macedon*; and the *Persians*, passing the *Euphrates*, over-ran *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and *Cappadocia*. *Aurelianus*, at that time tribune of a legion quartered in *Mentz*, fell upon the *Franks*, while they were ravaging the neighbouring country, killed seven hundred of them, took three hundred prisoners, whom he sold for slaves, and obliged the rest to quit their booty, and retire ^m. The country of the *Franks*, now for the first time mentioned in history, was bounded on the north by the ocean; on the west by the ocean and the river *Rhone*; and on the south by the *Weser*: according to which description, they possessed the modern countries of *Westphalia*, *Hesse*, and some adjacent states ⁿ. They were a motley multitude, consisting of various *German* nations dwelling beyond the *Rhine*; who, uniting in defence of their common liberty, took thence the name of

He gains
the affec-
tions of all.

The empire
invaded on
all sides by
the barba-
rians.

^b BIRAG. p. 369. ^c Val. vit. p. 175. GOLTZ. p. 114.
^d Idem ibid. ^k Aur. vit. p. 211. TREBEL. POLLIO.
hist. trigint. tyrann. c. 9 p. 189. Prob. vit. p. 234. ^l Zos. l.
i. p. 646. ^m Vit. Aur. p. 211. ⁿ ADRIAN. VOLES. rer.
Francicar. BUCH. p. 209.

Franks,

Franks, the word *Frank* signifying in their language, as it still does in ours, *free*°. Among them we find the following nations mentioned, viz. the *Actuarii*, *Chamavi*, *Bructeri*, *Salii*, *Frisii*, *Chauci*, *Ansbarii*, and *Catti*°. The *Franks* are sometimes called *Sicambri*, because they inhabited the country formerly possessed by that nation, which was intirely cut off by *Augustus*, as we have related in [the thirteenth volume. The following year, *Valerian* being consul the third time, and *Gallienus* the second, a great victory was gained in *Germany* by the latter, who thereupon assumed the title of *Germanicus Maximus*, as appears from several medals of this year¹; but what nation he overcame, whether the *Franks* or the *Alemanni*, who inhabited the countries lying between the *Rhine*, the *Maine*, and the *Danube*, history does not inform us. The next consuls were *Maximus* and *Glabrio*, during whose administration, *Gallienus* with a body only of ten thousand men, defeated, if *Zonaras*, is to be credited, three hundred thousand *Alemanni* in the neighbourhood of *Milan*; overcame the *Heruli*, a *Gothic* nation, and with great success made war upon the *Franks*². We wish that writer had given us a more distinct account of these mighty exploits. In *Gaul*, *Posthumius*, a commander of great prowess and experience, gained great advantages over several *German* nations, who had invaded that province³. The following year, *Valerian* being consul the fourth time, and *Gallienus* the third, a violent persecution broke out against the christians, *Macrianus*, a celebrated magician of *Egypt*, having seduced the emperor, who had been hitherto a great patron of the christian religion, by persuading him, that the affairs of the empire would never prosper, till the pagan rites were restored, and the religion of the christians so odious, to the gods, utterly abolished. This persecution, commonly reckoned the eighth, raged, throughout the whole empire, with no less fury than that under *Decius* had done. Persons of all ranks, says *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, without distinction of sex or age, were dragged to the tribunals, hurried to execution, and racked with the most exquisite torments, which the implacable hatred of their enemies could invent. This persecution lasted three years; that is, from the present year 257, to the year 260, when *Valerian* was taken prisoner by the *Persians*. The same year, *Aurelian*, being sent to succeed *Ulpianus* *Crinitus* in the command of the troops in *Illyricum* and

° BUCH. *ibid.*
& BUCH. p. 210.
Gallien. p. 235.

¹ Vide ADRIAN. VALES. not. Gall. p. 201.

² BIRAG. p. 367, & 371. ³ ZONAR. vit.

⁴ TREBEL. POL. in vit. trigint. tyrann. p. 184.

The Goths Thrace, drove the *Goths* out of those provinces, took an incredible number of them prisoners, and pursuing them beyond the *Danube*, laid waste their country, and returned to *Mæsia* *an, and the* loaded with booty ^t. At the same time, *Probus* passing the *Danube*, made war with great success upon the *Sarmatians* and *Quadi*, and rescued out of the hands of the latter *Valerius Flaccus*, a youth of a noble descent, and nearly related to the emperor, who rewarded *Probus* with a civic crown; which, in the times of the republic, was given to such as had saved the life of a citizen ^u. About the latter end of this year, the emperor leaving *Rome* set out for the east, to make head against the *Persians*, who had invaded *Mesopotamia* and *Syria*, and committed dreadful ravages in those provinces. He reached *Byzantium* in the beginning of the following year, when *Memmius Tuscus* and *Bassus* were consuls; and there held a council, at which assisted all the chief officers of the empire, to deliberate about the measures to be taken with respect to the *Persian* war; for *Sapor*, king of *Persia*, had already seized all *Armenia*, made himself master of *Nisibis* and *Carrhæ* in *Mesopotamia*; and thence advancing into *Syria* at the head of a mighty army, had ravaged that province, and taken *Antioch* itself. His guide in this expedition was one *Cyriades*, descended of an illustrious family, but abandoned from his youth to all manner of wickedness; insomuch, that, not able to bear the reproaches and wholesome admonitions of his father, he fled from home and retired into *Persia*, carrying thither with him a great quantity of gold and silver, which he had purloined. There he entered into the service of the *Persian* king, stirred him up to make war upon the *Romans*, and served him as a guide, being well acquainted with the countries, in his marches through *Mesopotamia*, *Armenia*, and *Syria*. *Sapor*, after he had taken and plundered *Antioch*, returned into *Persia*, to discharge his army of the immense booty, with which they were incumbered, and left *Cyriades* governor of the conquered countries: who thereupon assumed the title of *Cæsar*, and soon after that of *Augustus*, and was acknowledged as emperor by most of the eastern provinces ^w. At the same time, the *Borani*, a *Scythian* nation, crossing the *Euxine* sea, surprised and plundered the cities of *Pytus* in *Bosporus*, and *Trapezus* in *Pontus*; and thence advancing to the neighbourhood of *Byzantium*, crossed over into *Asia*, and surprised the cities of *Chalcedon*, *Nicea*, *Apamea*, *Prusa*, and several o-

The Scythians committed great devastations in Asia

^t Aurel. vit. p. 213.
gint. tyrann. p. 185.

^u Prob. vit. p. 234, 235.

^w Vit. tri-

ther places; which they plundered, and then returned with an immense booty into their own country, before *Valerian* could come up with them*. The following year, when *Secularis* and *Bassus* were consuls, *Valerian* marched from *Cappadocia*, whither he had pursued the *Scythians*, into *Syria*, recovered *Antioch*, and thence advanced into *Mesopotamia*; where he met *Sapor*, engaged him, but, by the treachery of *Macrianus*, who persuaded him to engage in a disadvantageous post, lost the flower of his troops in the engagement, and was himself taken prisoner†. Thus *Zonaras*, *Valerian Aurelius Victor*, *Eutropius*, and *Agathias*; but *Zosimus* writes, defeated by the Persians, and taken prisoner. that *Valerian*, having after the battle in which he was defeated, been prevailed upon to confer in person with *Sapor*, was by that treacherous prince seized and carried into *Persia*. Be that as it will, all authors agree, that he was taken prisoner, carried in triumph by *Sapor* into *Persia*, and there insulted in a most outrageous manner by that haughty conqueror; who, after having shewn him loaded with chains in all the chief cities of his empire, treated him with greater indignities than the meanest slave, making him his foot-stool whenever he mounted on horseback‡. He was taken in the year 260, the seventieth of his age, and sixth of his reign, and was still alive in the year 263; nay, the chronicle of *Alexandria* tells us, that he did not die till the year 269. After his death, his body was flayed by *Sapor's* orders, and preserved in salt, and his skin dressed, dyed red, and exposed in a temple; where, to the eternal ignominy of the *Roman* name, it was shewn to all foreign princes and ambassadors, as a lasting monument of the power of the *Persian* monarch. *Agathias* writes, that *Valerian* was flayed alive§; but is therein contradicted by all the antient historians. We are told, that nothing grieved the unhappy *Valerian* in his deplorable condition so much, as to see himself intirely neglected by his son *Gallienus*; who was so far from pressing the *Persian* king to set him at liberty, or offering to ransom him, that, on the contrary, he expressed no small joy when news was brought him of his captivity, though most foreign princes, nay, even those who had assisted *Sapor* in his wars against the *Romans*, did all that lay in their power to prevail upon him to grant the *Roman* emperor his liberty; but the haughty

* Zos. l. i. p. 648. † ZONAR. p. 234. VICT. epit. EUTROP. test. AGATH. l. iv. p. 153. ‡ EUSEB. orat. Const. c. 24. LACT. persecut. c. 5. OROS. l. vii. c. 22. Vit. Valer. p. 175. § AGATH. l. iv. p. 233.

Persian was too much elated with his success, to be terrified with the menaces of his enemies, or to hearken to the intreaties of his friends.

C H A P. XXIV.

The Roman history, from the captivity of Valerian, to the resignation of Dioclesian.

The empire invaded on all sides by the barbarians.

THE news of the defeat of the *Roman* army by the *Persians*, and the captivity of *Valerian*, no sooner reached the barbarous nations at war with *Rome*, than they flew to arms; and, pouring on all sides incredible multitudes into the *Roman* territories, threatened the empire and *Rome* itself with utter destruction. The *Goths* and *Scythians* ravaged anew *Pontus* and *Asia*, committing every-where dreadful devastations: the *Germans*, that is, the *Alemanni* and the *Franks*, having over-run *Rhætia*, entered *Italy* itself, and advanced as far as *Ravenna*, putting all to fire and sword; the *Quadi* and *Sarmatians* seized on great part of *Dacia* and *Pannonia*; and other barbarous nations invading *Spain*, made themselves masters of *Tarraco*, and other important places in that province. *Gallienus*, who was then in *Gaul*, hearing that the *Alemanni* and *Franks* had entered *Italy*, and were advancing towards *Rome*, flew to the defence of the capital, and obliged the enemy to retire. Whether they were overcome in battle, as some authors write, or marched back upon the news of his approach, as we read in others, is uncertain. The barbarians, who had invaded *Dacia* and *Pannonia*, were driven back by *Regillianus*, who commanded there, and is said to have gained several victories over them in one day. While *Regillianus* was employed against the barbarians, whom he had pursued into *Mæsia*, *Ingenius* caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in *Pannonia*, and was acknowledged by the inhabitants both of that province and of *Mæsia*; for he was a man of great valour and experience in war, and universally beloved both by the people and soldiery. *Gallienus* no sooner heard of his revolt, than he marched from the neighbourhood of *Ravenna*, where he then was, into *Illyricum*, engaged *Ingenius*, and put him to flight. Some authors write, that *Ingenius* was killed after the battle by his own soldiers, while others tell us, that he put an end to his own life, to avoid by

Ingenius causes himself to be proclaimed emperor.

But is defeated and killed.

^b Zos. l. i. c. 650. ^c Trig. tyrann. vit. p. 188.

that means falling into the hands of so cruel an enemy as *Gallienus*, who used his victory with a barbarity hardly to be equalled; commanding his soldiers to put all the inhabitants of *Mæsia* they could meet with to the sword, whether they had taken up arms in favour of the usurper, or no; as appears from the following letter, which he wrote to *Verianus Celer*, one of his officers: “I shall not be satisfied with your putting *The cruelty*
 “ to death such only as have borne arms against me, and might *of Gallie-*
 “ have fallen in the field: you must in every city destroy *nus.*
 “ all the males, old and young: spare none who have wished
 “ ill to me, none who have spoken ill of me, the son of *Va-*
 “ *lerian*, the father and brother of princes. *Ingenuus* empe-
 “ *ror*! tear, kill, cut in pieces without mercy: you under-
 “ stand me: do then as you know I would do, who have
 “ written to you with my own hand ^d.” Pursuant to these
 cruel orders, a most dreadful havock was made of that unhappy
 people, and in several cities not one male child left alive.
 The troops who had formerly served under *Ingenuus*, and the
 inhabitants of *Mæsia*, who had escaped the general slaughter,
 provoked by these cruelties, proclaimed *Q. Nonius Regillianus*
 emperor. He was a *Dacian* by nation, descended, as was *Regillia-*
 said, from the celebrated king *Decebalus*, whom *Trajan* had *nus emp-*
 conquered, and had by several gallant actions gained great *ror.*
 reputation in the *Roman* armies. *Claudius*, who was after-
 wards emperor, wrote the following letter to him, congrat-
 ulating him upon the victory he had gained over the *Quadi*
 and *Sarmatians* in *Mæsia*: “Happy is the republic in
 “ having at this time such a commander as you; happy *Gal-*
 “ *lienus*, though no one dares speak truth to him, nor blame
 “ or commend men according to their deserts. *Bonitus* and
 “ *Celsus*, two of the prince’s life-guard-men, have given me
 “ an account of your gallant behaviour in the neighbourhood
 “ of *Scupi*, where you gained several victories over the bar-
 “ barians in one day. In antient times you would have been
 “ thought worthy of a triumph; but at present I would have
 “ you to conquer with more caution, mindful of a certain
 “ person, to whom your victories may give umbrage, &c.”
 After he was proclaimed emperor, he gained very considerable
 advantages over the *Sarmatians*, but was soon murdered by *He is mur-*
 his own soldiers and the people of *Illyricum*, who had raised *dered by*
 him to the empire, but, not long after his assumption, began *his own*
 to dread the effects of *Gallienus*’s cruelty. The *Roxolani*, *men.*
 who served under him, revolted the first; and their example
 was soon followed by the rest of the army and the people of

^d Idem ibid. c. 2.

Posthumius revolts in Gaul.

Illyricum *. *Aurelius Victor* writes, that he was overcome in battle by *Gallienus*. The same year, *M. Cassius Labienus Posthumius* revolted in *Gaul*. He was meanly born, but endowed with extraordinary parts, and reckoned one of the best commanders in the whole empire. *Valerian*, when he set out for the east, committed to his care both his son *Gallienus* and the troops that were left in the western provinces, declaring, that he loved and esteemed *Posthumius* above all officers of his army. When he appointed him governor of *Gaul*, and commander of the troops on the *Rhine*, he wrote on that occasion a letter to the inhabitants of *Gaul*, in which he expressed his esteem for *Posthumius* in the following terms: “ You will, I hope, be convinced, that I have particular regard for you, since I have set over you such a man as *Posthumius*. He is one whom I esteem above the rest, and think the most worthy of all to represent the prince. If I am deceived in the opinion I entertain of him, I will not pretend to know any man *f*.” When *Gallienus*, upon the news of his father’s captivity, and the invasion of the *Franks* and *Alemanni*, set out for *Italy*, he left his eldest son *Saloninus*, named also *Valerian*, then an infant, at *Cologne*, under the tuition, some say, of *Posthumius*, and others, of *Sylvanus*, ordering all things to be transacted in his name. Soon after the emperor’s departure, *Posthumius* having defeated some *German* nations who had invaded *Gaul*, *Sylvanus* obliged him to send all the booty to him and the young prince: which provoked the soldiery to such a degree, that they revolted, and proclaimed *Posthumius* emperor; who marching without loss of time to *Cologne*, besieged the place, and reduced the inhabitants to such straits, that they were forced to deliver up to him both *Sylvanus* and *Saloninus*, whom he caused to be immediately put to death. Thus *Zosimus* *g*: but *Trebellius Pollio* ascribes the revolt and the death of the young prince to the *Gauls*, who, hating *Gallienus*, and not able to brook the government of a child, stirred up the soldiers to murder him, and proclaim *Posthumius* emperor *h*; who was with great joy acknowledged not only in *Gaul*, but in *Spain* and *Britain* *i*. He reigned seven years, during which time he drove all the *Germans* out of *Gaul*, and even built several forts in their country, restored peace and tranquillity to that afflicted province, and governed with such equity and moderation, that he was universally adored; and honoured with the titles of

The son of Gallienus murdered.

Posthumius acknowledged by Gaul, Spain, and Britain.

* Trig. tyrann. vit. c. 9. p. 189. f Idem, c. 2. p. 185.
 g Zos. p. 651. h Trig. tyrann. vit. c. 2. p. 185. i Claud. vit. p. 204. SPANH. l. ix. p. 845.

The restorer of Gaul, The defender of the empire ; for had he *He deli-* not repulsed the *Germans*, they would, in those distracted *vers Gaul* times, have over-run with great ease the whole empire ^k. *from the* On several of his medals mention is made of his victories over *Germans*. the *Germans*, that is, according to *Adrianus Valesius* ^l, over the *Franks* ; and on some he is styled *Germanicus Maximus* ^m. He had by his wife *Junia Donata*, perhaps the daughter of ⁿ *Junius Donatus*, who was governor of *Rome* in the year 257, and this year consul, at least one son, styled on the antient coins *C. Junius Cossius Posthumius*. The emperor *Valerian* appointed him tribune of a band or company of *Vocontii*, that is, of *Dauphinois*. His father afterwards created him *Cæsar*, took him for his partner in the empire, and honoured him with the title of *Augustus* ⁿ. He was thought to have equalled in eloquence *Quintilian*, whom he studied to imitate ; whence his declamations were inserted among those of that excellent writer ^o ; and the nineteen declamations, which pass under the name of *Quintilian*, but seem not altogether worthy of him, are by some modern critics ascribed to young *Posthumius* ^p. *Gallienus*, though greatly concerned for the death of his son, whom he immediately caused to be ranked among the gods ^q, did not march in person against the usurper till some years after.

DURING these disturbances in the west, *Sapor* king of *Persia*, *The Persi-* elated with his late success, over-ran most of the eastern pro- *ans over-* vinces, laid waste *Mesopotamia*, and entering *Syria*, took *An-* *run and* *tioch* the third, or at least the second time, and levelled *plunder all* with the ground all the public buildings of that stately me- *the eastern* tropolis. From *Syria* he led his army into *Cilicia*, took and *provinces* plundered the city of *Tarsus*, the capital of that province ; and advancing from thence into *Cappadocia*, made himself master of *Cæsarea*, and cut all the inhabitants, to the number of four hundred thousand in pieces, for having opposed him under the conduct of one *Demosthenes*, a man of great resolution and intrepidity, who, after the city was taken, opened himself a way, sword in hand, through the midst of the enemy, and made his escape ^r. Thus the *Persian* over-ran all the provinces of the east, committing every-where most dreadful ravages. *Agathias* tells us, that he filled up deep valleys with dead bodies, and took pride in passing over them on horse-

^k Trig. tyrann. vit. ibid. BIRAG. p. 393. ^l VAL. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 6. ^m BIRAG. p. 394. GOLTZ. p. 116. ⁿ Trig. tyrann. vit. c. 2. p. 185. ^o Idem ibid. p. 186. ^p Vide Voss. rhet. c. 15. p. 192. ^q BIRAG. p. 382. ^r ZONAR. p. 234.

Balista
cuts many
of them in
pieces.

Odenatus
of Palmyra.

back from one hill to another^f. To the captives, whom he was pleased to spare, he allowed only what food was barely sufficient to keep them alive, and ordered them to be driven once a day in herds to water like so many cattle^t. In the mean time, the Roman troops, who had dispersed upon the captivity of *Valerian*, rallying, chose for their leader *Callistus*, or rather *Balista*, who had been captain of the guards to *Valerian*, and was a man of great address, intrepidity, and experience in war. He, without loss of time, transported his forces in boats into *Cilicia*, and obliged the *Persians* to raise the siege of *Pompeiopolis*, a maritime city of that province, when it was upon the point of submitting. From *Cilicia* he flew with great celerity into *Lycaonia*, and there made a dreadful havock of the *Persians*, whom he found busied in plundering the open places, and no-ways upon their guard. He took from them all their booty and captives, made a great many prisoners, and among the rest the wives of *Sapor*. From *Lycaonia* he retired with his booty and captives, before the *Persians* could draw together their dispersed forces; and embarking his army on the vessels and boats he had assembled, landed some of his men at *Sebaste*, and others at *Corycus*, two cities on the coast of *Cilicia*, and in both places surprised and cut in pieces above three thousand *Persians*^u. *Balista* was well seconded in his attempts by *Odenatus*, whose name is famous in the history of these times on account of the many victories he gained over the *Persians*, and his saving the Roman empire in the east. All authors agree, that he was a native of *Palmyra*, a city of *Phœnicia*, about one day's journey from the *Euphrates*; but some writers call him a citizen and decurion, while others style him prince of that place. *Procopius* gives him the title of prince of the *Saracens*, who dwelt in the neighbourhood of the *Euphrates*, and were allies of the Romans^w. *Zosimus* tells us, that his family had been long before distinguished with particular marks of honour by the Roman emperors, and that he had troops of his own^x. As *Palmyra* was at this time a Roman colony^y, *Odenatus* was prince, not of that city, but probably of the *Saracens*, who dwelt in that neighbourhood. As he had been accustomed from his infancy to the manly exercises of hunting, he bore with great cheerfulness and alacrity the toils of a military life^z. Of his wife *Zenobia*, we shall have occasi-

^f AGATH. l. iv. p. 134. ^t ZONAR. p. 234. ^u ZONAR. p. 382. ^w PROCOF. p. 97. ^x ZOS. p. 651. ^y NORIS. de. epoch. Syromaced. p. 103. ^z TRIG. tyrann. c. 14.

on to speak hereafter. *Odenatus* was scarce known till the captivity of *Valerian*, when, dreading the power of that mighty conqueror, as he lived in amity with the *Romans*, he wrote to him a most respectful and submissive letter, protesting that he had never borne arms against the *Persians*, and at the same time sent him several camels loaded with rich presents. But *Sapor*, highly provoked at the arrogance of such an insignificant person, as he expressed himself, in presuming to write to him, tore his letter, ordered his presents to be thrown into the river, and, with a threatening voice, told his ambassadors, that he would teach their master the respect a man of his mean condition owed to his lord and sovereign; that he would exterminate and utterly destroy him, his whole family, and country; adding, that if he came and threw himself prostrate at his feet, with his hands tied behind his back, he might perhaps by that submission atone in some degree for his temerity and presumption. *Odenatus*, resenting, as it became a man of his spirit, this vile treatment, swore he would pursue the *Persians* to the last with fire and sword, and either bring down the pride of their mighty monarch, or perish in the attempt^a. With this view, he immediately declared for the *Romans*; and joining *Balista* with all his forces, bore a great, if not the chief, share, in the above-mentioned exploits; for to him *Trebellius Pollio* ascribes the taking of *Sapor's* wives^b. The *Persian*, greatly concerned for that loss, and apprehending it might be attended with others still greater, (for *Odenatus* and *Balista* pursued him close) resolved to retire; and accordingly bent his march towards the *Euphrates*. But as he was marching through the province of *Euphratesiana*, at a small distance from *Palmyra*, *Odenatus*, falling upon his rear, made a dreadful havock of them, and obliged the rest to repass the *Euphrates* with great hurry and confusion. Many perished in the river; and *Sapor* was glad to compound with the *Roman* garison in *Edeffa*, which city he had never been able to reduce, for the liberty of returning into his own country, by yielding to them all the *Syrian* money he had amassed in the plunder of so many cities^c. *Zonaras* writes, that *Odenatus* found among the *Persian* captives, and likewise among the dead, many women attired and armed like men^d. After these victories, *Odenatus* assumed the title of king of *Palmyra*, which he likewise gave to his eldest son *Herod*, as he did that of queen to his wife *Zenobia*. *Gallienus*, to reward his eminent services, ap-

How
treated by
Sapor.

He sides
with the
Romans.

And gains
great ad-
vantages
over the
Persians.

Odenatus
assumes the
title of
king of
Palmyra.

^a PETER. PATR. in excerpt. de legat. p. 29. ^b Trig. tyr. c. 14. p. 192. ^c PETER. PATR. ibid. p. 25. ^d ZONAR. p. 235.

Defeats
Sapor and
besieges
Ctesiphon

pointed him commander in chief of all the *Roman* forces in the east; which trust he discharged with great fidelity, and was attended with better success than any of the *Roman* generals. For the following year 261, when *Gallienus* was consul, the fourth time, with *Petronius Volusianus*, *Odenatus*, not satisfied with having driven *Sapor* out of the *Roman* dominions, entered *Mesopotamia*, and there recovered the cities of *Nisibis* and *Charrae*. From *Mesopotamia* he advanced into the very heart of the *Persian* dominions, being extremely desirous of crowning his other exploits with the deliverance of *Valerian*. *Sapor* met him at the head of a mighty army; whereupon an engagement ensuing, the *Persians* were utterly defeated, and *Sapor* with his children obliged to shelter themselves within the walls of *Ctesiphon*, the metropolis of the *Persian* dominions. Thither *Odenatus* pursued them, and laid close siege to the place, after having destroyed with fire and sword the neighbouring country to a great distance. The *Persian* lords, alarmed at the danger that threatened their prince and country, armed all their vassals, and flew from the most distant parts of the kingdom to *Ctesiphon*. Many battles were fought under the walls of that metropolis, which served only to increase the number of *Odenatus's* victories; many *Persians* of great distinction were taken prisoners, and sent by the conqueror to *Gallienus*; *Sapor* on one side, and the brave *Odenatus* on the other, exerted their utmost efforts, the latter to deliver *Valerian*, and the former to avoid the like doom, which now threatened him*. But here *Trebellius Pollio*, after having raised our expectation, drops at once both *Odenatus* and the siege of *Ctesiphon*; and, giving himself no farther trouble about either, leaves us quite in the dark as to the issue of so glorious and important an undertaking. The reader may thence judge of his abilities in the capacity of an historian. All we know for certain is, that *Sapor* was not taken, nor *Valerian* rescued from his cruel bondage. Some writers seem to insinuate, that the revolt of *Macrianus*, which, according to most historians, happened this year, obliged *Odenatus* to raise the siege of *Ctesiphon*. *Macrianus* was of a mean descent; but had, by his courage and experience in war, raised himself from the low station of a common soldier to the highest posts in the army. He was exceeding rich, and had married a lady of great distinction, by whom he had two sons *Macrianus* and *Quietus*, who had been raised to the rank of tribunes by *Valerian*, and were esteemed two of the

* Vit. Gall. p. 179. Zos. p. 651.

best officers of the whole army^f. The father is styled by *Dionysius of Alexandria*, the chief of the *Egyptian* magicians^g; whence we conclude him to have been by nation an *Egyptian*, and greatly addicted to the study of magic. As the abominable mysteries of that art were abhorred and deservedly cried down by the christians, *Macrianus* thence became their implacable enemy, and inspired *Valerian*, with whom he bore great sway, with an irreconcilable hatred to them; which occasioned the eighth persecution, as we have hinted above^h. Some authors write, that, abusing the confidence *Valerian* reposed in him, he betrayed that prince to the *Persians*ⁱ; but others clear him from that imputation. Be that as it will, about a year after the captivity of the unhappy emperor, he revolted from his son; and having gained over *Balista*, was, by his means acknowledged emperor by *He is pro-* most of the troops who had served under *Valerian*, but *claimed* despised *Gallienus*. He immediately took his two sons for *emperor*. his partners in the empire, and appointed *Balista* his captain of the guards. *Trebellius Pollio*, of all writers the least exact, to say no more, does not inform us in what country *Macrianus* was created emperor, nor where, or how long he reigned; and as to the other historians, *Zonaras* is the only one among them who takes any notice at all of him. That writer tells us, that the inhabitants of *Asia* received him with extraordinary marks of joy^k. *Dionysius of Alexandria* gives us room to think, that he was acknowledged in *Egypt*; *Egypt sub-* and that his and his sons reign ended before the ninth year of *mits to him*. *Gallienus*, that is, before the *August* of the year 262^l. During his usurpation happened, in all likelihood, at *Alexandria* the disturbances described by that writer, who was bishop of the place. Fury and discord, says he, raged there to such *Great dis-* a degree, that it was more easy to pass from the east to the *turbances* most remote provinces of the west, than from one place of *at Alexan-* *Alexanaria* to another: the inhabitants had no intercourse *dria*. but by letters, which with great difficulty were conveyed from one friend to another: it was more dangerous to cross the street, than the most tempestuous seas, the most dry and inhospitable deserts: the port resembled the shore of the red-sea, strewn with the carcases of the drowned *Egyptians*; the sea was dyed with blood, and the *Nile* choaked up with dead bodies^m. The war was attended with a general famine, and the famine by a dreadful plague, which daily swept off

^f Gall. vit. p. 175. Trig. tyrann. c. 13.^g EUSEB. l. vii. c. 10.^h Idem ibid. Trig. tyrann. p. 174.^k ZONAR. p. 230.^l EUSEB. l. vii. c. 23.

great numbers of people, insomuch that there were then in *Alexandria* fewer inhabitants from the age of fourteen to that of eighty, than there used to be from forty to seventy ⁿ. Of such persons a register, it seems, was kept; and a certain quantity of corn distributed among them.

Macrianus no sooner saw himself invested with the sovereignty, than he marched with all the forces he could assemble into the east, says *Pollio*, that is, as we conjecture, from *Egypt* into *Syria*. He engaged several times and defeated the *Persians*; but looked upon *P. Valerius Valens* as a far more formidable enemy. *Valens* had been sent by *Galienus* into *Achaia*, or *Greece*, with the title of proconsul; but hearing there, that *Macrianus* had been proclaimed emperor, he assumed the same title. Hereupon *Macrianus* immediately detached *Piso*, with a competent force, to suppress this new usurper. But *Piso*, finding him upon his guard, and ready to receive him, retired into *Thessaly*, and there assumed the title of emperor, with the surname of *Thessalicus*, *Thessaly*; as appears from his medals ^o. But he did not long enjoy that empty and seducing title, being soon after murdered by some soldiers sent by *Valens* for that purpose. *Valens* himself was slain a few days after by his own men; and his death, as well as that of his rival, was known at *Rome* before the twenty-fifth of *June* ^p. *Piso*, who was descended from one of the most ancient and illustrious families of *Rome*, was universally lamented there on account of the merits of his ancestors, as well as his own. He had been highly esteemed by the emperors, nay, and by *Valens* himself, who upon hearing the news of his death, *What account, said he, shall I give to the gods, the infernal judges, of the death of Piso? The Roman empire has not a person equal to Piso*. Upon the news of his death, it was moved in the senate, that divine honours might be decreed to him as to a lawful prince; nay, some writers tell us, that he was actually ranked among the gods with this remarkable elogium, *That there never was a better man, nor a man of more firmness and constancy*. However that be, he was decreed a statue with a triumphal chariot: the statue was still to be seen in the time of *Constantine*; but the chariot had been taken down, to make room for the famous baths of *Dioclesian*, and was never after set up again ^q. About the same time that *Macrianus* usurped the empire in the east, *Manius Acilius Aureolus* was forced by the army, which he commanded in *Illyricum*, to take upon

Valens
proclaimed
emperor in
Achaia,
and Piso in
Thessaly;
but they are
both killed.

The cha-
racter of
Piso.

Aureolus
made em-
peror in Il-
lyricum.

^m Idem ibid. c. 21. ⁿ Idem ibid. ^o BIRAG. p. 388.
^p Trig. tyrann. p. 194, 195. ^q Trig. tyr. vit. c. 20 p. 194.
him

him the sovereignty ; for the soldiers every-where abhorred *Gallienus*, and would only obey emperors set up by themselves. *Aureolus* from *Ithyricum* marched into *Italy*, and made himself master of *Milan* ^r. *Gallienus*, after various unsuccessful attempts to suppress him, was in the end obliged to come to an accommodation with him, and accept of his assistance against *Posthumius*, as we shall relate hereafter. He was, according to *Zonaras*, a native of *Dacia*, of a mean descent, and in his youth a shepherd ; but lifting himself afterwards in the army, he was soon raised from the rank of a common soldier to the command of a body of horse. He distinguished himself in a very eminent manner under *Gallienus* in the battle against *Ingenius* ; for some authors ascribe to him the whole glory of that victory ^r. This year 261, the *Bithynia* *Scythians* breaking anew into *Bithynia*, laid waste the whole ^{plundered} country a second time, levelled with the ground several cities, ^{by the Scy-} plundered *Nicomedia*, and returned unmolested into their own ^{thians} country, with a great booty and many captives ^r. At the same time, that no part of the empire might be exempt from some signal calamity, the island of *Sicily*, less exposed than other countries to the ravages of the barbarians, was miserably harassed by a band of robbers, who, roving up and down, committed dreadful devastations, and kindled a kind of servile war, which was not suppressed without much difficulty and bloodshed ^u. The following year, *Gallienus* being consul the fifth time, with *Faustianus*, the empire was in many places afflicted by other calamities, besides the wars and commotions we have mentioned. The sun was overcast with thick clouds, ^{The empire} and a great darkness continued for several days together, attended with a violent earthquake, and dreadful claps of thunder, not in the air, but in the bowels of the earth, which ^{afflicted} opened in many places, and swallowed up great numbers of ^{with a} people, with their habitations. The sea, swelling beyond ^{plague, fa-} measure, broke in upon the continent, and drowned whole ^{mine,} cities ; the plague raged with great violence in *Greece*, *Egypt*, and especially at *Rome*, where it swept off for some time five thousand persons a day. The books of the *Sibyls* were consulted, public processions ordained, sacrifices offered to *Jupiter* the author of health, &c. But all to no purpose ; nay, to their other calamities were added the incursions of the ^{New} *Goths* in great swarms into *Greece*, and of the *Scythians* into ^{irrup-} *Asia*. The former, having made themselves masters of *Thrace*, ^{tions of the} over-ran all *Macedon*, and laid siege to *Theffalonica*, the ca- ^{Scythians}.

^r Idem, c. 10. p. 189. VICT. epit.^r ZONAR. p. 235.^u Gall. vit. p. 177.^u Idem ibid.

Who plunder
der the
temple of
Diana at
Ephesus.

pital of that province, which threw all Greece into the utmost consternation : troops were dispatched to guard the streights of *Thermopylae*, so famous in history ; the *Athenians* rebuilt their walls, which had lain in ruins ever since the time of *Sylla* ; the inhabitants of *Peloponnesus* shut up the isthmus from sea to sea ; new levies were made ; the troops quartered in that province drawn together, &c. But, in the mean time, *Macrianus* arriving in Greece on his march into Italy, fell upon the barbarians while they were attempting to enter *Achaia*, put them to flight, and obliged them to retire into their own country, whither they carried, however, great part of their booty ¹. At the same time, the *Scythians*, that is, another party of *Goths*, crossing the *Hellepont* under the conduct of one *Raspa*, committed dreadful ravages in *Asia*, burnt several cities there, and plundered the celebrated temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, so much respected by the pagans, and so famous for its rich ornaments and immense wealth ^m. Thus was the destruction of the most illustrious monuments of paganism begun by the *Goths*, who were themselves pagans ; and we shall see them in the two following centuries complete what they now begin. In this irruption they ruined the city of *Chalcedon*, destroyed the poor remains of ancient *Troy*, and the famous *Ilium* ; and, repassing the *Hellepont*, laid waste all *Thrace*, and returned to their own country with an immense booty ⁿ.

Macrianus
and his el-
dest son de-
feated and
killed by
Aureolus.

IN the mean time, *Macrianus* having settled the affairs of *Syria*, left there his youngest son *Quietus*, with *Balista*, to guard that province against the *Persians* ; and set out for Italy, with his eldest son *Macrianus*, at the head of forty-five thousand men, to try his fortune against *Aureolus* in *Illyricum*, and *Gallienus* at *Rome*. He was met by the forces of the former either in *Illyricum*, or on the borders of *Thrace* ; whereupon a battle ensued, in which *Macrianus* and his son being killed, their whole army submitted to *Aureolus*, and were incorporated in his troops ^o. The news of their defeat and death was no sooner heard in the east, than most cities there revolted from *Quietus*, who thereupon shut himself up with *Balista* in the city of *Emesa*, whither *Aureolus*, to complete his victory, sent ruffians to dispatch him. But before their arrival, *Odenatus* had besieged the place ; which so terrified the inhabitants and the garison, that they killed *Quietus*, threw his head over the walls, and then submitted to *Odena-*

¹ Idem ibid. ^m Idem. p. 177, 178. JORNAND rer. Goth. c. 20. ⁿ JORNAND. ibid. ^o ZONAR. p. 236. Trig. tyrann. c. 10. Gall. vit. p. 176.

tus. *Macrianus* and his children being thus cut off, *Gallienus* was acknowledged anew in *Egypt* and *Syria*; for *Odenatus*, though master of almost all the eastern provinces, acted, or at least pretended to act, in his name ^c. He had no sooner withdrawn his troops from before *Emesa*, than *Balista*, whom he had spared on account of his advising the inhabitants to murder *Quietus*, assumed the title of emperor, and put such numbers of the citizens of *Emesa* to the sword, no doubt for refusing to acknowledge him, that the unhappy city was almost turned into a desert ^d. We shall have occasion to speak of him hereafter; for he seems to have reigned at *Emesa* three years. About the same time, *Æmilianus*, styled on the ancient medals *Tiberius Cestius Alexander Æmilianus* ^e, commander of the legions in *Egypt*, took upon him the title of emperor, hoping, by thus openly revolting from *Gallienus*, who was no less abhorred in *Egypt* than in the other provinces, to appease the populace of *Alexandria*, who had risen upon a very trifling occasion, and invested the house where *Æmilianus* lodged, threatening him with present death. He no sooner proclaimed himself emperor, in opposition to *Gallienus*, than the rage of the incensed multitude assuaged, and the whole city of *Alexandria*, with loud acclamations, acknowledged him for their sovereign. He immediately seized all the corn in the public granaries, and by that means occasioned a famine in several provinces. He visited in person the most distant parts of *Egypt*, redressed many grievances, repulsed with great vigour the neighbouring barbarians, which procured him the name of *Alexander*, and was preparing for an expedition into *India*, when the troops sent against him by *Gallienus* arrived in *Egypt*, as we shall relate hereafter. This year, *Gallienus* agreeing with *Aureolus*, marched into *Gaul* with him and *Claudius*, who succeeded him in the empire, to make war upon *Posthumius*, *Gallienus* who had reigned three years undisturbed. As *Posthumius* was greatly beloved, and vigorously supported by the *Gauls*, the war lasted some years. *Gallienus* was defeated in the first general engagement of this year, and *Posthumius* in the second, after having lost the flower of his troops. But *Aureolus*, who was sent to pursue him, having suffered him to escape when he might have easily taken him, he levied new forces and began the war with fresh vigour ^f. *Gallienus*, however, quitting *Gaul*, the following year, when *Albinus*

Balista assumes the title of emperor.

And likewise Æmilianus.

^c Gall. vit. p. 179. Trig. tyr. c. 14. ^d Gall. vit. p. 176. ^e GOLTZ. p. 115. ^f Trig. tyr. c. 21. ^g Gall. vit. p. 178. ZON. p. 236.

The Byz-
antines
slaughtered
by Gallie-
nus.

and *Dexter* were consuls, returned to *Rome*, and from thence hastened into the east, where he wreaked his rage on the city of *Byzantium*; but upon what provocation, *Trebellius Pollio*, who describes the miserable condition to which that place was reduced, has not thought proper to acquaint us. All we know is, that *Gallienus*, as soon as he appeared before it, lost all hopes of ever being able to master it; but being nevertheless admitted, the day after his arrival, within the gates, upon terms, without any regard to the agreement, he caused the garison, and all the inhabitants, to be put to the sword. Not one person, says *Trebellius Pollio*, was left alive in the place^h. *Vorburius* ascribes this slaughter to the soldiers of *Gallienus*; and pretends, that the emperor left *Gaul*, and hastened into the east, on purpose to revenge the slaughter of the *Byzantines*, and punish the cruelty of the soldiersⁱ. From *Byzantium*, *Gallienus* returned to *Rome*, where he celebrated the tenth year of his reign with extraordinary pomp, and a kind of triumph, in which were led mock captives, dressed like *Goths*, *Sarmatians*, *Franks*, and *Persians*. During this show, some persons of humour, mixing with those who personated the *Persians*, viewed with great attention their faces, examined their dress, and seemed to betray great surprise. Being in the end asked, what they wanted? *We are looking*, said they, *for the emperor's father*; which so incensed *Gallienus*, that he commanded them immediately to be burnt alive^k. This year, a new tyrant started up, by name *P. Sempronius Saturninus*. He was a man of great parts, and renowned for his victories over the barbarians. History does not inform us where or how long he reigned; but only tells us, that he performed great things while he was emperor, and was, on account of his severity, put to death by the same soldiers who had raised him to the empire. When he was first proclaimed emperor by the troops under his command, he told them, that they *had lost a good captain, and made a bad prince*^l. Towards the end of the year, *Theodotus*, a native of *Egypt*, dispatched by *Gallienus* against *Emilianus*, who reigned in that country, overcame him in a pitched battle, took him prisoner, and sent him to *Rome*; where he was, by the emperor's orders, strangled in prison, according to the ancient custom of putting captive princes to death. The emperor, to reward *Theodotus*, designed to make *Egypt* a proconsular province, and honour him with that proconsulship; but was diverted from it by

Saturninus
assumes the
title of
emperor,
and is
murdered
by his sol-
diers.

Emilia-
nus defeat-
ed, taken
and
strangled.

^h Gall. vit. p. 178, 179.
539. ^k Gall. vit. p. 179.

ⁱ Vorb. hist. Rom. Germanic. p.
^l Trig. vit. c. 22. p. 196.

the priests alledging a prediction, which had prevailed even in *Cicero's* time, viz. that *Egypt* would recover its ancient liberty, when the fasces appeared there^m. The fasces were carried, as is well known, before the proconsuls. At this time happened, as we conjecture, the siege of *Bruchium*, besieged described by *Eusebius*; *Æmilianus* himself, or his partizans, and taken. having probably taken shelter there after the battle. *Bruchium*, or, as *Eusebius* styles it, *Pyruchium*, was a quarter of the city of *Alexandria* near the sea, on the side of the *Pharos*, and, as it were, the citadel of that metropolis. There stood the royal palace, the place where the *Egyptian* senate or council met, the public granaries, the museum, and the celebrated library of the *Egyptian* kings, containing once seven hundred thousand volumes, of which four hundred thousand were burnt in *Julius Cæsar's* time. The *Roman* army, under the command of *Theodotus*, having taken the rest of the city, laid siege to this quarter, and in the end reduced it by famineⁿ. This year the *Scythians* made a new irruption into *Asia*, but were with great slaughter driven back into their own country by the *Roman* forces quartered in that province^o.

THE next consuls were *Gallienus*, the sixth time, and *Sa-Gallienus turninus*. This year *Gallienus*, by the advice of his brother declares *Valerian* and his kinsman *Lucillus*, to reward the brave *Odenatus* for the many victories he had gained over the *Persians*, his partner took him for his partner in the empire, honoured him with in the empire the titles of *Cæsar*, *Augustus*, and emperor, and all the badges of sovereignty, and caused money to be coined with his name, on which he was represented leading the *Persians* captive. The title of *Augusta* was given to his wife, and that of *Cæsar* to his children^p. This action of *Gallienus* was highly applauded by the senate, by the people of *Rome*, and the whole empire; for to his valour was intirely owing the preservation of the eastern provinces, over-run and sorely harraressed by the *Persians*. This year, 264, *Balista*, who had *Balista murdered* held some provinces in the east ever since the death of *Macrinus* and his children, was at last killed, according to the most probable opinion, by a soldier sent by *Odenatus* for that purpose^q. *Gallienus*, in the spring of this year, left *Rome*, and *Gallienus* marched a second time in person against *Posthumius*, who still goes into reigned in *Gaul*. At his approach, *Posthumius* withdrew *Gaul* into a strong hold, which the emperor immediately invested,

^m Idem ibid. c. 21. p. 195. ⁿ EUSEB. l. vii. c. 31. p. 285.

^o GALL. vit. p. 178. ^p Gall. vit. p. 179. GOLTZ. p. 115.

^q Trig. tyrann. vit. c. 17. p. 193.

Posthumi-
us takes
Victori-
nus for his
partner.

The Isau-
rians re-
volt.

Celsus
made em-
peror in
Africa,
and soon
after mur-
dered.

but soon after raised the siege, having received a wound in the back with an arrow while he was viewing the walls^r. On several medals of this year, notice is taken of a victory gained by *Gallienus* in *Gaul*, and he is styled the restorer of that province^r. However, *Posthumius* still maintained himself in possession of great part of that country; and this year being hard pressed by *Gallienus*, he chose for his colleague *M. Aurelius Piauonius Victorinus*, as he is styled on the ancient coins, of whom we read the following character in *Julius Aterianus*, a writer of those times: No one, in my opinion, ought to be preferred to *Victorinus*, who reigned some time in *Gaul*; he equalled *Trajan* in bravery, *Antoninus* in clemency, *Nerva* in gravity, *Vespasian* in managing the public money, and *Pertinax* and *Severus* in his care of the military discipline; but his unbridled lust drowned all his good qualities, and cast such a blemish upon his reputation, that no one dares to record the virtues of a man, whom all own to have deserved the doom which in the end overtook him^t. Of this doom we shall speak in its proper place. The next year, *Valerian*, the emperor's brother, and *Lucillus*, his kinsman, being consuls, the *Isaurians*, revolting in *Asia Minor*, chose for their leader *C. Annus Trebellianus*, who took upon him the title of *Augustus*, caused money to be coined with his name, and reigned some time in *Isauria* and *Cilicia*; but was in the end drawn by *Causisoleus*, the brother of *Theodotus*, from among the rocks and mountains, where he had taken refuge into a plain, and there defeated and killed. The *Isaurians* ranked him after his death among the gods; and, refusing to submit to *Gallienus*, whose cruelty they dreaded, maintained themselves a free people in the very heart of the *Roman* empire, at least till the time of the emperor *Constantine*, and committed dreadful ravages in *Asia Minor*, and *Syria*^u. While *Gaul*, *Pontus*, *Thrace*, and *Illyricum*, were held either by a domestic or foreign enemy, *Africa* too had its tyrant, viz. *T. Cornelius Celsus*, set up by *Vibius Passienus*, proconsul of *Africa*, and *Fabius Pomponianus*, who commanded on the frontiers of *Libya*. He was but a tribune, and led at that time a retired life in the country. A lady, by name *Galliena*, nearly related to the emperor, bore a great share in this revolt. *Celsus* was a man of great integrity, and worthy of the rank to which he was raised; but he held it a short time, being killed the seventh day after his election. The inhabitants of *Sicca*, who had continued faithful to *Gal-*

^r Gall. vit. p. 177.
rann. c. 5. p. 186, 187.

^t BIRAC. p. 376, 377.
^u Idem, c. 25. p. 198.

^t Trig. ty-
lienus

lienus, threw his body to the dogs, and crucified him in effigie, which, as our historian observes, had never been practised before ^o. Among the other misfortunes of this unhappy reign; we may reckon the loss of all the conquests of *Trajan*, that is, of the whole province of *Dacia*, seized by the *Goths* and other northern nations; and the dreadful ravages committed by the *Franks* in *Spain*. *Victor* is of opinion, that they entered that province on the side of *Gaul* ^p; but *Adrianus* ^{plundered} *Valesius* proves, from the panegyric of *Nazarius* on *Constantine*, that they conveyed themselves thither by sea ^q. Be that as it will, all authors agree, that they entered *Spain*, ravaged the country far and wide, and took by storm, plundered, and almost utterly destroyed, the city of *Tarraco*, which, for the space of a hundred and fifty years, bore the marks of what it suffered at this time ^r. Some of the *Franks* from *Spain* crossed over into *Africa* ^t; but what was the issue of that rash undertaking, we are no-where told.

THE following year, *Gallienus* being consul, the seventh time, with *Sabinillus*, the brave *Odenatus*, entering the *Persian* territories, put all there to fire and sword, over-came *Sapor* in several battles, besieged a second time, and, according to *Syncellus*, made himself master of, *Ctesiphon*. But, in the mean time, the *Goths* entering *Asia* by the *Euxine* sea, over-ran *Lydia*, *Bithynia*, *Phrygia*, *Troas*, *Cappadocia*, and *Galatia*, laying waste the country, plundering the towns, and carrying off an immense booty and an incredible number of captives ^u. The next year, *Paternus* and *Arcefilaus* being consuls, *Odenatus*, leaving *Ctesiphon*, hastened back to the relief of *Asia*; but the *Goths* not thinking it adviseable to wait his arrival, reimbarqued at *Heraclea* in *Pontus*, and returned home, loaded with booty. Many of them, however, were drowned, being overtaken in the *Euxine* sea by the *Roman* fleet. All authors agree, that *Odenatus* was killed about this time, but differ both as to the place and manner of his death. According to *Syncellus*, he was killed at *Heraclea* ^v; He is murdered, according to *Zosimus*, at *Emesa* ^w. *Trebellius Pollio* writes, that he was murdered by one *Mæonius*, his cousin, who was proclaimed emperor in his room, but soon after put to death. *Syncellus* ascribes his death to another *Odenatus*, who was himself murdered by the guards ^x. Some writers suppose

^o Idem, c. 28 p. 198.

^p AUR. VICT. in Gall.

^q VAL.

rer. Francic. l. i. p. 3, 4.

^r OROS. l. vii. p. 223. HIER. chron.

EUTROP. VICT.

^t VICT. & VAL. p. 5.

^u Gall.

vit. p. 179.

^v SYNCCELL. p. 382.

^w Zos. p.

651. Trig. tyr. c. 14, 16.

^x SYNCCELL. p. 382.

His wife
Zenobia
governs in
the name
of her
children.

Posthumi-
us murder-
ed in Gaul,
and Lolli-
anus de-
clared em-
peror.

Zenobia herself to have assisted the conspirators underhand, being provoked against her husband for preferring his eldest son *Herod*, by a former ^a, to the children he had by her ¹. It is certain, that *Herod* was killed with his father, who, according to some writers, had taken him for his partner. Such was the end of *Odenatus*, deservedly ranked by historians among the greatest princes that ever reigned in the east. God, says *Trebellius Pollio*, was angry with the *Romans*, since he took *Valerian* from them, and did not long preserve *Odenatus* ². He had begun, as appears from some medals ³, the fourth year of his reign. He left behind him three sons by *Zenobia*, *Herennianus*, *Timolaus*, and *Vabalath*, or, as he is styled on some medals, *Hermias Vhaballat* ^b. As they were very young at the time of their father's death, *Zenobia* governed in their name with the title of *queen of the east*, arrayed them with purple robes and other ensigns of the imperial dignity; and in that attire presented them, after the death of their father, to the armies, and the assemblies of the people ^c. It is uncertain, whether they were put to death by *Aurelian*, or died before ^d. From their medals it appears, that *Herennianus* reigned at least two years, *Timolaus* three, and *Vhaballat* seven ^e. *Zenobia* did not, it seems, tread in the footsteps of her husband, and keep up, as he had done, a good understanding with *Gallienus*. For we find, that *Heraclianus*, whom the emperor, upon the news of the death of *Odenatus*, had sent into the east to make war upon the *Persians*, was this very year defeated by *Zenobia*, and obliged to return to *Rome*. Towards the end of the year, one *L. Ælianus* assumed the title of emperor at *Mentz*; but was soon overcome by *Posthumius*, who reduced the rebellious city, but would not give it up to be plundered by his soldiers, who, thereupon mutinied, and, transported with rage, murdered their brave leader, with young *Posthumius* his son. *Trebellius Pollio* ascribes his death to *Lollianus*, who had revolted from him and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. *Lollianus*, styled on the ancient coins *Spurius Servilius Lollianus* ^f, was meanly born, but had raised himself in the army by his gallant conduct. He reigned in that part of *Gaul* which bordered on the *Rhine*, while *Victorinus*, whom *Posthumius* had taken for his partner, held the rest. But he did not long enjoy the sovereignty, being murdered on account of his seve-

¹ Trig tyrann. c. 16. p. 193.

² Idem, c. 14. p. 192.

³ GOLTZ. p. 115. ^b Idem, p. 116. BIRAG. p. 386. ^c Trig tyrann. c. 26. p. 192.

^d Idem, ibid.

^e GOLTZ. p. 116.

^f Idem, p. 117.

rity by his own soldiers, stirred up by *Victorinus*, who, upon his death, became sole master of all *Gaul*, but was soon after mortally wounded at *Cologn*, by one whose wife he had debauched. Before he died, he named his son *L. Aulerius Victorinus* his successor, though then an infant. But the *Gauls*, and his son not able to brook the government of a child, murdered him, murdered. and set up in his room one *M. Aurelius Marius*, originally an armourer, but a man of great valour and extraordinary strength. *Marius declared emperor and murdered;* He was killed the third day of his reign by a soldier, who had formerly worked under him. The assassin ran him through with his sword, telling him, that it was of his own making^g. Upon his death, the troops in *Gaul* proclaimed *P. Pivejus* or *Pesuvius Tetricus* emperor. *and Tetricus raised man senator, had been consul, and was at this time governor to the empire in his room.* He was acknowledged in *Spain* and *Britain*, as well as in *Gaul*, and held those provinces with the title of emperor till the fourth year of *Aurelian's* reign, when he was taken and led in triumph by that prince^h, as we shall relate hereafter. He immediately conferred the title of *Cæsar* upon his son *C. Pacuvius Pivejus Tetricus*, who was then but an infant. All these usurpers in *Gaul*, viz. *Posthumius*, *Lollianus*, *Victorinus*, *Marius*, and *Tetricus*, were set up by *Victorina*, or *Victoria*, the mother of *Victorinus*, who had a great interest in *Gaul*, and bore an irreconcilable hatred to *Gallienus*. She was honoured, probably by her son *Victorinus*, with the titles of *Augusta*, and *The mother of the armies*. As she was a woman of masculine courage, and possessed of immense wealth, which she liberally distributed among the soldiers, she gave the empire of *Gaul* to whom she pleased, and bore under all the usurpers, who were but her creatures, an absolute sway. She died during the usurpation of *Tetricus*; but whether a natural or violent death, is uncertain; for some writers seem to insinuate, that she was privately dispatched by his ordersⁱ.

The same year, the *Scythians*, that is the *Goths*, ravaged anew the provinces of *Asia*, *Bithynia*, *Pontus*, and *Cappadocia*, and thence carried back with them an immense booty; *The irruptions of the Goths, And the Heruli.* while the *Heruli*, passing from the *Palus Mæotis* into the *Euxine* sea with five hundred vessels, landed at *Byzantium* and *Chrysopolis*, now *Scutari*, under the conduct of one *Naubatus*. At the latter place they were attacked and defeated by *Venerianus*, who was himself killed in the engagement. Notwithstanding their defeat, instead of returning to their own

^g Trig. tyrann. c. 7. p. 187.^h Idem ibid. c. 23. p. 196.ⁱ Idem, 30. p. 200.

Who are
defeated by
Gallienus.

War be-
tween Au-
reolus and
Gallienus.

country, they crossed the *Bosporus*; and steering their course towards *Cyzicus*, surprised and plundered that great and wealthy city, with part of *Asia*, and the islands of *Lemnos*, and *Scyros* in the *Archipelago*. Then they sailed towards *Greece*; and landing there, besieged and burnt *Athens*, *Corinth*, *Sparta*, and *Argos*, and laid waste all *Achaia*; but were in the end attacked and defeated with great slaughter by the *Athenians*, under the conduct of *Dexippus* the historian. However, in their retreat, they committed dreadful devastations in *Bæotia*, *Acarmania*, *Epirus*, and *Thrace* *. *Gallienus*, who was just then returned from *Gaul*, where he had been making war upon *Lollianus*, leaving *Aureolus* at *Milan*, hastened into *Illyricum*; and coming unexpectedly upon the barbarians there, gave them a total overthrow. *Naulobat*, their leader, was obliged to yield himself to the emperor's mercy, who treated him with great humanity; and, to gain the affections of the barbarians, even honoured him either with the consulship, or the consular ornaments †. *Aurelius Victor*, *Eutropius*, *St. Jerom*, *Orosius*, and *Trebellius Pollio*, speak of a great victory gained by *Gallienus* in *Illyricum* over the *Goths*, meaning no doubt the *Heruli*; for all the northern nations are by some writers styled *Goths*, by others *Scythians*. After this victory, *Gallienus* hastened back to *Italy*, leaving *Marcianus* in *Illyricum*, to pursue the war with the *Heruli*; which he did with no less courage than success, cutting off great numbers of them, and obliging the rest to quit their booty, and abandon the *Roman* dominions ‡. The revolt of *Aureolus* was what obliged *Gallienus* to return in great haste to *Italy*. For *Aureolus*, not satisfied with the power which he already enjoyed, took advantage of *Gallienus*'s absence to march with all the troops under his command towards *Rome*, with a design to depose *Gallienus*, and cause himself to be proclaimed sole emperor; for some writers tell us, that *Gallienus* had already taken him for his partner in the empire; while others style him only the emperor's general. *Gallienus*, hearing of his march, and suspecting his design, left *Illyricum*, and reaching *Italy* in a few days, came up with him, defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to shelter himself within the walls of *Milan*; which city *Gallienus* immediately invested. This happened in the beginning of the year 268, the fifteenth of *Gallienus*'s reign, when *Paternus* was consul, the second time,

* Gall. vit. p. 184. SYNCCELL. p. 382. Zos. p. 651. † Gall. vit. p. 181. SYNCCELL. ibid. ‡ Claud. vit. p. 208. Gall. vit. ibid.

with

with *Marinianus* ⁿ. All authors agree, that *Gallienus* was *Gallienus* killed during this siege, but differ both as to the manner and *murdered*. authors of his death. The most probable opinion is, that *Marcianus*, who was returned from *Illyricum*, *Heraclianus*, and *Cecrops*, a native of *Mauritania*, and commander of the *Dalmatian* cavalry, no longer able to bear his tyrannical government, conspired against him, and alarming the camp in the dead of the night, as if *Aureolus* were falling out with all his forces, killed him in the dark, with his son *Gallienus*, and his two brothers, *Valerian* and *Egnatius*. The soldiers, hearing the emperor was dead, and suspecting he had been murdered, began to mutiny; but *Marcianus* distributing large sums among them, twenty pieces of gold a man (for *Gallienus* always carried immense treasures with him), the mutiny was appeased, and the whole army declared *Gallienus* a tyrant, and took the usual oaths to *Claudius*, whom the conspirators proposed to them as the best qualified man in the whole empire to sustain the name and dignity of a *Roman* emperor ^o. Such was the end of *Gallienus*, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, according to the most probable opinion, after he had reigned fifteen years, seven before, and eight after, the captivity of his father *Valerian*. The senate declared him *And most* a public enemy, ordered most of his friends, ministers, and *of his mi-* relations, to be thrown down headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock, *nisters and* and caused his name to be erased out of all public inscriptions. He was one of the most wicked princes mentioned in *condemned* history, and is said to have equalled *Nero* in cruelty, and *He-* *liogabalus* in lewdness. He passed his whole time in the company of the most infamous prostitutes in *Rome*; and, laying aside all care and thought of the public, suffered the *Roman* dominions to be over-run by the barbarians, and the empire to be rent in pieces by the many usurpers who started up in his time, shewing no more concern for the loss of a province, to use the expression of *Trebellius Pollio*, than for that of an old garment. He exerted his cruelty chiefly against the soldiers, of whom he is said to have sometimes ordered three or four thousand to be put to death in one day. He excluded all senators from military employments, and would not even suffer any of that illustrious body to appear in the camp, or among the soldiers. Notwithstanding all his vices, he was a great encourager of learning, being himself well versed in all the branches of polite literature, especially in oratory and poetry. His historian tells us, that on occasion of the marriage of his brother's son, he made an extemporary epithala-

ⁿ Gall. vit. p. 181.^o Idem, ibid.

Gallienus
generally
abhorred,
but deified.

mium, which far excelled those that were written at the same time, after many days study, by the best *Greek* and *Latin* poets then in *Rome* ^p. After his death *Claudius* caused him, though universally abhorred both by the senate and people, to be deified with the usual ceremonies. His body was in all likelihood conveyed by *Claudius*'s orders to *Rome*; for *Ammianus Marcellinus* speaks of his tomb on the *Appian* way, about nine miles from the city ^q. Of the few writers who flourished under him, we shall speak in our note (Y).

Claudius
proclaimed
emperor.

As soon as the tumult occasioned by the death of *Gallienus* was appeased, the soldiers, with loud acclamations, proclaimed *Claudius* emperor. The news of what had happened at *Milan* reaching *Rome* on the twenty-fourth of *March*, the senate immediately assembled; and the letter which *Claudius* wrote to them being publicly read, they unanimously confirmed the election of the army, proclaimed *Claudius* emper-

^p Idem, p. 180.

^q AMMIAN. p. 472.

(Y) *Palfurius Sura* wrote the history of the reign of *Gallienus* (65); and this is all we know of him. *Cælestinus* and *Mæonius Aftyanax*, quoted by some of the *Augustine* writers, are equally unknown. They all flourished under *Gallienus*; for of the transactions of his reign they speak as of things happening in their time (66). *Vossius* ranks them among the *Latin* historians (67). *Suidas* mentions one *Ephorus* of *Cumæ*, who wrote the history of *Galenus*, or rather, as others read, *Gallienus* in twenty-seven books (68). *Vossius* places him among the *Greek* historians, and takes him to have been a native of *Cumæ* in *Asia* (69). He wrote other histories; but none of them have reached us (70). *Trebellius Pollio* quotes a passage out of one *Julius Aterianus*, much to the credit and reputation of *Victorinus*, who usurped the empire in *Gaul* (71). The same writer quotes another passage out of one *Gallus Antipater*, who wrote the history of *Aureolus*, and probably of the other tyrants: but he seems to have entertained a very bad opinion of him; for he calls him a slave to honours, and the disgrace of historians, though the passage he quotes, does not, in our opinion, deserve such a severe censure (72). Under *Gallienus* flourished likewise *Lupercus* of *Berytus*, a celebrated grammarian, who wrote several grammatical pieces, and was in many things preferred to *Herodian* (73).

(65) *Gall. vit.* p. 183.

(66) *Valer. vit.* p. 175, *Trigint. tyrann.* c. 11. p. 190.

(67) *Voss. hist. Lat.* p. 182.

(68) *Suid.* p. 1111.

(69) *Voss. hist. Græc.* l. ii. c. 16. p. 240.

(70) *Idem*, l. i. c. 7. p. 37.

(71) *Trigint. tyrann.* c. 5. p. 187.

(72) *Claud. vit.* p. 203.

(73) *Suid.* p. 53. *Voss. hist. Græc.* l. ii. c. 16. p. 240.

ror,

ror, and heaped upon him all the honours which had ever been conferred upon any prince, repeating forty times, *That they had always wished to have Claudius, or such a person as Claudius, for emperor* ^r. He was a native of *Illyricum*, born, according to some, in *Dardania*, according to others, in *Dalmatia*. Of his father and ancestors, *Trebellius Pollio* owns, that he knows but very little, though, after his accession to the empire, some flattering genealogists pretended to derive his pedigree from *Dardanus* and the *Trojans* ^s. On most medals he is styled *M. Aurelius Claudius* ^t. He had no children, but two brothers, *Quintillus*, who succeeded him, and *Crispus*, the father of *Claudia*, who married *Eutropius*, and had by him *Constantius*, the father of *Constantine the Great*. The name of *Constantine* was, it seems, peculiar to the family of *Claudius*; for one of his sisters was called *Constantina*, a name hitherto never mentioned in history. The present emperor is by all writers, even by *Zosimus*, an avowed enemy to *Constantine*, cried up as one of the best princes that ever swayed a sceptre. He was highly esteemed by the emperor *Valerian*, who first gave him the command of the fifth legion, and afterwards, at the request of the senate, appointed him general of all the troops in *Illyricum*, which comprehended *Thrace*, *Mœsia*, *Dalmatia*, *Pannonia*, and *Dacia*. The same emperor designed to raise him to the consulship, and give him the command of the prætorian guards. *Gallienus* stood in great awe of him; and, being informed, that *Claudius* disapproved of his conduct, he did all that lay in his power to attach him to his interest, sent him rich presents, and wrote to one *Venustus*, his particular friend, charging him by all means to gain *Claudius*, and remove from him all jealousies and suspicions ^u. In his letter he styled *Claudius* his friend and kinsman. *Claudius* attended him in his wars against *Posthumus* in *Gaul*, and the *Heruli* in *Illyricum*, and was sent by him, after the revolt of *Aureolus*, to defend the city of *Ticinum*, or *Pavia*. But, in the mean time, *Gallienus* being killed, he was, though, according to some writers, not privy to the conspiracy, proclaimed emperor ^w. His election was no sooner confirmed by the senate, than he attacked *Aureolus*, encamped at a small distance from *Aureolus Milan*, utterly defeated the troops under his command, and took the usurper himself prisoner. He designed to grant him his life; but the soldiers killed him without his orders. The emperor raised a monument to his memory, caused his body

^r Claud. vit. p. 203.

BIRAG. p. 402.

^s Idem, p. 206.^t Claud. vit. p. 207.^u GOLTZ. p. 117.^w Idem, p. 203.

The Germans defeated by Claudius.

to be honourably interred, and ordered a bridge to be built over the *Aida*, at the place where he had been killed; which, from his name, he called *Pons Aureoli*, *The bridge of Aureolus*; whence the present village of *Pontirolo*, on the *Adda*, between *Milan* and *Bergamo*, in all likelihood, took its name*. After the death of *Aureolus*, the troops that had served under him acknowledged *Claudius*, who, without loss of time, led them and the rest of his army against the *Germans*, who had broken into *Italy*, and were advanced as far as the lake *Benacus*, now *Lago di Garda*, near *Verona*. There the emperor defeated them in a pitched battle, cut incredible numbers of them in pieces, obliged those who outlived the general slaughter to save themselves by a precipitous flight into their own country, and returning to *Rome*, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable, passed the remaining part of the year in settling affairs there; which he did with great prudence and justice, redressing all grievances, and suppressing the many abuses and disorders which had prevailed in the late reign.

He marches against the Goths, and other northern nations.

IN the beginning of the following year he entered upon his second consulship, having *Paternus* for his colleague, and soon after set out from *Rome*, to make head against the *Goths* and other northern nations, who, to the number of three hundred and twenty thousand fighting men, besides women, servants, and children, had invaded the *Roman* dominions, and committed every-where most dreadful ravages, laying waste whole provinces, burning cities, and putting all to fire and sword. The emperor came up with them, as they were retiring, loaded with booty, through *Upper Mæsia*. As he was upon the point of engaging them, he wrote with his own hand the following letter to the senate: "I am, conscript fathers, in sight of the enemy, and ready to engage them: they are three hundred and twenty thousand strong. If I overcome them, you will not, I hope, be ungrateful. If I should not be attended with success, you will remember that I fight after the reign of *Gallienus*. The whole empire is quite spent and exhausted, partly by him, and partly by the many tyrants, who, during his reign, usurped the sovereignty, and laid waste our provinces. We want even shields, swords, and spears. The provinces of *Gaul* and *Spain*, the main strength of the empire, are in the hands of *Tetricus*. Our archers, to our great shame, are withheld from us by *Zenobia*. Whatever therefore we perform successfully in our present circumstances, must be accounted great."

* Trigint. tyrann. c. 10. p. 190.

But

But, notwithstanding these disadvantages, *Claudius* advanced *And gains*
boldly against the barbarians, and, after a long and obstinate *a memor-*
dispute, gained one of the greatest victories mentioned in his- *able vic-*
tory; for no fewer than three hundred thousand of the ene- *tory over*
my were killed or taken prisoners. The emperor himself *them.*

gave the following account of this memorable victory in a letter, which he wrote after the battle, to *Junius Brocchus*, governor of *Illyricum*: “We have utterly defeated an army of three hundred and twenty thousand *Goths*, and destroyed their fleet, consisting of two thousand sail. The fields and shores are covered with swords, shields, and dead bodies. We have taken such numbers of captives, that, not to mention the men, two or three women will fall to the share of each soldier in our victorious army *.”

Among the prisoners were many princes and persons of great distinction. All the provinces of the empire were filled with captives, who were employed to till the ground, and every city could shew you, says *Pollio*, glorious monuments of the fortune and courage of the brave and invincible *Claudius* †.

For this victory the emperor took the surname of *Gothicus* ‡.

While *Claudius* was thus employed against the barbarians, *Zenobia*, having overcome *Probus*, who commanded some troops in *Egypt*, reduced that province, and, after a long siege, took and utterly destroyed *Bruchium*, the citadel of *Alexandria*. *Probus*, finding he could not by any other means escape falling into the hands of the victorious queen, dispatched himself with his own sword †.

Zenobia reduces Egypt.

The following year, when *Antiochianus* and *Orphitus* were consuls, the emperor, having nothing to fear from the barbarians, resolved to march against *Zenobia*, who held all the provinces in the east; but was prevented by a violent plague which broke out in his army, and made a dreadful havock of his men. The emperor himself was in the end seized and carried off by the raging distemper at *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, after he had reigned, according to the most probable opinion, two years and one month †.

The death of Claudius.

In him centered, says *Trebellius Pollio*, the moderation of *Augustus*, the valour of *Trajan*, the piety of *Antoninus*, and all the virtues of the good princes who had reigned before him †. He may be truly said to have re-established, during his short but glorious reign, the tottering empire, and to have restored it to its former lustre. The senate not only bestowed divine ho-

* *Claud. vit.* p. 204.

† *Idem* *ibid.*

‡ *GOLTZ.* p. 118.

† *Zos.* p. 654, 655.

† *Idem*, p. 654.

EUSUB. chron. p. 138.

GRUTER. p. 276.

† *Claud. vit.* p. 203.

Extraor-
dinary ho-
nours con-
ferred on
him by the
senate and
people of
Rome.

His brother
Quintillus
proclaimed
emperor ;
but dies
soon after.

Aurelian
raised to
the empire.

His extrac-
tion and
prefer-
ments.

nours upon him after his death, but hung up in the place where they assembled a shield of gold, on which was engraved his image. This shield was still to be seen in the reign of *Constantine the Great*. The people erected to him at their own expence two statues, one of gold ten foot high, which they placed by that of *Jupiter* in the capitol, and another of silver in the forum, weighing fifteen hundred pounds, and representing the emperor in his triumphal robes ^d. *Claudius*, and not *Gallienus*, as *Spanhemius* pretends ^e, was the last emperor, who assumed on his medals the titles of *high pontiff*, and *tribune of the people* ^f. Upon the death of *Claudius*, the senate and people of *Rome* proclaimed his brother *Quintillus* emperor, who was then at *Aquileia*, in which city he was murdered by his soldiers, after a short reign of seventeen days, for attempting to restore with too much severity the discipline of the primitive times. Thus *Trebellius Pollio* ^g. But *Zosimus* ^h and *Zonaras* ⁱ tell us, that *Quintillus*, hearing *Aurelian* had been acknowledged emperor by the army in *Pannonia*, and finding his own troops ready to revolt, by the advice of his friends, caused his veins to be opened, and by that means put an end to his life and reign. Most writers speak of him as one in every respect equal to his brother. Upon his death, the senate readily confirmed the election of *Aurelian*, and honoured him with the title of *Augustus*. He was, according to most writers, a native of *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, of a mean descent, but universally admired on account of his extraordinary strength and courage. He had distinguished himself in a very eminent manner under the emperors *Valerian*, *Gallienus*, and *Claudius*, in their wars with the barbarians, of whom he is said to have killed with his own hand forty-eight in one engagement, and in several others nine hundred and fifty ; whence songs were made upon his exploits, and sung publicly by the youth on festival days. As there were two *Aurelians* at the same time in the army, and both tribunes, the soldiers used to distinguish the present *Aurelian* with the surname of *Manu ad ferrum*, that is, *Hand to the sword* ; so ready was he on all occasions to draw his sword, and encounter the enemy ^k. He was a most strict observer of the military discipline, and used to punish with the utmost severity the least neglect of duty ; and the least injury offered by his soldiers to any of the inhabitants of

^d Idem, p. 208. ^e SPANH. l. viii. p. 699. ^f Vide BIRAG. p. 402. NORIS de Licinii nummo, c. 3. p. 49. ^g Claud. vit. p. 206. ^h Zos. p. 654. ⁱ ZONAR. p. 239. ^k Aurel. vit. p. 210, 211.

the provinces, through which he marched. He was, when proclaimed emperor, commander in chief of the cavalry, to which post he had raised himself from the low station of a common soldier¹. From *Sirmium*, where he was saluted emperor by the whole army, after the death of *Claudius*, he hastened to *Rome*, and was received there, both by the senate and people, with extraordinary demonstrations of joy; but, before he could settle affairs in the metropolis of the empire, he was obliged to return in great haste to *Pannonia*, the *Goths*, notwithstanding their late most dreadful overthrow, having anew broken into that province. *Aurelian* engaged them, and the battle lasted, without any considerable advantage on either side, till night, when the enemy repassed the *Danube*, and the next day sent ambassadors to sue for peace; which *Aurelian* readily granted them, being informed, that the *Almanni*, the *Futhongæ*, whose country bordered upon *Rhætia*, and the *Marcomanni*, threatened to invade *Italy* itself, and were committing dreadful ravages and devastations in several parts. Against them therefore *Aurelian* led the flower of his army, and meeting them in *Vindelicia*, which comprehended all the present *Bavaria* and great part of *Suevia*, he put them to flight, and cut off great numbers of them, as they attempted to pass the *Danube*. Hereupon they sent ambassadors to the emperor, offering to renew their antient alliance with *Rome*, provided they were allowed to return unmolested into their own country; for *Aurelian* had cut off their retreat, and detached part of his army to guard the banks of the *Danube*. The emperor, elated with his victory, would hearken to no terms; which threw the enemy into the utmost despair. After various consultations and debates among themselves, they resolved at length to enter *Italy*, since they could not return to their own country; and accordingly, finding the passes unguarded (for *Aurelian* apprehended no attempt of that nature), they advanced before the emperor came up with them, as far as *Placentia*. There *Aurelian* attacked them; but, after having lost most of his troops, was put to flight and utterly defeated. The barbarians, puffed up with so signal a victory, pursued their march, not doubting, but they should be able to take *Rome* itself, as the *Gauls* had formerly done. But, in the mean time, *Aurelian* having rallied his dispersed troops, and reinforced them with the legions quartered in *Illyricum*, came unexpectedly upon the enemy in the neighbourhood of *Fanum Fortunæ*, now *Fano*, and gave them a dreadful overthrow. Such of them as escap-

Concludes a
peace with
the *Goths*.

He defeats
several
German
nations;

Who ne-
vertheless
enter *Italy*
and put the
emperor to
flight;

¹ Idem, p. 211.

ed from this first battle, were slain in two others, one of which was fought near *Placentia*, and the other in the plains of *Ticinum*. Thus was the whole multitude cut off to a man^m. To this day is to be seen at *Pesaro*, a city about five miles from *Fano*, a monument erected by the inhabitants in memory of the victory gained there by *Aurelian* over the *Germans*ⁿ. While the emperor was preparing to return to *Rome*, news was brought him, that the *Vandals* had passed the *Danube*, under the conduct of two of their kings, and several other princes. This obliged him to hasten to the defence of the threatened provinces. The *Vandals* retired upon his approach; the emperor, however, pursued and overtook them before they reached the *Danube*, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to sue for peace; which he readily granted them, upon their delivering to him, as hostages, the sons of their two kings, and several other persons of great distinction. He incorporated two thousand of their best men in his army, and ordered the rest to be supplied with provisions at the public expence, till they reached the *Danube*^o. *Aurelian*, having thus happily ended the wars with the *Goths*, *Germans*, and *Vandals*, returned to *Rome*, and in the beginning of the following year, entered upon his first consulship, having for his colleague, *Numerius Ceionius Virius Bassus*. As several disturbances had happened in *Rome* during his absence, he punished the authors of them with great severity, and such too as were accused of having blamed his conduct in the *German* war. *Trebellius Pollio* tells us, that tho' he was in other respects an excellent prince, he often suffered his passion to get the better of his reason, and punished with excessive rigour faults, which an humane prince would have overlooked. He put several senators to death, upon the deposition of a single witness; and often gave ear to the accusations of persons, who deserved no credit; which much lessened the reputation he had gained by his exploits in the field, and estranged from him the minds both of the senate and people^p. The emperor *Julian* charges him with having put many persons to death unjustly^q; and *Ammianus Marcellinus* writes, that he was glad of any pretence to condemn the rich, being in great want of money to carry on the war, and pay his troops^r. This year, with the consent and approbation of the senate,

*Aurelian
estranges
the minds
of the se-
nate and
people
with his
severity.*

*But are in
the end all
cut off.*

*The Van-
dals de-
feated.*

^m Idem, p. 215, 216. DEXIPP. legat. p. 7—11. ⁿ GRU-
TER. p. 276. ^o DEXIPP. legat. p. 12. ^p Aurel. vit. p.
116. ^q JULIAN. CÆS. p. 16. ^r AMMIAN. l. xxx. p.
431.

he undertook the repairing the walls of the city, which he likewise extended; so that they were near fifty miles in compass^r. This great work was not accomplished till the latter end of the reign of *Probus*^t.

THE following year, when *Quietus* and *Voldumianus* were consuls, *Aurelian* having settled affairs in *Pannonia*, *Italy*, and at *Rome*, left the city anew, and set out for the east, to *Hemarches* make war upon the celebrated *Zenobia*, who, to the great *against* disgrace of the empire, had held for several years most of *Zenobia*. the eastern provinces. This queen, one of the most illustrious women mentioned in history, is styled on several medals *Septimia Zenobia*^u; whence some writers conclude her to have been allied to the family of the emperor *Septimius Severus*. She pretended to derive her pedigree from the *Cleopatras* and *Ptolemies* of *Egypt*, and her family was reckoned one of the most conspicuous in the east. She was well versed in all the branches of polite literature, understood thoroughly the *Egyptian*, *Greek*, and *Latin* languages, and in the knowledge of history excelled most men of her time. She is even said to have compiled an abridgment of the *Egyptian* and *Oriental* historians, which was in great request among the learned^w. *St. Athanasius* writes, that she professed the *Jewish* religion^x, and is therein followed by *Abulfarajius*^y. She married the celebrated *Odenatus*, prince of *Palmyra*, and afterwards partner in the empire with *Gallienus*. She had great share in the many signal victories gained by her husband over the *Persians*, and is said to have been no less courageous than that brave commander, and equally experienced in military affairs. Upon his death, she arrayed her three sons, *Herennianus*, *Timolaus*, and *Phaballat*, in purple, caused them to be acknowledged by all the eastern provinces as joint emperors of *Rome*, and obliged them to conform to the *Roman* customs, and use not the *Greek*, which was spoken by other eastern princes, but the *Latin*, tongue. As they were under age, she governed in their name, with the title of *queen of the east*, for the space of five, or, as others will have it, six years, discharging each duty of an excellent prince and experienced commander, with all the prudence and intrepidity of a man. She shewed great wisdom in her counsels, was steady in her resolutions, kind and generous to persons of merit, but inexorable when severity was judged necessary.

Her extraction, conduct, and administration.

^r AUR. VICT. epit. Aurel. vit. p. 216.

^t Zos. p. 655.

^u BIRAG. p. 385. SPANH. p. 937.

Aur. vit. p. 219.

^x ATHAN. solit. p. 857. ^y ABUL. p. 81.

Her ex-
ploits.

She lived with all the grandeur of a queen, imitating the pomp and magnificence of the *Persian* monarchs, and causing all those who approached her to fall prostrate before her, after the manner of the *Persian* court. She often appeared at the head of her troops, armed with a helmet, and arrayed with the imperial robes, harangued them, and marched with them several miles on foot, using a horse, and sometimes a chariot, when the marches were long, but seldom a litter. In imitation of the *Roman* emperors, she gave magnificent entertainments, not scrupling on these occasions to drink plentifully with the officers of her army, and the *Persian* and *Armenian* embassadors, though otherwise very sober and temperate^a. In the reign of *Gallienus*, she defeated *Heraclianus*, as we have related above, and, by his overthrow, remained in peaceable possession of all *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*, to which she added *Egypt*, while *Claudius* was taken up with the *Gothic* war. Not satisfied with these acquisitions, in the reign of *Aurelian*, she seized on great part of *Asia*, and attempted to reduce *Bithynia*^a. *Aurelian*, desirous to put an end to her usurpation, ordered all his forces to assemble in *Illyricum*, and setting out from *Rome*, early in the spring of this year 272, bent his march through *Thrace*, where he engaged and put to flight several barbarous nations, who had *Aurelian* made irruptions into that province. He even passed the *Danube*, and in an engagement with *Caunabaud*, a *Gothic* prince, slew him and five thousand of his men^b. Having thus defeated the *Goths*, he pursued his march to *Byzantium*, and crossing the *Bosporus*, entered *Bithynia*, which was held by *Zenobia*, according to *Vopiscus*, but immediately submitted. From *Bithynia* he advanced into *Cappadocia*, where the inhabitants of *Tyana* shut their gates against him; which so incensed *Aurelian*, that he swore he would not leave a dog alive in the place. His soldiers attacked it with great fury; but were in their repeated assaults repulsed with considerable loss by the inhabitants, till one of them, by name *Heraclammon*, betrayed his country and fellow-citizens to the enemy. We are told by *Vopiscus*, that the ghost of the famous *Apollonius Tyaneus*, appearing to *Aurelian*, warned him not to destroy the place of his nativity; and that the emperor, moved by this apparition, would not suffer his soldiers to offer the least injury to the inhabitants, answering them, when they put him in mind of his vow not to leave a dog alive in the place, that they might kill, if

Takes Ty-
ana in
Cappado-
cia.

^a Trigint. tyrann. c. 29. p. 198.
vit. p. 216.

^a Zos. p. 655.

^b Aur.

they

they pleased, all the dogs, provided they spared the inhabitants. This answer was received with great applause by the soldiers themselves, who were no less pleased, says *Vopiscus*, with the humour of their general, than if he had abandoned to them all the riches of that opulent city ^c. *Heraclammon*, *Suffers the* who betrayed the place, was the only person whom the emperor suffered to be put to death. Concerning him he ^{person who} *betrayed it* wrote the following letter to *Mallius Chilo*, who was, it ^{to be put} *seems*, the emperor's particular friend: "I have taken ^{to death} *Tyana*, and suffered the person, by whose favour, and, as it were, good offices, I took it, to be cut in pieces by my soldiers. I have spared the rest; but could not endure such a traitor. Would he ever have been faithful to me, who betrayed his own country? He was rich, I own it; but his estate I have given to his children, that no one might accuse me, as if I had put him to death for the sake of his wealth ^d." From *Tyana*, *Aurelian* led his army strait *Zenobia's* to *Antioch*, defeated the troops of *Zenobia* in the neighbour- ^{army de-} hood of that city, and entered, as it were, in triumph the ^{feated} metropolis of *Syria*. This victory, however, cost him dear; for the *Palmyrenians* (so the troops of *Zenobia* are styled by historians) fought with incredible bravery, and the *Romans* owed the victory rather to art than valour; for observing the enemy's cavalry heavily armed, they betook themselves to flight; and facing about unexpectedly, when they were quite spent with the long pursuit, put them easily in disorder, and gained a complete victory ^e. From *Antioch* *Aurelian* pursued his march to *Emesa*, whither *Zenobia* had retired with her army, consisting of seventy thousand men. Under her commanded one *Zabas*, or *Zabdas*, a man of great courage and experience, who had signalized himself in the *Persian* wars in the time of *Odenatus*. After several skirmishes with various success, both armies came to a general engagement, in which the *Roman* horse were put to flight at the first onset; but their infantry, attacking the enemy both in the front and flanks, left naked and exposed by the departure of their cavalry, who were pursuing the *Romans*, obliged *Zenobia* them, after a long and obstinate dispute, to give ground, and ^{defeated a} shelter themselves behind the walls of *Emesa*; which place, ^{second time} however, they abandoned at the approach of the victorious army, and withdrew with *Zenobia* to *Palmyra*, whither *Aurelian* pursued them close, though strangely harassed in his march by the *Syrian* robbers, who cut off great numbers of *Palmyra* his men. He immediately invested the place, hoping to carry ^{besieged}.

^c Idem, p. 217.^d Idem, ibid.^e Zos. p. 655.

it by repeated assaults; but all his efforts proving unsuccessful, he began to batter it with an incredible number of warlike machines. The besieged, animated by the example of their queen, not only repulsed the aggressors with showers of arrows, darts, and stones, but rallied them from the walls, without sparing the emperor himself. *Aurelian* owned in one of his letters, that he had never engaged a more brave and resolute enemy; and mentioning *Zenobia*, says, that she did not behave like a timorous woman, but fought with all the boldness of a man in despair. "It is incredible, adds he, what thick showers of arrows, darts, and stones she discharges upon us; she harasses us night and day with fire from her engines, &c. However, I hope the gods, who have never yet failed to second our endeavours, will not on this occasion abandon the cause of the *Roman* people." The emperor at length, quite tired out with the toils and fatigues of so long a siege, wrote a letter to *Zenobia*, exhorting her to surrender, and promising her her life. To this letter *Zenobia* returned the following answer: "No man ever before you made such a demand. It is not by letters, but valour, that you must induce me to submit. You cannot but know, that *Cleopatra* chose rather to die, than live under *Augustus*, notwithstanding the mighty promises he made her. I expect daily the *Persians*, *Saracens*, and *Armenians*, who are all hastening to my relief; and what will then become of you and your army, whom the robbers of *Syria* have put to flight? You will then lay aside that pride and presumption with which you command me to surrender, as if you were the conqueror of the universe." *Aurelian*, piqued with this answer, immediately ordered a general assault; but was repulsed with great loss, and obliged to give over the attempt. However, he defeated; a few days after, the *Persians*, who came to the relief of the place; and what by menaces, what by mighty promises, prevailed upon the *Armenians* and *Saracens* to join him against the queen, whom they were come to assist. *Zenobia*, finding herself disappointed as to the succours, which she had long expected, and despairing of being able to hold out much longer with her own forces, resolved to withdraw privately from the city into *Persia*, and there solicit in person more powerful supplies. Accordingly she set out in the dead of the night with a small retinue on fleet camels, carrying with her part of her jewels and treasures. But *Aurelian*, who was very watchful, having

Zenobia's
answer to
Aurelian,
requiring
her to sub-
mit.

f *Aur. vit. p. 218.*

had timely notice of her flight, detached a party of horse after the fugitive queen; who coming up with her, as she was ready to cross the *Euphrates* in a boat, seized her, and carried her back to *Aurelian*, who from that moment began to look upon himself as the conqueror and sole lord of the *taken and* east. When she was brought into his presence, he asked *brought to* her, What had prompted her to take up arms against, *Aurelian*. and insult over, the emperors of *Rome*? To this question the queen replied, with no less intrepidity than address, That she looked upon him indeed, who knew how to conquer, as emperor; but as for *Gallienus*, *Aureolus*, and such as resembled them, she had never thought them worthy of that name †.

THE city of *Palmyra* still held out, and some were against submitting upon any terms whatsoever; but others sued for mercy, and, upon the emperor's promising to grant them their lives, opened their gates to the conqueror, who spared the inhabitants, but stripped the city of all its wealth, and appointed one *Sandarion* governor of the place, with five hundred archers and other troops under his command^g. After this, the emperor returned to *Emesa*, carrying with him the captive queen, whose death the soldiers demanded with loud clamours; but the emperor thought it beneath him to spill the blood of a woman, the more, because she had with great care defended the eastern provinces against the *Persians* and other neighbouring nations, ready to seize them during the domestic disturbances that prevailed in every part of the empire^h. The emperor likewise spared *Vhaballat*, the queen's youngest sonⁱ. As for the other two, *Herennianus* and *Timolaus*, *Pollio* tells us in one place, that it is uncertain whether they died a natural or violent death^k; and elsewhere, that they were led in triumph with the queen their mother^l. All writers agree, that *Aurelian* caused many persons of distinction to be executed at *Emesa* for siding with *Zenobia*, and ordered others to be thrown overboard when he crossed over from *Chalcedon* to *Thrace*. Among the former was the celebrated philosopher *Longinus*, of whom hereafter. The fame of this victory soon reached the most distant nations, and they all strove, with solemn embassies and rich presents, to gain the friendship of the conqueror of *Zenobia*. Among these are mentioned the *Blémyes*, the *Auxumites*, the inhabitants of *Arabia Felix*, the *Bactrians*, *Iberians*, *All the eastern and southern nations court the friendship of Aurelian.*

† Trigint. tyran. c. 29 p. 199.

^g Aur. vit. p. 219.

^h Idem ibid. ⁱ Zos. p. 661. BIRAG. p. 385.

^k Trig. of Aurelian.

tyran. c. 26. p. 198. ^l Idem, c. 23. p. 196.

Aibanians,

Palmyra
revolts ;
but is re-
taken, and
all the in-
habitants
put to the
sword.

The revolt
of Firmius

Albanians, Saracens, Armenians, Ethiopians, Indians, Persians, and even the *Seres* or *Chinese*. *Hormisdas*, or, as *Eutychius* calls him, *Hormoz al Horri*, who had succeeded his father *Sapor* in the kingdom of *Persia*, sent to the emperor, amongst other presents, a chariot, covered all over with gold, silver, and precious stones of an inestimable value, and a scarlet mantle of such a lively colour, that the *Romans* had never seen any but what came infinitely short of it. *Aurelian*, and after him *Probus* and *Dioclesian*, taken with its extraordinary brightness and beauty, sent, but to no effect, persons into the east, on purpose to discover the art of dying to such an extraordinary perfection ^m. *Aurelian*, having thus recovered and settled in peace the eastern provinces, returned by *Chalcedon* and *Byzantium* into *Europe*, carrying with him his illustrious captive. He defeated, on his march through *Thrace*, the *Carpi*, who had broken into that province ; but at the same time he was informed, that the inhabitants of *Palmyra* had revolted, put the *Roman* governor and garison to the sword, and proclaimed a kinsman of *Zenobia*, named *Achilleus*, or, as *Zosimus* calls him, *Antiochus*, their sovereign. Upon this intelligence, the emperor, with great expedition, hastened back into *Syria*, and arriving at *Palmyra* before the inhabitants had any notice of his march, he took the city without opposition, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, without distinction of sex, age, or condition ⁿ. He had not yet quitted the east, when news was brought him, that *Egypt* had revolted, and set up for emperor one *Firmus*, or rather *Firmius*, as he is styled on such of his medals as have reached our times ^o. He was a native of *Seleucia* in *Syria* ; but possessed an immense estate in *Egypt*, and carried on an advantageous trade with the *Saracens*, the *Blemyes*, a people of *Ethiopia*, and the inhabitants of *India* ; for he used to brag, that with his gains only upon paper and glue, he could maintain a whole army. *Vopiscus* relates wonderful things of his strength and appetite. He was greatly attached to *Zenobia*, and, to keep up her party and interest, assumed the title of *Augustus*, made himself master of *Egypt*, and stopped the corn which it used to send yearly to *Rome*. *Aurelian* marched against him with that expedition which was peculiar to him, and, being attended with his usual success, overcame the usurper, stormed a strong-hold to which he fled, and having taken him prisoner, caused him to be publicly executed ^p. Having thus suppressed all troubles in the east, he returned the second time to *Europe*, with a design to recover and

^m Aur. vit. p. 218.
¹¹⁹ SPANH. l. vii. p. 599.

ⁿ Aur. vit. p. 219.

^o GOLTZ p.

^p Aur. vit. p. 220. Zos. p. 661.

reunite

reunite to the empire the provinces of *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, which were still held by *Tetricus*. This he easily compassed, *Tetricus* himself, no longer able to bear the continual disorders and mutinies of his troops, inviting him privately into *Gaul*¹. However, a battle was fought near *Chalon* on *Gaul* re- the *Marne*; during which, *Tetricus* voluntarily yielding to *Aurelian*, his troops, destitute of a leader, were cut in pieces. Thus was *Gaul*, after it had been held for the space of thirteen years by different tyrants, united anew to the empire. Towards the end of this year, when *Tacitus*, afterwards emperor, and *Placidianus* were consuls, *Aurelian* returned to *Rome*, where he was received with the most magnificent triumph the city had ever beheld. There were four royal and stately chariots: the first, which had belonged to *Odenatus*, was intirely covered with silver, gold, and jewels; another equally rich and magnificent, was a present to *Aurelian* from the king of *Persia*; the third was *Zenobia's* own chariot; and the fourth, which was drawn by four stags, had been taken by *Aurelian* from a *Gothic* prince. In the latter the emperor himself made his entry. These chariots were preceded by twenty elephants, and great variety of wild beasts from different countries. Next came eight hundred couple of gladiators, followed by an incredible number of captives of different nations, with their hands tied behind their backs, viz. *Goths*, *Alans*, *Roxolans*, *Sarmatians*, *Franks*, *Suevians*, *Vandals*, *Alemans*, *Blêmes*, *Auxûmites*, *Arabians*, *Eudæmonians*, *Indians*, *Bactrians*, *Iberians*, *Saracens*, *Armenians*, *Persians*, such of the *Palmyrenians* as had outlived the late slaughter, some *Egyptians* taken in the late rebellion of *Firminus*, and ten *Gothic* women, whom *Aurelian* had taken fighting in the habit of men. These were followed by *Tetricus*, in a scarlet robe, and his son, whom he had taken for his partner in the empire. Next to them marched *Zenobia*, whose uncommon beauty, noble stature, and majestic mien, attracted the eyes of the spectators, and seemed to eclipse the grandeur and lustre of the emperor himself. She was bound with chains of gold, which other persons bore up, apparelled with the richest tissues and robes, and so loaded with pearls and precious stones, that she was often obliged to halt, being ready to sink under so great a burden. *Zenobia* was followed by the emperor's triumphal chariot, the senate in a body, the people of *Rome* with their various standards, and the victorious legions, horse and foot, in rich and splendid armour, with crowns of laurel on their heads, and branches of palm-trees, the symbol of

*Aurelian's
triumph.*

¹ Trig. tyrann. c. 23. p. 119.

victory,

victory, in their hands. The senate, however, in the midst of the public rejoicings, betrayed no small concern to see *Tetricus*, one of their own body, who had even been consul, led in triumph. In the capitol *Aurelian* sacrificed to *Jupiter* the four stags that had drawn his chariot, in compliance with a vow he had made, when he took them. From the capitol, he went to the palace, attended by the senate and such crouds of people, that the day was far spent before he could reach it. The next and several following days, he diverted the people with plays, races in the circus, shows of gladiators, combats of wild beasts, sea-fights in the naumachia, and all sorts of entertainments^r. He treated his illustrious captives with great humanity and kindness. To *Zenobia* he gave lands and possessions in the neighbourhood of *Tibur*, now *Tivoli*, sufficient to maintain her according to her rank. On that estate she lived, says *Trebellius Pollio*, like a *Roman* matron, with her children, that is, according to *Zonaras*, with her daughters, whom *Aurelian* took under his protection, and married to persons of the first quality in *Rome* s. The same writer adds, that *Aurelian* himself married one of them; which may, perhaps, be as true as what *Syncellus* had written before him, viz. that the emperor gave *Zenobia* herself in marriage to an illustrious senator^t. Be that as it will, it is certain that her descendants lived still at *Rome* in great splendor about the latter end of the fourth century^u. *Baronius* takes the holy bishop of *Florence*, *Zenobius*, who was contemporary with *St. Ambrose*, to have been of her family^w. As for her son *Vhaballat*, he retired into *Armenia*, where *Aurelian* gave him, it seems, a small principality; for he coined money, and is styled on some of his coins, which are still to be seen, *Vhaballat of Armenia*, and on others, *Vhaballat king of the Verimi*, probably an obscure people of *Armenia* x. The emperor shewed no less kindness to *Tetricus*, than to *Zenobia*. To make some amends for the injury he had done him, by leading him like a captive in triumph, he heaped many honours upon him, styling him his colleague, his fellow-foldier, and even honouring him sometimes with the title of emperor. He appointed him governor of *Lucania*, telling him pleasantly, that it was more to his reputation to govern a province of *Italy*, than to reign beyond the *Alps* y. He treated with the same humanity and good nature young *Tetricus*, whom he had led in triumph with his father, suffer-

His huma-
nity to-
wards Ze-
nobia and
her chil-
dren;

And to-
wards Te-
tricus and
his son.

^r Aur. vit. p. 220. ^s Trig. tyrann. c. 29. p. 198. ZON p. 240. ^t SYNCHEL. p. 385. ^u HIER. chron. ^w BARON. ad ann. 274. ^x BIRAC. p. 407. GOLTZ. p. 116.

ing him to continue in the senate, and leaving his estate untouched, which he transmitted to his posterity, who lived at *Rome*, under the succeeding princes, in great splendor, esteemed and revered by persons of all ranks ^a. In the house of the *Tetrici*, on mount *Cælius*, was still to be seen, in the time of *Constantine the Great*, a most beautiful piece, representing in mosaic work the father and son delivering up a sceptre and crown to *Aurelian*, and *Aurelian* restoring to them the senatorial robes, and investing them in their former dignity ².

THE next consuls were *Aurelian*, the second time, and *C. Julius Capitolinus*. This year, the emperor continued at *Rome*; and, being now diverted by no foreign or domestic wars, he applied himself wholly to the suppressing of several abuses, which had prevailed in the time of *Gallicenus*, and which *Claudius* had not been able to obviate, during his short reign. He made several regulations, which gained him the affections of the people, whom he had estranged from him, in the beginning of his reign, with his cruelty, to which he had naturally a great bias. To the bounties of the emperors his *Several* predecessors, who had established funds for distributing bread *regulations* and oil among the people, he added a certain portion of hogs- *made by* flesh to be given with the bread and oil; and increased the *Aurelian*. latter largess by the addition of an ounce to each pound. He even designed to establish a fund for distributing a certain quantity of wine among them; but was either prevented by death from putting his design in execution, or, as others write, diverted from it by the captain of the guards, who told him, that if he allowed the populace wine, they would next expect geese and chickens ². When he left *Rome* to make war upon *Zenobia*, he promised to give each man among the people a crown weighing two pounds, if he returned conqueror. The people thought he meant crowns of gold; but when they challenged his promise, the emperor caused loaves to be made of the finest flour in the form of crowns, each weighing two pounds, and distributed them daily among the people so long as he lived, as he frequently did money and cloaths. He appointed, that *Egypt* should supply the city of *Rome* yearly with a certain quantity of glass, paper, linen, and several other things, that were either the natural growth, or manufactured in that country ^b. He caused wharfs to be built along the banks of the *Tiber*, and the chanel of that river to be cleansed and dug deeper. But nothing more obliged

^a Trig. tyr. c. 23, 24. p. 16, 197. ² AVR. l. vit. 225. ^b Idem, p. 224.

persons of all ranks, than his generously remitting whatever was owing this year by private persons to the exchequer, and his publicly burning in the forum of *Trajan* all the papers, bonds, and registers, relating to such debts. At the same time, he published an act of oblivion with respect to all crimes committed against the state to that day. From that time forward he punished with the utmost severity such as accused others, without being able to make good their charge ^c. He enacted many wholesome laws, by which he is said to have purged *Rome* of all professed lewdness, irreligion, and wicked arts. Finding that eunuchs began to be sold at a very great rate, he fixed the number which each person might keep of such slaves, according to their different ranks. He enacted most severe laws against adultery, and punished with death one of his own domestics guilty of that crime. He would suffer none to keep women free-born for concubines. His domestics, freed-men, and slaves, he kept in great awe, causing them, as he was naturally inclined to cruelty, to be inhumanly beaten in his presence for the smallest faults, and delivering them up, when guilty of transgressing the laws, to the civil magistrates ^d. He designed to forbid all tiffue of gold, and gilding, pretending, that in nature there was as great a stock of gold as of silver; and, that the former metal, if such a prohibition should take place, would become as common as the latter. This prohibition, however, was not published by him, but by his successor *Tacitus*, who is supposed to have suggested it to him ^e. About this time, he built and consecrated a most magnificent temple to the sun, of which frequent mention is made in history, and embellished it with most rich and costly ornaments, and with an infinite quantity of gold, pearls, and precious stones. It was one of the most stately and magnificent structures in *Rome*. The gold vessels belonging to it weighed fifteen hundred pounds. He likewise enriched the capitol, and most of the temples in the city, with presents of great value sent him by foreign princes ^f. He extended the jurisdiction of the pontiffs, increased their revenues, and established funds for the repairs of the temples, and the salaries of the inferior ministers.

He builds a magnificent temple to the sun.

A great sedition in Rome.

Towards the end of the year, a dangerous sedition was raised in *Rome* by the persons employed in the mint, who having, by a notorious breach of trust, coined a great quantity of false money, to avoid the punishment due to their crime, joined in a body, and under the conduct of one *Felicissimus*, formerly a slave, but appointed by *Aurelian* one of the receivers of the

^c Idem, p. 222.
^e Idem, p. 224.

^f Idem ibid. & *Tacitus* vit. p. 217, 222. *Zos.* p. 661.
 exchequer,

exchequer, raised such disturbances, that the emperor was obliged to order his troops to march against them, whom they received drawn up in battle-array on mount *Cælius*, killed seven thousand of them, but were in the end, though they fought with all the boldness of men in despair, overcome, and punished with the utmost severity, not to say, cruelty. After this the emperor called in all the false coin, and gave true money in its room ^g. Soon after this sedition, he put several senators to death, and likewise the son, or, as others will have it, the daughter, of his own sister, for faults not specified in history, but only said not to have deserved such a severe punishment ^h. Towards the close of this, or the very beginning of the following, year, when *Aurelian* was consul the third time, with *Marcellinus*, some disturbances happened in *Gaul*, which obliged the emperor to quit *Rome*, and hasten thither. All we know of this expedition is, that *Gaul* was restored to its former tranquillity, and that the emperor, marching from that province into *Vindelicia*, obliged the barbarians, who had made an irruption on that side, to repass the *Danube* ⁱ. A modern writer ^k is of opinion, that the emperor, before he left *Gaul*, rebuilt the city of *Orleans*, which, at least ever since the fifth century, has been called by the *Latin* writers *Aureliani urbs*, and *urbs Aurelianorum*: its antient name was *Genabum* or *Cenabum*. *Gregory of Tours* tells us, that he likewise either built or fortified the city of *Dijon*, at present the capital of *Burgundy* ^l. From *Vindelicia* the emperor marched into *Illyricum*; and there finding the province of *Dacia* in the hands of the barbarians, who had seized it in the reign of *Gallienus*, he did not think it worth his while to recover a country, which he was well apprised he could not maintain in the midst of so many barbarous nations. He therefore withdrew the *Roman* troops from the few forts they still held beyond the *Danube*, and gave to the inhabitants, who had been driven out by the barbarians, part of *Mæsia* and *Dardania* to settle in. Thus out of these two countries he formed a new province, called by some the *Aurelian Dacia*, by others *New Dacia*, to distinguish it from *Trojan's Dacia*, which lay beyond the *Danube*. The metropolis of this new province, which, according to *Sanfon*, comprehended the most distant parts of *Bulgaria* and *Servia*, was *Sardica*, now known to us by the name of *Sofia*, but called by the inhabitants *Tri-*

Aurelian marches into Gaul, to appease some disturbances there.

He abandons to the barbarians the province of Dacia.

^g AUR. vit. p. 222. ZOS. p. 665. ^h AUR. vit. ibid. AUR. VIGT. epit. ⁱ AUR. vit. p. 221. ZON. p. 240. ^k LE MAIRE, antiq. d'Orleans, c. 3. p. 9. ^l GREG. p. 172

A conspi-
racy form-
ed against
him.

He is mur-
dered.

dizza ^m. The *Goths*, it seems, possessed themselves of the country, which the emperor had abandoned. From *Illyricum*, the emperor marched into *Thrace*, with a design to pass the winter there, and early in the spring to cross over into *Asia*, and lead his army against the *Persians*, upon what provocation history does not inform us. But while he was wholly bent upon this war, death overtook him, and put a period to this, and his other vast designs. Historians give us the following account of his unhappy end. He suspected *Mnestheus*, one of his freed-men and secretaries, of some extortion, and had threatened to punish him. Hereupon *Mnestheus*, probably conscious to himself of the crime laid to his charge, and well acquainted with the emperor's cruel and inflexible temper, resolved to be beforehand with him. Accordingly, counterfeiting his master's hand, he wrote a roll of the names of the chief officers in the army, and among the rest his own; and shewing it to those whose names he had set down, he told them, that he had found it in the emperor's closet; that they were all doomed to destruction; and that only by some desperate attempt they could avert their impending ruin. They all believed him, and, prompted partly by fear, partly by indignation, to see their services thus rewarded, took, without hesitation, the resolution suggested to them by *Mnestheus*; and a few days after, as the army was marching to a place named *Cænophrurium*, that is, the *new-castle*, half way between *Byzantium* and *Heraclea*, they fell upon the emperor sword in hand, while he was attended only by a small guard, and dispatched him with many wounds. *Vopiscus* writes, that he fell by the hand of *Mucapor*, who, it seems, was a man of rank, since he is styled general; and a letter is still extant written to him by *Aurelian*, wherein the emperor gives him an account of the vigorous opposition he met with from *Zenobia* at the siege of *Palmyra* ⁿ. The emperor must have been killed about the latter end of *January*; for his death was known at *Rome* on the third of *February* of this year 275, so that he had reigned five full years; and lived, according to the most probable opinion, sixty-three ^o. His death did not remain unpunished; for the officers, who had killed him, finding, soon after his death, that they had been imposed upon by *Mnestheus*, threw him to the wild beasts, and built a magnificent temple and tomb to the honour of the deceased emperor in the place where

^m AUR. vit. p. 222. LACTAN. persec. c. 9. p. 8. SYNCCELL. p. 385. ⁿ Aur. vit. p. 218. ^o Idem, p. 221. AUR. VICT. epit. Zos. p. 661.

he had been killed, the whole army solemnizing his obsequies with the utmost pomp and magnificence. All those who had had any hand in his death were either cut in pieces on the spot by the enraged soldiery, or afterwards executed under his successors *Tacitus* and *Probus*. His death was much lamented by the senate, who, at the request of the army, ranked him among the gods; but more by the people, whom he had obliged with more bounties and largesses, than any of his predecessors had done. *Aurelian* is commonly styled the restorer of the empire, which after the evils it had suffered by the captivity of *Valerian* and indolence of *Gallienus*, began to revive under *Claudius*, and was by *Aurelian* restored to its former strength and lustre. He delivered *Italy* from the incursions of the *Alemanni*, rescued the east from the shameful yoke of a woman, humbled the *Persians*, still elated with the captivity of *Valerian*, re-united *Gaul* to the empire, and restored to *Rome*, *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, overrun and oppressed by the barbarians. His arms were dreaded, and his friendship courted, by the most distant nations. He was a prince of great bravery, prudence, and generosity; but as his excessive cruelty over-balanced all his other good qualities, he is by *Vopiscus* and most other writers ranked not among the good, but the useful, princes. In the beginning of his reign, he seems to have countenanced the true religion^p; but being afterwards seduced by wicked counsellors, he resolved utterly to extirpate the christian name, and had already taken up the pen to sign the bloody letters and edicts drawn up against them, when a sudden flash of lightning struck the pen out of his hand, and filled both him and all about him with terror and dismay. However, as the effects of fear, which stops the hand without changing the heart, are but short-lived, he returned to his former resolution, and published against us, says *Lactantius*, edicts of blood and slaughter, which served only to draw vengeance from heaven upon his own head^q; for before his edicts reached the more distant provinces, he was assassinated in the manner we have related above. Hence this is not by the ecclesiastic writers reckoned one of the ten general persecutions, though several champions of the faith suffered martyrdom in the provinces, where his edicts were published. Of *Aurelian*, *Victor* the younger observes, that he appeared in public with a diadem on his head, which no emperor had dared to do before him. *Jornandes* writes, that *Dioclesian* was

^p EUSEB. I. vii. c. 30. p. 282, 282.
6. p. 6. EUSEB. *ibid*.

^q LACT. *persec.* c.

the first *Roman* emperor who presumed to wear that royal ornament^r. But that he, and not *Victor*, was mistaken, appears from one of the duke of *Arschot's* medals, on which *Aurelian* is represented with a crown on his head resembling our ducal crowns^r. The succeeding princes followed his example; but the diadem was not commonly worn till the time of *Constantine*. Of the writers, who flourished under this prince, we shall speak in our note (Z).

As

^r JORN. reg. c. 23. p. 445.^r *Arschotana numism.* Croii ducis, tab. 63. Antwerp. ann. 1604. SPANHEM. l. viii. p. 682, 683.

(Z) Under *Aurelian* flourished two celebrated philosophers, *Longinus* and *Amelius*. The former, named *Cassius Longinus*, and likewise *Dionysius*, which name is prefixed to his treatise on the *sublime*, is by most writers thought to have been a native of *Athens* (74). From *Vopiscus* it appears, that he could not write in the *Syriac* tongue (75); and consequently, that he was not by birth a *Syrian*, as some have asserted. His family, it seems, came originally from that country (76); for his mother *Frontonides* was sister to *Fronto* of *Emesa* in *Phœnicia*, who taught rhetoric at *Athens* in the reign of *Severus*, published many works, and dying in that city, bequeathed his estate to his nephew (77). *Longinus*, when he was yet very young, travelled with his father into several countries, which gave him an opportunity of becoming acquainted with all the great philosophers of those times. In one of his works, which *Porphyrius*, his epitomizer, has conveyed to us, he names several philosophers of different sects, among whom the most famous are *Plotinus*, his disciple *Amelius*, *Ammonius*, a christian philosopher, and one *Origenes*. *Longinus* was a long time the disciple of the two latter (78). He professed and taught the philosophy of *Plato*, and had the celebrated philosopher *Porphyrius* for his disciple, who tells us, that he and some other philosophers were seated at *Athens* by *Longinus* on *Plato's* birth-day (79). *Longinus* was not only a great philosopher, but the best critic and orator of his age, and so well versed in the various branches of literature, that he was commonly styled a *treasure of knowledge*, and a *living library* (80). He was a man, says *Eunapius*, of an extraordinary discernment in discovering beauties and faults in the writings of others, and therein surpassed all men (81). He was charged, says that writer, without telling us

(74) *Joh. l. iii. c. 14. p. 284.*(75) *Aur. vit. p. 219.*(76) *Suid. 1088.*(77) *Ide. ibid.*(78) *Plot. vit. p. 13.*(79) *Euseb. prepar. evang. l. x. c. 3. p. 46.**Plot. vit. p. 14.*(80) *Eunap. c. 2. p. 17.**Plot. vit. p. 13.*(81) *Eunap. c. 2. p.*

16, 17.

by

As all the chief officers in the army had been concerned in the death of *Aurelian*, the soldiers, by whom he was greatly beloved,

by whom, to write critical dissertations on the works of the ancients, and his judgment was preferred to what others had written on the same subject before him (82). He taught *Zenobia* the *Greek* tongue, espoused her cause with great warmth against *Aurelian*, and was supposed to have dictated the letter which that princess wrote to the emperor during the siege of *Palmyra*. That letter so provoked *Aurelian*, that, upon the reduction of the place, he caused the supposed author of it to be put to death; which he suffered with great firmness and intrepidity, comforting those who were affected with his misfortune. This base revenge reflected no small dishonour on *Aurelian* (83); for the loss of so great a man was looked upon as a public calamity (84). He left many works behind him very useful, says *Zosimus* (85), to such as desire to be instructed in the sciences, and which were admired by all the world. He must have begun to write very early, if what *Porphyrus* asserted be true, viz. that *Origen*, who died in 253, read with application his works (86). *Eusebius* quotes a passage out of one of his works, shewing the absurdity of the opinion of the *Stoics*, concerning the soul (87). *Porphyrus* mentions a work of his upon *vehemence*, inscribed to *Porphyrus* himself, and to one *Cleodamus* (88); and the preface of another upon the *Supreme Being*, addressed to one *Marcellus*, wherein he confuted the opinions of *Plotinus* and *Amelius* (89), quoting a work which he had written against *Porphyrus* himself, for his having preferred the opinion of *Plotinus* to what he had learnt of him concerning ideas: in the same preface he made mention of a long letter, which he had written, to *Amelius* against some particular sentiments of *Plotinus*, and upon *Plato's* opinion touching justice (90). *Porphyrus* gives us the abstract of a letter, which *Longinus* wrote to him about the year 270, desiring him to send him the works of *Plotinus*, and to leave *Sicily*, where *Porphyrus* then was, and come to him in *Phœnicia*. *Porphyrus* adds, that if his affairs had allowed him to go thither, *Longinus* would have better understood the sentiments of *Plotinus*, and saved himself the trouble of confuting them (91). The same writer quotes three other works of *Longinus*, viz. on *principles*, or *first causes*, on *the love of antiquity*, and on *men of letters* (92). *Suidas* mentions several philological pieces published by *Longinus* (93);

- (82) *Idem* *ibid.* (83) *Aur. vit.* p. 219. *Zos.* l. i. p. 659. (84) *Eunap.* c. 2. p. 17. (85) *Zos.* l. i. p. 659.
 (86) *Euseb.* l. vi. c. 19. (87) *Idem* *præp. evang.* l. xv. c. 20. p. 822. (88) *Plot. vit.* p. 10. (89) *Idem.* p. 13, 14.
 (90) *Idem* *ibid.* (91) *Plot. vit.* p. 15. (92) *Idem.* p. 9. *Johns.* l. 3. c. 14. p. 284. (93) *Suid.* λ. p. 50.

beloved, not able to prevail upon themselves to name any of them in his room, wrote to the senate, acquainting them with

but takes no notice of his treatise on *the sublime*, the only intire work of *Longinus* which has reached our times, and fully answers the great idea which the antients raise in us of its author. *Cæcilius*, who flourished in the time of *Augustus*, wrote a treatise on the sublime; but contented himself only with shewing in what true sublimeness consisted, without prescribing any rules leading us to the attainment of it, which is the chief subject of *Longinus's* treatise, handled in a manner worthy of so great a writer. Among the instances he alledges of those who have written in a style truly sublime, and suitable to the greatness of their subject, he speaks of *Moses* thus: *The Jewish legislator, who was no common man, having filled his mind with sublime notions of the grandeur and power of God, expressed them at the beginning of his laws in a style answering the mighty subject; God said, Let there be light, and there was light; let the earth appear, and it was so* (94). *Longinus* inscribed this work to one *Posthumius Terentianus*, his intimate friend, and a man of letters, whom some writers take to be the same person with *Terentianus Maurus*, who published several works, some of which have reached our times. But of him we have spoken in the reign of *Domitian* (95); for he flourished according to *Vossius*, under that prince.

Amelius, against whom *Longinus* wrote, was a philosopher of great note among the *Platonics* (96). *Suidas* says he was of *Apamea*, but *Porphyrus* assures us, that he was born in *Hetruria*: perhaps his family came originally from *Apamea* in *Syria*, and settled in *Hetruria*. *Cyrillus* of *Alexandria* supposes *Amelius* and *Gentilianus* to have been one and the same person; and quotes for that *Porphyrus*, who tells us in express terms, that *Amelius* was likewise called *Gentilianus* (97). He was disciple to *Plotinus*, and greatly attached to him; for he lived twenty-four years with him at *Rome*, from the third year of *Philip* to the first of *Claudius*, that is, from the year 246, to the beginning of 269 (98). He had studied before under *Lyfimaschus*, a stoic philosopher (99). He was at *Apamea* in *Syria* at the beginning of the year 270, when *Plotinus* died. He was a very laborious man, and is said to have composed an hundred volumes, containing only what he had heard of *Plotinus* in the frequent conferences that philosopher had held with him and others of the same sect (100). In the year 263, he had not yet published any thing of his own; but before the death of *Plotinus*, he wrote forty books against magic, and the heretics

(94) *Long. c. 8. p. 20.* (95) *See Vol. XIV. p. 453.*
not. (96) *Euseb. præpar. l. xi c. 18. p. 540.* (97) *Cyrill.*
in Jul. l. viii. c. 6. p. 283. *Plot. vit. p. 5.* (98) *Plot. vit.*
p. 3, 6. (99) *Idem, p. 13.* (100) *Idem, p. 3.*

called

with the death of the emperor, and referring to them the choice of a new prince. When their letter was read, *Tacitus*,

called *Gnostics* (1). He composed one in three days time, shewing in what chiefly the doctrine of *Plotinus* differed from that of *Nu-
menes*. This piece he inscribed to *Porphyrus* by a letter, which is still extant (2). To him he likewise addressed some other works, to clear up the difficulties he met with in the doctrine of *Plotinus*. *Amelius* and *Plotinus* were, in the opinion of *Longinus*, the only philosophers who, in his time, published works worth perusing (3). The tenets of these two philosophers were the same, but *Amelius* explained them more, perhaps too much, at length; and hence probably it was that his works were greatly neglected and undervalued by the *Platonics* themselves. about the latter end of the following century (4). *Eusebius* (5, *Theodoret* (6), and *Cyrillus* of *Alexandria* (7), produce a passage out of his works, wherein he quotes the beginning of St. *John's* gospel. *Theodoret* calls him the chief of the school of *Porphyrus*, that is, of *Plotinus*, whose tenets were held by *Porphyrus* (8). *Suidas* writes, that *Porphyrus* was instructed by him, in the principles of the *Platonic* philosophy (9). About the same time flourished one *Androclides*, author of a piece upon the sophists, who made extemporary speeches: in that work he mentions *Porphyrus*; whence *Suidas* concludes him to have flourished at the same time. He was the son of one *Synefius* of *Philadelphia* in *Lydia* (10).

Some historians too flourished under *Aurelian*, viz. *Callicrates* of *Tyre*, whom *Vopiscus* styles the most learned of all the *Greek* historians of his time (11); and *Theodolius*, or *Theon*, of *Cbios*, as some critics conjecture (12). Both these historians wrote the life of *Aurelian*; but dwelt, it seems, too much on most trifling incidents (13). *Nicomachus*, another *Greek* historian, wrote at the same time; for *Vopiscus* tells us, that he copied from him the letter which *Zenobia* wrote to *Aurelian*; that *Zenobia* dictated it in the *Syriac* language; and that *Nicomachus* translated it into *Greek*, in which language it was sent to *Aurelian*, who had written to her in the same dialect (14). *Vossius* takes this to be the *Nicomachus* who transcribed, as we read in *Sidonius* (15), and corrected, the life of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, in confronting it with the original of *Philostratus* (16). *Aurelianus Festivus*, a freedman of the empe-

- (1) *Idem*, p. 10. (2) *Idem*, p. 11. (3) *Idem*, p. 11.
 (4) *Euseb. præp.* l. xi. c. 11. c. 9. p. 140. (5) *Idem* *ibid.* (6) *Theod.*
de curand Græcor. affect. p. 500. (7) *Cyr. in Jul.* l. viii. p. 28.
 (8) *Theod. ibid.* (9) *Suid. α.* p. 198. (10) *Idem*, α, p. 201.
 (11) *Vit. Aurel.* p. 209. (12) *Vide Voss hist. Græc.* l. iv. c.
 17, p. 485. (13) *Aur. vit.* p. 210. (14) *Idem*, p. 218.
 (15) *Sidon. l. viii. epist.* 3. p. 214. (16) *Voss. ibid.* l. ii. c. 16.
 p. 214.

The army
refer the
election of
a new
prince to
the senate,
and the se-
nate to the
army.

tus, who was at that time prince of the senate, and voted the first, declared, that he was for referring the choice of a new emperor to the army, as the army had done to the senate: *For what disputes*, said he, *and disturbances will inevitably ensue, should not the army approve of the person whom we name?* The senate acquiesced to his proposal; but the soldiers referred the choice a second and a third time to the senate, as the senate did to the soldiers; so that the empire, by this reciprocal exchange of compliments, and commendable dispute between the senate and army, remained near eight months without a head,

ror *Aurelian*, wrote the history of his reign, or at least part of it, with the life of *Firmus*, who usurped the title of emperor in *Egypt* (17). *Vossius* ranks him, *Cornelius Capitolinus*, who wrote the history of *Zenobia*, and *Gellius Fuscus*, who wrote the life of *Tetricus* tyrant of *Gaul*, among the *Latin* writers, no doubt, on account of their names; for *Vopiscus*, who quotes the two former, and wrote in the reign of *Constantius Chlorus*, tells us, that some *Greek*, but no *Latin* author, had undertaken before him to write the history of *Aurelian's* reign (18). *Erennius Dexippus*, by birth an *Armenian*, by profession an orator, the son of another *Dexippus*, flourished under *Aurelian*, and was reckoned one of the greatest orators *Greece* had ever produced (19). His style, says *Photius*, was grave and majestic; his words expressive; his phrases proper, and well suited to the subject; so that he may be called a second *Thucydides*; but in clearness he far excels the first (20). Though he was a man of letters, yet he fought with success at the head of his countrymen against the *Goths*, or *Heruli*, in the year 267 (21). He wrote the history of the *Roman* emperors from *Alexander* to *Claudius*, with no less conciseness, says *Capitolinus* (22), than sincerity; whence he is often quoted by him and *Trebellius Pollio*, who style his history, *the history of the times*. He wrote a separate history of the wars of the *Romans* with the *Scythians*, which he intitled *Scythica*. This *Photius* preferred, for the elegance of style, to all his other works (23). He likewise wrote in four books the history of the successors of *Alexander the Great* (24). *Vossius* ascribes to him the book on *Aristotle's* categories, which has reached our times (25). But others maintain, that *Dexippus*, the author of that work, was disciple to *Iamblichus*, who flourished in the reign of *Julian* the apostate (26). We ought perhaps to distinguish likewise *Dexippus*, the author of some comedies (27), from the historian, though *Vossius* confounds them (28).

(17) *Firm. vit.* p. 244. (18) *Aur. vit.* p. 209. (19) *Suid.* d. p. 659. *Eunap. c. 2* p. 21. (20) *Phot. c.* 82: p. 200. (21) *Gal-*
lien. vit. p. 181. (22) *Capit. p.* 150. (23) *Phot. c.* 82. p.
200. (24) *Idem ibid* p. 201. (25) *Voss* p. 243. (26) *Johns.*
l. iii. p. 299. (27) *Suid* p. 1516. (28) *Voss. hist. Græc. l.*
ii. c. 16 p. 243.

and nevertheless no usurper started up during that time ; no disturbances happened, either at *Rome* or in the provinces. But the barbarians, in the mean time, taking advantage of the inter-regnum, began to put themselves in motion. The *Germans*; that is, the *Lyges*, the *Franks*, the *Burgundiones*, and the *Vandals*, broke into *Gaul*; the *Goths* threatened *Illyricum*; and every one expected that the *Persians*, against whom *Aurelian* had declared war, would not continue long quiet. These things *Velius Cornificius Gordianus*, then consul, laid before the senate on the twenty-fifth of *September*, and earnestly pressed them to proceed, without further delay, to the election of a new prince. He concluded his speech by telling them, That the empire could no longer subsist without a head, and that the army would either accept the prince whom they chose, or, rejecting him, chuse another. There had been some talk before of raising *Tacitus* to the empire, who thereupon had withdrawn into *Campania*, and lived there two months in retirement; but being recalled by the senate, he was present at this meeting held on the twenty-fifth of *September*; and after the consul *Gordianus* had ended his speech, he rose up to deliver his opinion first, as prince of the senate; but before he had uttered a single word, the whole assembly cried out with one voice, *We salute you, Tacitus, emperor: to Tacitus you we commit the care of the state, and the world. Take the unanimous empire given you by the authority of the senate: your rank, by chosen your character, your past conduct, deserve it.* He attempted by the senate. to excuse himself in regard of his great age (for he was then seventy-five); but they all cried out, That other emperors, stricken in years, had governed with great applause; that they wanted not a soldier, but an emperor; not a strong body, but a vigorous mind; and that he had a brother, who would bear with him part of the burden. After this was taken the suffrage of each senator in particular, when *Metius Falconius Nicomachus*, the eldest consular, after having in an elegant speech bestowed the highest encomiums upon *Tacitus*, enlarged in a very affecting manner on the many evils attending the administration of young and unexperienced princes, and conjured *Tacitus*, by the love he bore his country, not to leave the empire to his sons, who were yet children, but to name for his successor a person, whom he judged equal to so great a trust, if the state were, by the immutable decrees of the *Fates*, deprived of him before his children attained to maturity of age. He added, that to dispose of the senate, the people of *Rome*, and the whole empire, in the same manner as he disposed of his houses, lands, and slaves, was repugnant to the laws of justice and equity; and that nothing would so

much commend his name to all future ages, as to shew at his death, that he loved the republic above his family and issue¹. When *Metius* had ended his speech, the senators all to a man cried out, *Tacitus is emperor*. The decree was accordingly drawn up, investing him with the sovereign power, and signed by all the senators, even by *Tacitus* himself. From the senate they all went to the field of *Mars*, where *Ælius Cæstianus*, then governor of *Rome*, declared to the soldiers and people assembled there the election of *Tacitus*, which was received with the usual acclamations².

His pre-
ferments.

THE present emperor, named on his coins *M. Claudius Tacitus*, but, by *Vopiscus*, *Aurelianus*, or *Aurelius Tacitus*, acknowledged *Cornelius Tacitus*, the celebrated historian, for his kinsman; and therefore, to secure his inimitable performance against the injuries of time, he ordered ten copies of it to be transcribed every year, and to be lodged in the public libraries, and in the cabinets of the learned; but notwithstanding his care, only a small part of what that excellent historian wrote, has reached our times. The emperor, as we have hinted above, was stricken in years, but had several children, who were very young. *Florianus*, named on the antient coins *M. Annius Florianus*, was only his uterine brother. All we know of his preferments is, that he had been consul, and was, at the time of his election, prince of the senate. He was a man of learning, of a mild temper, an enemy to all pomp, and a great admirer of the manners of the primitive *Romans*. When he was created emperor, he gave his immense estate to the public, allotting part of it for the repairing and beautifying of the temples. What ready money he had by him, he distributed among the soldiers. He set at liberty all the slaves he had at *Rome*, and caused his house to be pulled down, in order to build public baths in the place where it stood. His temperance and regularity, his œconomy and care of the public money, his impartiality in the administration of justice, are much commended by the authors of his life. In the first speech he made to the senate he declared, that he would transact nothing without their consent and authority; and then proposed the two following laws, which were received with great applause, and confirmed by a decree; viz. that whoever should mix metals with a baser sort should forfeit his estate and life; that slaves should not be admitted as witnesses against their masters, even in cases of treason. In the same speech he desired the consulship for his brother *Florianus*; but the senate did not think fit

Two of
his laws.

¹ Tacit. vit. p. 227—231.

² Idem ibid.

to grant him his request ; which he was so far from resenting, that, on the contrary, he seemed highly pleased with the liberty they had taken, saying, *I am glad they know him*. From the very beginning of his reign he applied himself to the suppressing of several abuses which still prevailed in *Rome*. By one edict he put down all the brothel-houses ; by another he ordered all the public baths to be shut up at sunset ; and by a third prohibited all sorts of gold tissue and gilding. He respected the memory of the good emperors, and caused a temple to be built to their honour, and sacrifices to be offered to them on their several anniversaries. He paid a particular regard to *Aurelian*, and prevailed upon the senate to decree him a statue of gold, to be set up in the capitol, and others of silver, to be placed in the senate, in the temple of the sun, and in the square of *Trajan* ^w. The senate, overjoyed for the recovery of their antient right of creating emperors, ordered public processions, vowed hecatombs, appeared in white garments, feasted their friends, and wrote letters to all the states and cities in alliance with *Rome*, acquainting them, that they were at length restored to their former authority ; that the kings and princes of the barbarians were to apply to them ; and that all appeals from the proconsuls were to be made, not to the emperor, or the captain of the guards, but to the governor of *Rome*, from whom they might appeal to the senate ^x. The new prince was scarce well settled in the empire, when news was brought him, that incredible multitudes of barbarians were advancing from the *Palus Mæotis* through *Colchis*, pretending to have been invited by *Aurelian* to assist him in his intended expedition against the *Persians*. *Tacitus* immediately left *Rome*, and arriving in *Thrace*, where he was received by the army with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable, passed from thence over into *Asia*, defeated the barbarians, and obliged them to return into their own country ^y. The following year, the emperor entered upon his second consulship, having *Æmilianus* for his colleague ; and having passed the winter in *Cilicia*, was preparing to return to *Italy*, when he was, according to some writers, seized with a violent distemper, which, in a few days, put an end to his life ; but, according to others, killed by his own soldiers ^z. He died at *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, or, as others write, at *Tiana* in *Cappadocia*, after a short reign of about six months. Upon his death, his brother *Florianus*, whom he had appointed captain of the guards, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and

Tacitus marches against the barbarians and defeats them.

His death.

^w Idem, p. 232.
240. Zos. p. 662.

^x Idem, p. 231, 232.

^z Tacit. vit. p. 230.

^y ZONAR. p.

Florianus was acknowledged in all the provinces of *Europe* and *Africa*; *assumes the* but the legions quartered in *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Palestine*, and *empire*; but *Egypt*, declared for *Probus*, whom *Tacitus* had appointed *is murdered* commander of all the forces in the east. Hereupon a civil war was kindled in the bowels of the empire, while the barbarians were ready to invade it on all sides. *Florianus* gained *by his own* at first some advantages over his competitor; but as the troops *men.* under his command were more addicted to *Probus* than to him, they began to mutiny, and, at the approach of *Probus*, who was resolved to put the whole to the issue of a general engagement, fell upon their own leader, cut him in pieces, after he had reigned about two months, and joined *Probus*.

Probus
proclaimed
emperor.

This happened in the neighbourhood of *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*. The death of *Florianus* was no sooner known in *Europe* and *Africa*, than the armies every-where proclaimed *Probus* emperor, and the senate readily confirmed their election, honouring the new emperor with the title, of *Augustus*, *father of his country*, *high pontiff*, &c. and investing him with the tribunitial and proconsular power; for they all entertained a great opinion of his justice, equity, moderation, &c. and looked upon him as a person in every respect qualified for the discharge of so great a trust: and truly, if *Vopiscus* is to be credited, he was one of the best and greatest princes that ever swayed a sceptre. That writer, prefers him to *Trajan*, *Adrian*, *Antoninus*, *Alexander*, *Claudius*, nay, and to *Augustus* himself. He was, says he, an excellent commander, an able statesman, a friend to virtue, an enemy to vice, generous, affable, good-natured, and, in short, endowed with every good quality commendable in a prince^m. He was a native of *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*.

His cha-
rafter.

Extraction
and prefer-
ments.

His father, by name *Maximus*, was, in his youth, by profession a gardener; but afterwards lifting himself among the troops, he was raised to the post of tribune; and married a woman of rank, by whom he had one son, the present emperor, and a daughter, of whom we find no farther mention in history. *Probus* entered into the army when very young, and having distinguished himself on many occasions under *Valerian*, *Gallienus*, *Claudius*, and *Aurelian*, he was by these princes raised to the highest posts of the army, and employed, always with success, in the many wars which they waged with the barbariansⁿ. He was about forty-four years old, according to the chronicle of *Alexandria*, when preferred to the empire. His election was no sooner confirmed by the senate, than he left *Cilicia*, and returned to *Europe*. He passed the winter in *Pannonia*, and having there taken upon him his

^m Prob. vit. p. 233, 234, 241.

ⁿ Idem. p. 235—237.

first consulship, and named *M. Aurelius Paulinus* for his colleague, he set out in the spring for *Gaul*, where the *Franks* and other *German* nations had committed dreadful ravages. He is said to have fought in that province many successful battles, to have killed near four hundred thousand of the barbarians, and to have obliged the rest to quit the booty they had taken, and save themselves by flight beyond the *Rhine*. Having thus restored *Gaul* to its former tranquillity, he passed the *Rhine* at the head of his victorious army, and made war upon the enemy in their own country, with greater success than any of his predecessors had ever done, as appears from the account which he himself transmitted to the senate in the following letter: “ I return thanks to the immortal gods, “ conscript fathers, who have given manifest tokens of their “ approving your choice in raising me to the empire. “ *Germany*, that wide and extensive country, is intirely subdued. “ Nine kings of different nations have thrown themselves “ prostrate at my feet, or rather at yours. All the barbarians now plough and sow for you, nay, and fight for you. “ Return therefore thanks to the gods for so signal a conquest. Four hundred thousand of the enemy have been “ cut in pieces; sixteen thousand have been incorporated in “ our troops. We have recovered sixty great cities which “ they had taken, and delivered *Gaul* from the yoke under “ which it groaned. The crowns of gold, with which the “ cities of *Gaul* have presented me, I have transmitted to “ you, to be consecrated, and, by your hands, offered to “ the great *Jupiter*, and to the other gods and goddesses. “ We have not only recovered the booty which they had “ taken, but enriched ourselves with their spoils. The fields “ of *Gaul* are ploughed with the cattle of the barbarians; “ their sheep are inclosed in our folds, and our magazines “ are filled with their corn: in short, we have left them nothing but the bare soil. I have had some thoughts of reducing *Germany* to a *Roman* province; but the republic, “ exhausted with so many wars, is not perhaps at present in “ a condition to maintain the additional troops which must “ be raised for that purpose.” *Vopiscus* adds, that he drove the enemy beyond the *Elb* and the *Necker*, and built a great many forts in the country lying between those rivers and the *Rhine*, which he might have easily reduced to a *Roman* province; but did not think it advisable to burden the republic with new troops, which he must have raised, and left there,

He over-
comes the
Logi, the
Burgundi-
ans, and
the Van-
dals.

to keep those warlike nations in awe. *Zosimus* tells us, that one of the battles, which he fought with the *Logi*, a German nation, probably the same people whom *Tacitus* calls *Lyges*, lasted two days, the armies being parted only by night; that the victory inclined sometimes to the *Romans*, and sometimes to the *Germans*, who fought with incredible bravery; but that the former at length prevailed, by the bravery of *Probus*, and not only gave the enemy a total overthrow, but took their king, by name *Semnon*, prisoner, with his sons, and the flower of their nobility; whom, however, the emperor afterwards set at liberty, upon their restoring to him all the booty and prisoners they had taken¹. The same writer adds, that in another engagement with the *Burgundians* and *Vandals* on the banks of the *Rhine*, he took their king *Igillus* prisoner, with many others of those two nations, whom he transplanted into *Britain*, where they proved very serviceable to the *Romans* upon all seditions and insurrections². They settled perhaps in *Cambridgeshire*; for *Gervasius Tilburienfis* mentions an old vallum in that county, which he calls *Vandelsburg*, and says, it was the work of the *Vandals*³.

The Goths
sue for
peace.

Isauria re-
duced.

THE following year, the emperor entered upon his second consulship, having *Lupus* for his colleague, and early in the spring set out from *Gaul*; and bending his march through *Rhætia*, he arrived in *Illyricum*, whence the *Sarmatians*, who had made an irruption into that province, withdrew, upon the news of his approach, leaving their booty behind them. From *Illyricum* he pursued his march into *Thrace*, where he was met by deputies from all the *Gothic* nations, sent by their respective states and princes to sue for peace, and court his friendship⁴. Having thus settled peace and tranquillity in all the provinces of *Europe*, he passed over into *Asia*, and entering *Isauria*, which had revolted from *Rome*, as we have related above, after many dangerous conflicts with the *Isaurian* robbers, and *Palfurius* their leader, whom he took and put to death, he intirely reduced that country, transplanted the inhabitants into distant provinces, and divided *Isauria* among his veterans, upon condition that they should send their sons, as soon as they attained the age of eighteen, to serve in the army, lest, trusting to their rocks and mountains, they should follow the example of the antient inhabitants, and turn robbers⁵. From *Isauria* the emperor marched into *Syria*, where he entered upon his third consulship, having *Pa-*

¹ Zos. l. i. p. 864.

² Idem ibid. p. 865.

³ Vide

CAMD. Britain. p. 136. & BUCH. Belg. l. vii. p. 218.

⁴ Prob.

vit. p. 239.

⁵ Idem ibid.

ternus for his colleague, and early in the spring led his army against the *Blemyes*, a barbarous nation, dwelling between *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, who had made themselves masters of *Coptos* and *Ptolemais* in *Thebais*, and struck terror into the neighbouring countries. *Probus* defeated them with great slaughter, recovered the above-mentioned cities, took a great number of the barbarians prisoners, and sent them to *Rome*, where their extraordinary figure, says *Vopiscus*, raised great admiration in the *Roman* people ^u. *Pliny* had described them, many years before, as a people without heads, and having their mouths and eyes in their breasts ^w. Some writers think, that the shortness of their necks gave rise to this fable. The king of *Persia*, *Varanes* II. alarmed at the fame of the victories gained by *Probus* over so fierce and warlike a nation, sent ambassadors to him, with rich presents, to sue for peace; but the emperor, not satisfied with their proposals, refused the presents, and sent back the deputies; which so terrified the king, that he concluded a peace with *Probus* upon his own terms ^x. The eastern provinces being thus settled in peace, the emperor returned to *Thrace*, where he allotted lands to one hundred thousand *Bastarnæ*, a *Scythian* nation, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak hereafter. They all remained faithful to him; but the *Gepidæ*, *Juthungi*, and *Vandals*, to whom he allotted lands in the same province, revolted while the emperor was engaged in domestic wars, which broke out the following year. From *Thrace* the emperor returned to *Rome*, and there triumphed over the *Germans* and *Blemyes* ^y, and diverted the people for several days together with all sorts of shows, combats, and entertainments. And now no foreign nation daring to attempt an invasion, peace reigned throughout the whole empire; but this general tranquillity was soon disturbed by domestic broils, which first broke out in the east, where *Sext. Julius Saturninus*, as he is styled on the antient coins, was proclaimed emperor. He was, according to some, a native of *Mauritania*, according to others, of *Gaul*, and had distinguished himself in many wars; for he is said to have restored tranquillity to *Gaul*, to have recovered *Africa* from the *Moors*, and appeased the disturbances that had long prevailed in *Spain* ^z. The emperor *Aurelian* had appointed him commander of the troops quartered on the frontiers of the eastern provinces, and at the same time ordered him never to set foot in *Egypt*, fearing, says *Vopiscus*, as he was well

The Blemyes defeated.

The Persians sue for peace.

Probus triumphs.

Saturninus revolts.

^u Idem ibid.

^w PLIN. l. v. c. 8.

^x Prob. vit. p. 239.

^y Idem, p. 240. ^z Saturn. vit. p. 244. Zos. p. 663. GOLTZ. p. 116. BIRAC. p. 309.

He is over-
come, and
killed.

Proculus
revolts.

acquainted with the ambitious temper of the *Gauls*, and the strange inclination of the *Egyptians* to novelty, lest he might be prompted by them to assume the sovereignty. Notwithstanding this prohibition, *Saturninus* being led by his curiosity to visit *Egypt*, he no sooner appeared at *Alexandria*, than he was by that turbulent and restless people proclaimed emperor. He declined at first that dignity, and, quitting *Alexandria*, returned in great haste to *Palestine*: but afterwards, apprehending, that what had already happened might give *Probus* no small umbrage, and occasion his ruin, he suffered himself to be proclaimed emperor, shedding many tears amidst the acclamations of the soldiery and populace^a. *Zonaras* writes, that *Probus*, who had a great kindness for him, not believing he had revolted, caused the person to be punished who brought him the first news of his rebellion. He afterwards wrote several kind letters to him; but his soldiers threatening him with death, if he hearkened to, or complied with, the emperor's offers, he was forced to reject them. Hereupon *Probus* dispatched some troops against them, which being joined by others in the east, engaged *Saturninus*, put him to flight, and obliged him to shelter himself in the citadel of *Apamea*, which they took by storm, and put the whole garison, together with *Saturninus*, to the sword. The emperor, who designed to pardon him, shewed no small concern for his death^b. The following year *Messala* and *Gratus* being consuls, two usurpers started up in *Gaul*, *Proculus* and *Bonofus*. The former was a native of *Albingaunum*, now *Albenga*, subject to the republic of *Genoa*. His ancestors had been famous robbers, and had, by their robberies, acquired immense wealth; for *Proculus* is said to have armed two thousand slaves of his own when he revolted. In his youth he had been himself a robber; but entering afterwards into the army, he had signalized himself by many noble exploits. He was tribune, and had the command of several legions, when he took upon him the title of emperor, prompted thereunto chiefly by his wife, called first *Viturgia*, and afterwards *Sampso*, a woman of great ambition and a manly courage, and by the inhabitants of *Lyons*, who had been treated with great severity by *Aurelian*, and apprehended the like treatment from *Probus*. He was proclaimed emperor at *Cologne*, and acknowledged, according to *Vopiscus*, in *Narbonne Gaul*, *Britain*, and *Spain*. The same writer tells us, that he defeated the *Alemanni* in several battles; but was himself at last overcome by *Probus*, and forced to take refuge among the *Franks*,

^a Sat. vit. p. 249.

^b Idem ibid.

from whom he pretended to derive his origin. The *Franks* ^{Is betrayed} promised him their assistance; but, instead of performing ^{by the} their promise, they betrayed him to the emperor, by whom ^{Franks,} he was punished according to his deserts. ^{and put to} *Bonofus*, or as ^{death.} he is styled on the antient coins, *Q. Bonofus*, was descended of a *Spanish* family, but born in *Britain*. His father kept a public school, and taught children the first rudiments of the *Latin* tongue. The son entered early into the army, and raised himself by degrees from the low rank of a common soldier to the post of general, and was employed as such to guard the frontiers of *Rhætia*; but having suffered the *German*s to surprise and burn the *Roman* fleet on the *Rhine*, his dread of being punished for this neglect, prompted him to assume the sovereignty, and cause himself to be proclaimed emperor by the troops under his command. He maintained ^{Bonofus} himself in that dignity longer than was expected, and fought ^{proclaimed} several battles with *Probus*; but being at length reduced to ^{emperor.} great straits, he chose rather to strangle himself, than to ^{Is over-} fall into the hands of the conqueror. Authors observe of him, ^{come, and} that he could drink as much as ten men, without being in ^{lays vio-} the least disordered; and that by drinking with the embassa- ^{lent hands} dors of the barbarians, he often discovered the secrets with ^{on himself.} which they were intrusted. *Vopiscus* tells us, that the emperor *Aurelian* married to him a princess of the royal blood of the *Goths*, by name *Hunila*, whom he had taken prisoner, that *Bonofus* might, by her means, become acquainted with the great men among the *Goths*, and discover, in drinking with them, their secret views and designs ^d. *Hunila* was a woman of great wit, beauty, and virtue; and therefore *Probus*, upon the death of her husband, not only spared her, and the two sons she had by *Bonofus*, but settled an annual pension upon the mother, and suffered the children to enjoy their ^{The go-} paternal estate ^{vernor of}. *Zosimus* ^f and *Zonaras* ^g speak of the re- ^{Britain re-} volt of the governor of *Britain*, whom they do not name; ^{volts, and is} and tell us, that the emperor complaining of him to a *Moor*, ^{murdered.} named *Victorinus*, upon whose recommendation he had pre-ferred him to that government, the *Moor* begged and obtained leave to go into *Britain*, and try whether he could bring back his friend to a sense of his duty. Upon his arrival he was received by the usurper with great demonstrations of kindness; which he requited by murdering his old friend in the night-time. His death put an end to the revolt in *Britain*. We are not told whether or no *Probus* approved of this treachery.

^c Idem, p. 245—247.
ibid. ^f Zos. l. i. p. 663.

^d Bonof. vit. p. 247.
^g ZONAR. p. 246.

^e Idem

How
Probus em-
ployed his
soldiers in
time of
peace.

THE following year the emperor entered upon his fourth consulship, having *Tiberianus* for his colleague. The whole empire now enjoyed a profound tranquillity; all domestic troubles were happily appeased, and foreign enemies awed by the fame of *Probus's* mighty achievements. However, that the troops might not abandon themselves to idleness, he took care to employ them in many useful works, saying, That since they were maintained by the public, they ought either to fight or labour for the public. As *Hannibal* therefore, to find some employment for his soldiers, had formerly filled *Africa* with olive-trees planted by them, so *Probus*, for his valour styled by many a second *Hannibal*, employed his troops in planting vines on the hills of *Gaul*, *Pannonia*, and *Mæsia*, allowing, says *Vopiscus*, the *Gauls*, *Pannonians*, *Spaniards*, and *Britons*, full liberty to cultivate as many vineyards as they pleased; which had been denied them ever since the time of *Domitian*¹. The emperor *Julian* writes, that *Probus*, during his short reign, either rebuilt or repaired seventy cities². As the city of *Sirmium*, the place of his nativity, stood in a low marshy ground, he employed great numbers of his soldiers in digging a canal to convey the waters into the sea. This incensed them against him, and their rage was heightened by the apprehension they were under of being soon disbanded; for the emperor had said, That he hoped in a short time there would be no occasion for soldiers or armies. This they could not bear, and therefore the following year, when *Probus* was consul the fifth time with *Victorinus*, they attacked him with great fury, as he was marching from one town in *Illyricum* to another. The emperor had time to retire into an iron tower of an extraordinary height, which he himself had built, to observe from thence the soldiers while they were at work. But thither the incensed multitude pursued him, and having easily stormed the place, as it was defended by the prince alone, dispatched him with many wounds, after he had lived fifty, and reigned six years and four months. His death is ascribed by many to *Carus*, who succeeded him in the empire, and was then captain of the guards; but *Vopiscus* endeavours to clear him from that imputation. The whole army raised a stately monument to the honour of the deceased prince, with the following epitaph: *Here lies the emperor Probus, whose life and manners answered his name. He subdued all the barbarous nations, and conquered the tyrants who started up in his time.* The loss of so good a prince was greatly lamented, not only by the senate and people of *Rome*,

He is mur-
dered by
the muti-
nous soldi-
ery.

¹ Prob. vit. p. 240.

² JUL. CÆS. p. 17.

but by the barbarians themselves, who dreaded his valour, and revered his probity, clemency, and justice. His successors honoured his memory with all possible marks of respect and esteem, ranking him among the gods, consecrating temples to his name, celebrating with great pomp his anniversary, &c. He was, without all doubt, one of the best, as well as of the greatest, princes, that ever reigned at Rome ^a. After his death, his family withdrew from Rome, probably not to give umbrage to his successors, and settled in the neighbourhood of Verona ^b. As for the few writers who flourished in his reign, we refer the reader to our note (A).

UPON the death of *Probus*, *Carus*, then captain of the prætorian guards, was, by the unanimous consent of the army, raised to the empire, as a person in every respect well qualified to succeed so good a prince, so great a warrior. The senate were well pleased with the election of *Carus*; but dreading the vicious and cruel temper of his son *Carinus*, were unwilling to confirm the choice of the soldiery. However, apprehending the power of the army, and desirous to maintain the peace and tranquillity established by *Probus*, they at last acknowledged *Carus*, and conferred upon him the usual titles and honours *. Of his family and ancestors

^a *Prob. vit. p. 241.*

^b *Idem ibid.*

* *Car. vit. p. 243:*

(A) Under *Probus* flourished *Turdulus Gallicanus*, who wrote a kind of journal, often quoted by *Vopiscus* in his life of *Probus*, who styles the author of it a man of honour and sincerity (29). He likewise cites *M. Salvidienus*, from whom he copied the speech made by *Saturninus*, when he put on the purple, and assumed the title of emperor (30); which prompts us to believe, that *Salvidienus* wrote the history of that usurper. *Onesimus* published the life of *Probus* done, according to *Vopiscus*, with great exactness (31), and likewise that of the emperor *Carus* (32). *Vossius* ranks them all three among the Latin historians (33), and mentions a Greek historian, by name *Onasimus*, a native of Sparta or Cyprus, who lived, according to *Suidas*, under *Constantine*, and was both a sophist and historian. Perhaps *Onesimus* and *Onasimus* were one and the same person, there having passed but twenty-four years between *Probus* and *Constantine*. *Suidas* ascribes to *Onasimus* several philological and other works (34). About the same time flourished another sophist, named likewise *Onasimus*, but who was a native of Athens (35).

(29) *Prob. vit. p. 233.*

(30) *Saturn. vit. p. 245.*

(31) *Bonos. vit. p. 246. & Car. vit. p. 250.*

(32) *Idem ibid.*

(33) *Voss. hist. Lat. ii. c. 4. p. 184.*

(34) *Suid. p. 523.*

(35) *Idem ibid.*

His extrac-
tion and
prefer-
ments.

He creates
his two
sons Cæ-
sars.

Defeats the
Sarmati-
ans.

we know but very little. Some say, that he was by birth a *Roman*, but by descent an *Illyrican*; others, that he was born in *Illyricum*, but of *Carthaginian* parents. In a journal, quoted by *Vopiscus*, he is styled a native of *Milan*^c. The two *Victors*, *Eutropius*, and several others, will have him to have been born in *Narbonne*. The emperor himself pretended, that his ancestors were originally *Romans*^d. He raised himself by degrees to the chief employments in the state, both civil and military. He had been consul; for the consulship, which he took after his accession to the empire, is called his second consulship. *Probus*, after having employed him in most of his expeditions, appointed him captain of the guards, in which office he gained the affections of the soldiers to such a degree, that, upon the death of *Probus*, they all agreed to raise him to the empire in his room. That prince entertained a mighty opinion of the prudence, justice, and integrity of *Carus*, as appears from a letter quoted by *Vopiscus*, which he wrote to the senate in his behalf, desiring them to reward his eminent services, by erecting to him an equestrian statue, and building him an house at the public charge, for which the emperor himself promised to supply the necessary marble^e. *Carus* was no sooner settled in the empire, than he gave the title of *Cæsar* to his two sons, *Carinus* and *Numerianus*, of whom the former was a youth intirely abandoned to all manner of wickedness, and the latter endowed with every good quality requisite in a prince. Some writers pretend, that at the same time he declared them his partners in the empire, giving them equal power and authority with himself; but on the medals of this year 282, the first of *Carus*'s reign, his two sons are only styled *Cæsars*^f. The *Sarmatians* no sooner heard of the death of *Probus*, than they broke into *Illyricum* and *Thrace*, over-ran those countries, and threatened *Italy* itself. Hereupon *Carus*, drawing together his forces, marched against the barbarians, and coming, after several skirmishes to a general engagement with them, cut sixteen thousand of them in pieces, took twenty thousand prisoners, and obliged the rest to abandon the *Roman* dominions, and retire into their own country, whither he would have pursued them, had he not been informed, that the *Persians* were ready to invade the eastern provinces with a mighty army, under the conduct of their king *Varanes II.* a warlike prince, who had lately signalized himself against the *Segetani*, and intirely reduced that brave and powerful people: Upon this in-

^c Idem ibid. p. 426.

^d Idem p. 249.

^e Idem p. 242.

^f BIRAG.

telligence,

telligence, *Carus*, committing the care of the western provinces to his eldest son *Carinus*, and taking with him *Numerianus*, left *Thrace*, and, crossing over into *Asia*, marched strait to *Antioch*, and thence into *Mesopotamia*; which the *Persians*, who, it seems, had already seized that province, abandoned at his approach. From *Mesopotamia* he advanced into *Persia*, laid waste the country far and wide; and meeting with no opposition, as the *Persians* were then engaged in a civil war, he besieged and took the famous cities of *Seleucia* and *Ctesiphon*, with *Coche*, which was a place of great strength on the other side the *Tigris*, and, as it were, the citadel of *Ctesiphon*⁵. For these conquests he took the surname of *Persicus*, which we read on most of his coins^h. He was bent upon utterly ruining the *Persian* monarchy, and would, in all likelihood, have succeeded in that great design, the *Persians* being then divided among themselves, had he not been prevented by death, which overtook him in the neighbourhood of *Ctesiphon*, while he was preparing to pursue his conquests beyond that city, which the *Romans*, as was pretended, were by an ancient oracle forbidden to do. *Junius Calpurnius*, one of the emperor's secretaries, gave the following account of his death, in a letter which he wrote to the governor of *Rome*; "While *Carus*, our truly dear prince, lay sick in his tent, a violent storm broke out, attended with dreadful flashes of lightning, and claps of thunder. Day was all on a sudden turned into night, and the air darkened to such a degree, that we could not discern one another. While we were under the utmost consternation, frightened and dismayed, after a clap of thunder more loud and terrible than all the rest, we heard one cry out, *The emperor is dead*. Soon after, his chamberlains, distracted with grief, set fire to his tent; which gave rise to the report, that he was killed with lightning; but it is certain, that he died of his illness." Thus one of his secretaries, whose letter *Vopiscus* produces, to confute those who ascribed the emperor's death to divine vengeance, for his attempting to extend his conquests beyond *Ctesiphon*ⁱ. However, the two *Victors*, *Eutropius Rufus*, *Festus*, *Apollinaris*, *Sidonius*, *St. Jerom*, *Eusebius*, *Georgius Syncellus*, and *Zonaras*, write, that he was killed, and his tent burnt, with lightning. He had begun the second year of his reign, and his death happened between the eighth of *December* of this year 283, and the twelfth of *January* of the year ensuing; for

Gains great
advantages
over
the Persi-
ans, and
takes Se-
leucia and
Ctesiphon

His death.

⁵ Car. vit. p. 250. GREG. NAZ. orat. iv. p. 115. ^h BR-
RAG. p. 419. SPANH. l. v. p. 419. ⁱ Car. Vit. p. 256.

his

Numerianus proclaimed emperor.

He is murdered.

Dioclesian raised to the empire.

his name is prefixed to all the laws that are published till the eighth of *December*, and those of *Carinus* and *Numerianus* to a law dated the twelfth of *January* of the year 284 ^k. He reigned, according to the most probable opinion, a year and four months. He was consul when he died, and had his son *Carinus* for his colleague in that dignity. Upon the death of *Carus*, his son *Numerianus* was immediately saluted by the whole army with the title of emperor. As to his other son, *Carinus*, he was then in *Gaul*, and had been raised by his father to the sovereignty before he set out for the *Persian* war. *Numerianus*, grieved beyond expression for the death of his father, broke up his camp, and began to retire. As his eyes, weakened with the great quantity of tears he had shed, could not bear the light, he caused himself to be carried in a close litter. *Arrius Aper*, his father-in-law and captain of the guards, who had free access to him, laid hold of that opportunity to murder him privately, with a design to raise himself to the empire. The body of the deceased prince he left in the litter, telling the soldiers who wanted to see their emperor, that he could not endure the air, and striving in the mean time to gain them over to his own interest. The dead body was thus carried three days; but as it began in the end to be offensive to the smell, the crime was discovered sooner than *Aper* expected, and he immediately seized, no one doubting, but he had been the author of the murder. Upon the death of *Numerianus*, the army with one voice proclaimed *Dioclesian* emperor. Such was the unhappy end of *Numerianus*, after he had reigned about eight months. He was killed near *Heraclea* in *Thrace*, as he was leading his army back into *Italy*. All the ancients speak of him as a prince endowed with every good quality becoming a person of his rank. He was an excellent orator, and is said to have once sent such an eloquent speech to the senate, that a statue was decreed him, to be set up in the *Ulpian* library, with this inscription, *To Numerianus Cæsar, the most eloquent orator of his age*. In poetry he far surpassed all the writers of his time, and left several pieces behind him, both in verse and prose, which were mightily cried up by the learned ^l. He had often declared in public, that it was probably of him that *Calphurnius*, a celebrated poet of those times, said, That he diverted himself with pleading, while he was still in his mother's arms ^m; that is, when he was very young. Both he and his father

^k CYPR. an. p. 45. Cod. Just. l. v. tit. 71. leg. 7. p. 509. l. viii. tit. 56. leg. 3. p. 804. NORIS. de Diocles. c. 1. p. 9. ^l Num. vit. p. 251. ^m CALPH. eclog. i. ver. 45.

Carus were ranked among the gods, had temples and divine honours decreed them &c. It appears, from some medals, that the latter had impiously assumed the title of god before his death^a. Some writers flourished in his time, of whom in note (B).

Dioclesian was descended of a mean and obscure family in *His extrac-*
Dalmatia, being, according to some, the son of a notary, *tion prefer-*
and of a slave, according to others; nay, *Victor* the younger *ments &c.*
tells us, that he was himself in his youth slave to a senator,
named *Anulinus*, who afterwards gave him his liberty^o. The
name both of his mother and the place of his birth was *Dio-*
clea; whence he was called *Diocles* till his accession to the
empire, when he gave his name a *Latin* sound and termina-
tion, calling himself *Dioclesianus*^p. He entered early into

^a SPANH. l. v. p. 419.

^o VICT. epit. p. 542.

^p Idem, ibid.

(B) *Vopiscus* tells us, that the life of *Carus* and his children was written, before the year 300, by *F. bius Cerilianus*, whose diligence and exactness he commends (36); and that of *Carinus* in particular by *Fulvius Asprianus*, whose scrupulous exactness, and too great care to omit nothing, rendered his work extremely tedious (37). *Aurelius Apollinaris* likewise wrote the life of *Carus*, probably in Iambics; for he was a poet, and is said to have taken delight in that kind of verse (38). *Vossius* ranks these three among the *Latin* writers (39). A few eclogues, and part of a poem on the chace, by *M. Olympius Nemesianus*, has reached our times. He likewise wrote some pieces on fishing and navigation, and was highly esteemed in those days (40). He is supposed to have been a native of *Carthage*, where his works, in the time of *Hinemar*, were publicly read in the schools (41). He inscribed his poem on the chace to *Carinus* and *Numerianus*, after the death of their father; that is, after the year 284. He had not yet, at that time, been at court, nor seen *Rome* (42). Four other eclogues have reached our times, supposed to have been written by *T. Calpurnius*, or *Calpurnius*, a native of *Sicily*, and to have been inscribed to *Nemesianus*. In the first mention is made of declamations made by a prince, supposed to be *Numerianus*, almost in his infancy (43). *Scaliger* takes the sports that were exhibited by *Carinus* and *Numerian* to be the subject of the last eclogue (44). Perhaps *Junius Calpurnius*, secretary to *Carus*, and the above-mentioned poet were one and the same person.

(36) *Car. vit* p. 249, 250. (37) *Idem* p. 254. (38) *Idem*,
p. 251. (39) *Voss hist. Lat* l. ii. c. 4. p. 184. (40) *Nemes.* p. 508, 511. *Car vit.* p. 251. (41) *Voss. poet. Lat* p. 23.
(42) *Nemes. cyn. ver.* 64. p. 509 & ver. 77, 81. (43) *Cal-*
purn. p. 501. (44) *Scalig. in Euseb. chron.* p. 253.

the army, and by degrees raised himself to the first military employments. We are told, that while he yet served in an inferior post, a woman, by profession a *Druid*, in whose house he lodged, upbraiding him with covetousness, he answered her in jest, *I shall be more generous when I am emperor. You are joking*, Diocles, replied the *Druid*; but I tell you in good earnest, that you will attain the empire after you have killed a boar. This is supposed to have happened in the city of *Tongres*, in the present bishopric of *Liege*^q. *Dioclesian* served with great credit under *Probus*, who gave him the command of the troops quartered in *Moesia*^r. He attended *Carus* in his expedition against the *Persians*, and distinguished himself in that war. *Syncellus* tells us, that he was raised by that prince to the consulship^t. He had, at the time of *Numerianus*'s death, the command of the guards that attended the emperor's person, and were superior in rank to the prætorian guards, as we have observed above. He was a great master of civil affairs, prompt at foreseeing events, dextrous at concerting schemes, naturally inclined to violent measures, but at the same time master of his temper; an enemy to all useless expences, and a great encourager of learning, though from his youth he had been brought up in the camp, and had never applied himself to any study but that of the military art, in the knowledge of which he was equal to the famous commanders of ancient times^u. *Lactantius* charges him with cowardice, and says, that he avoided, as much as he well could, exposing his person to dangers^w. He was, according to *Eutropius*, naturally covetous, and bent upon amassing riches by any means whatever^x. By his wife *Prisca* he had a daughter, named *Galeria Valeria*, who was married to *Maximinus Galerius*; but proved barren^y. Both the mother and daughter favoured, and, according to *Lactantius*, once professed, the christian religion; for that writer reckons them among the first, who, terrified with the menaces of *Dioclesian*, defiled themselves with impure sacrifices^z. *Dioclesian* being, by the unanimous consent of the army proclaimed emperor, in the manner we have related above, ascended the tribunal; and after having harangued the soldiers, and solemnly declared upon his oath, that he had been no-ways accessory or privy to the death of *Numerianus*, he caused *Aper* to be brought

^q Car. vit. p. 252. ^r ZONAR. tom. 2. p. 243. ^t SYNC-
 ELL. p. 387. ^u Prob. vit. p. 241. Macrin. vit. p. 96. Carin.
 vit. p. 251. ^w LACTANT. persecut. c. 7. & 9. ^x EUTROP.
 p. 586. ^y LACT. ibid: p. 44. BIRAGG. p. 444. ^z LACT.
 ibid. c. 15. p. 12, 13.

before

before him, reproached him in bitter terms with the murder of his prince and son-in-law, and then, descending from the tribunal, drew his sword, and buried it in his breast, saying, *You shall have the honour, O Aper, to fall by an illustrious hand.* He puts Aper to death. The new emperor would not have begun his reign with an action that savoured of cruelty, had it not been to fulfil the above-mentioned prophecy of the *Druid*, the word *aper* signifying in the *Latin* tongue a boar; whence, in seeing *Aper* fall, he cried out, *I have at length killed the fatal boar.* *Vopiscus* tells us, that, mindful of the prediction, he strove always in hunting to kill the boars with his own hand; and adds, that when he saw *Aurelian*, *Tacitus*, *Probus*, *Carus*, and his two sons, raised to the empire before him, he used pleasantly to say before *Maximian* and our historian's grandfather (for to those two alone he imparted the prophecy), *That he killed, but others enjoyed, the boar* ^a. *Dioclesian* was proclaimed emperor at *Chalcedon*, on the seventeenth of *September* of the year 284, which epoch is the more remarkable, as it is the beginning of a new æra, called, *The æra of Dioclesian*, and sometimes, *The æra of martyrs*, which for many ages obtained in the church, and is still in use among the *Copts* in *Egypt*, the *Abissines*, and some other *African* nations. The first year of this æra begins with the *Egyptian* year on the twenty-ninth of *August* of 284 ^b. *Dioclesian* made his public entry into *Nicomedia* on the twenty-seventh of *September* of this year, and spent the remaining months in making the necessary preparations to oppose *Carinus*, who, hearing of his brother's death and the assumption of *Dioclesian*, had left *Gaul*, and was hastening, at the head of a powerful army, into *Illyricum*. The following year, *Carinus* took upon him his third consulship, having *Aristobulus*, his captain of the guards, for his colleague; and arriving in *Venetia*, overcame there and slew one *Julianus*, governor of that province, who had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor ^c. Elated with this victory, he advanced into *Illyricum*, where he fought several battles with *Dioclesian*, whom he intirely defeated in a general engagement near *Margum*, a city on the *Danube* in *Upper Mæsia*; but while he was pursuing the enemy, he was killed by some of his own men, stirred up against him by a tribune, whose wife he had debauched. Thus *Aurelius Victor* ^d. But *Eutropius* writes, that he was betrayed by his own army, and

The æra of
Dioclesian

The death
of Carinus

^a Car. vit. p. 252. ^b EUTYCH. p. 585. AUR. VICT. p. 524. ^c AUR. VICT. epit. p. 524. ^d Idem ibid.

Dioclesian
takes Ma-
ximian for
his partner
in the em-
pire.

killed by *Dioclesian* *. Be that as it will, *Dioclesian*, seeing himself, by the death of his rival, become sole master of the empire, marched to *Rome*; and having established his authority there, set out soon after for *Germany*, where he gained several advantages over the *Alemanni*, who had made an irruption into *Gaul*. The same year, his generals fought with success against the inhabitants of *Britain*, who, it seems, had attempted to shake off the yoke. For these victories he assumed the surnames of *Germannicus* and *Britannicus*, as appears from an inscription dated the second year of his reign †. From *Germany* he returned through *Illyricum* into the east; for he was at *Sirmium* on the first day of the following year ‡; and at *Nicomedia* on the twenty-first of *January* §. The next consuls were *Junius Maximus*, the second time, and *Vettius Aquilinus*. This year *Dioclesian* took *Maximian*, styled on the antient coins *M. Aurelius Valerius Maximianus*, for his colleague, and partner in the empire. *Maximian* was born of obscure parents, in a village near *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*; but entering early into the army, had signalized himself by many noble exploits; and was reckoned one of the best commanders of his time. All the antients paint him as a man of a most cruel and savage temper, and addicted to all manner of wickedness; but at the same time extol his courage, his experience in military affairs, and his inviolable attachment to *Dioclesian*, with whom he had lived many years in great friendship. The emperor therefore, who had no issue-male, and reposed an intire confidence in *Maximian*, chose him for his partner in the empire, invested him with the tribunitial and proconsular power, and honoured him with the title of *Augustus*. Some authors write, that *Dioclesian* not only took him for his colleague in the sovereignty, but divided the empire with him, reserving to himself the eastern provinces, and leaving to *Maximian* *Italy*, *Africa*, *Spain*, and the rest of the western countries ¶. *Maximian* had by his wife, *Galeria Valeria Eutropia*, by birth a *Syrian*, *Maxentius*; who usurped the empire at *Rome*, and *Fausta*, the wife of *Constantine the Great*. *Maxentius* was by some thought to have been a supposititious child ¶. *Eutropia* had by a former husband a daughter, styled on the antient coins *Flavia Maximiana Theodora*, whom *Maximian* married to *Constantius*

* EUTROP. p. 585. † NORIS de Diocles. num. c. 4. p. 19; 20. ‡ Cod. Justin. l. vi. tit. 21. leg. 6. p. 331. § Idem, tit. 9. leg. 3. p. 530. ¶ NORIS de Diocles. num. LACTAN. persec. c. 8. p. 8. PAGI, p. 157. ¶ VIET. epit. p. 542. JULIAN. orat. i. p. 9.

*Chlorus*¹, of whom hereafter. *Aurelius Victor* tells us; that *Dioclesian* was induced to take *Maximian* for his partner in the empire, chiefly by the disturbances which happened this year in *Gaul*, where two commanders, *Aulus Pomponius Ælianus* and *Cn. Salvius Amandus*, having assembled a great number of vagabonds, robbers, and peasants, caused themselves to be proclaimed emperors. *Maximian*, leaving *Dioclesian* in *Nicomedia*, hastened into *Gaul*, and there, with the troops quartered in that province, defeated the rebels, and restored the province to its former tranquillity^m. The revolted peasants were called *Bacaudæ*, or *Bagaudæ*, the etymology of which appellation has puzzled the best antiquaries. *S. Maure de Fosses*, about three short miles from *Paris*, was formerly called the castle of the *Bagaudæ*, being built, according to a tradition which obtained in the seventh century, by *Julius Cæsar*; in the peninsula formed by the *Marne*, and fortified with a rampart and ditches, which defended the entry left open by the river. The *Bagaudæ* are said to have held out there a long time against *Maximian*, who at length made himself master of the castle, levelled it with the ground, and filled up the ditches; which, however, gave to the place its present nameⁿ. While *Maximian* was employed against the rebels in *Gaul*, *Dioclesian* was making great preparations in the east, in order to recover *Mesopotamia* from the *Persians*, who, after the death of *Carinus*, had seized that province. But *Varanes II.* at that time king of *Persia*, chose rather to restore what he had taken from the *Romans*, than to engage in a war, which, he apprehended, would prove long and dangerous^o. Mention is made of some advantages gained this year by *Dioclesian* over the *Saracens*^p. He was the last day of this year at *Tiberias* in *Palestine*, as appears from the date of some laws in the code^q. The following year, 287, *Dioclesian* entered upon his third consulship, and *Maximian* upon his first. The former from *Palestine* passed into *Pannonia*, as appears from the date of several laws enacted this year^r; but what called him into that province, or what he performed there, we are no-where told. As for *Maximian*, he was attacked in *Gaul* by the *Alemanni*, the *Burgundians*, the *Heruli*, whom *Bucherius* places on the coasts of the *Baltic* sea, and by several other barbarous nations, who

He utterly
defeats se-
veral
German
nations.

¹ EUTROP. p. 585. ^m AUR. VICT. p. 524. ⁿ Vide
DU CANGE glossar. med. & infim. Latinitat. p. 661, 662. ^o PA-
NEGYR. ORAT. x. p. 125—132. ^p PANEGYR. p. 132.
^q Cod. Just. l. iv. tit. 40 leg. 3. p. 311. ^r Cod. Just. l. v. tit.
42. leg. 3. p. 487.

Carausius
revolts,
and seizes
Britain.

were all overcome by *Maximian*, and destroyed either by the sword, or by famine. *Mamertinus*, in his panegyric upon this prince, tells us, perhaps not without some exaggeration, that, of such an immense multitude, not one was left alive to carry back the news of their overthrow^c. The same year, *Carausius*, a native of *Gaul*, having by *Maximian's* orders built a fleet at *Boulogne*, gained great advantages over the *Franks* and *Saxons*, who began to infest the seas with piracies, and, in several engagements by land, made a dreadful havock of the *German* nations that had broke into *Celtic Gaul*. However, as he kept and applied to his own use the booty which he had taken from the barbarians, instead of returning it to the proprietors, *Maximian* resolved to put him to death; but *Carausius*, having timely notice of his design, passed over into *Britain* with the fleet under his command, and there taking upon him the title of emperor, was acknowledged by all the troops quartered in that island^d. He afterwards caused a great number of vessels to be built, levied new forces, called the barbarians from the continent to his assistance, and, by instructing them how to work their ships and fight by sea, maintained himself a long time in possession of the island, in spite of the utmost efforts of *Maximian*.

Maximian
defeats the
barbarians
a second
time.

Gains
great ad-
vantages
over the
Franks.

THE following year *Maximian* was consul, the second time, with *Januarius*. *Mamertinus*, his panegyrist, tells us, that on the first day of his consulship, news being brought to *Treves*, where he then was, that the barbarians had made an irruption into *Gaul*, and were but at a small distance from that city, he immediately quitted his consular robes, put on his armour, and, mounting his horse, marched against the enemy, cut most of them in pieces, and the same day re-entered *Treves* in triumph^e. Soon after he crossed the *Rhine*; and, entering *Germany*, laid waste the enemy's country, took a great number of captives, and returned to *Gaul* loaded with booty^f. The fame of his name struck such terror into the *Franks*, that two of their kings, *Atec* and *Genobaud*, submitted to him, desiring him to confirm them in their respective kingdoms^g. From an antient inscription it appears, that both *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* took the surnames of *Francicus*, *Alemannicus*, and *Germanicus*^h. *Mamertinus* speaks of some victories gained by *Maximian's* generals over a *fickle and deceitful nation*, meaning, no doubt, the *Franks*; for

^c Panegy. 10. p. 125. ^d EUTROP. p. 585. AVR. VIET. p. p. 524. Panegy. 8. p. 108. ^e Panegy. p. 125. ^f Idem ibid. p. 126. ^g VALER. rer. Francic. l. i. p. 11, 12. ^h Idem ibid.

such

such was, at least in those times, the character of that people ^a. *Dioclesian* likewise entered *Germany* this year on the side of *Rhætia*, and is said to have extended the bounds of the empire to the springs of the *Danube* ^a. The next year, *Bassus* being consul the second time, with *Quintianus*, *Claudius Mamertinus* pronounced his famous panegyric on the emperor *Maximian* in the city of *Treves*, as is commonly believed, the emperor himself being present. As he was then assembling on the coast of *Gaul* the ships, which he had caused to be built in several parts, with a design to attack *Carausius* in *Britain*, his panegyrist promises him certain victory over that rebel ^b. But it happened quite otherwise; for *Carausius's* men, who had been trained to sea-service, easily put to flight those who were sent against them, dispersed the emperor's fleet, and drove them on the coast of *Gaul*, where most of them were dashed to pieces. *Maximian*, to cover the disgrace of this defeat, gave out, that the sea had not proved favourable to him, and that he only put off the war to a more convenient season. But, in the mean time, he began a treaty with *Carausius*, wherein it was concluded, that he should enjoy the government of *Britain*, as the more proper person, on account of his skill in sea-affairs, to defend the island against the invasions of the barbarians ^c. This agreement is marked on all *Carausius's* coins, which represent two emperors shaking hands, with this legend, *Concordia Augg.* ^d. Thus was *Britain*, by treaty, given up to *Carausius*, who governed it, with the title of emperor, for the space of six or seven years, reckoning from this treaty, or, what to us seems most probable, from the time he first seized it. Our authors tell us, that he repaired and fortified the wall of *Severus*, and gained some advantages over the barbarians ^e. The same year *Dioclesian* gained a complete victory over the *Dioclesian Sarmatians*, the *Vithungæ*, or rather *Jugunthæ*, and the *Quadi* ^f. *Eumenes* writes, that the whole nation of the *Sarmatians* was cut off; and the province of *Dacia*, which they had seized, re-united to the empire ^g. For these victories *Dioclesian* assumed the surname of *Sarmaticus*, as appears from several ancient coins and inscriptions ^h. The next consuls were *Dioclesian* the fourth time, and *Maximian* the third.

Britain
given up to
Carausius.

^a Paneg. 10. p. 127.

^a Idem, p. 126.

^b Idem, p. 128.

^c EUTROP. p. 1586. AUR. VICT. p. 525.

^d NORIS de

Diocles. num. c. 4. p. 22, 23.

^e USSER. rer. Brit. p. 586.

ALFORD. annal. Brit. p. 285.

^f Paneg. 11. p. 132, 133.

^g Paneg. 8. p. 105, 107.

^h NORIS, ibid. c. 4. d. 23. BIRAG.

p. 426.

The two
emperors
meet at
Milan.

The former gained this year some considerable advantages over the *Saracens*¹; and then, leaving the eastern provinces, returned to *Illyricum*, and from *Illyricum* entered *Italy* by the *Alpes Juliæ* in the depth of winter. *Maximian* at the same time left *Gaul*; and, passing the *Alpes Cotticæ*, met *Dioclesian* at *Milan*, where the two emperors held several private conferences, the subject whereof is not mentioned by historians, and then returned to their respective armies; for they came attended only by a small guard, but were received, in all the cities through which they passed, with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable. The following year, *Tiberianus* and *Dion*, the son, or rather grandson, as is conjectured, of the celebrated historian, being consuls, a bloody war broke out among the barbarians, both in the north and in *Africa*. The *Goths*, having overcome the *Burgundians* dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, were intent upon utterly extirpating that rival nation; but the *Burgundians* were powerfully supported by the *Alani* and the *Tervingæ*. Another *Gothic* nation, entering into a confederacy with the *Taifalæ*, made war upon the *Vandals* and the *Gepidæ*. In *Africa* the *Blemyes* were at war with the *Ethiopians*, and the *Moors* were engaged in a civil war. Neither was *Persia* exempt from civil disturbances, raised by *Hormisdas*, who, revolting from his brother *Varanes II.* endeavoured to drive him from the throne, and seize it for himself, being supported in his unjust pretensions by several *Persian* lords, and some foreign nations^k. The barbarians being thus diverted from making inroads into the empire, all the provinces subject to *Rome* enjoyed this year a profound tranquillity, which, however, was but short-lived; for the following year, 292, when *Annibalianus* and *Asclepiodotus* were consuls, the empire was in great danger of being torn in pieces by foreign, as well as domestic, enemies. Not

The empire to mention *Carausius*, who still held *Britain*, the *Persians*, threatened delivered from their intestine broils, broke into *Mesopotamia*, on all sides and threatened *Syria*. The *Quinquegentiani*, perhaps so called because they were *quinque gentes*, that is, *five nations*, joined in confederacy against the *Romans*, over-ran *Africa*; *M. Aurelius Julianus* revolted in *Italy*, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor; the same title was assumed at *Alexandria* in *Egypt* by *Achilleus*, styled on his coins *L. Eupidius Achilleus*^l. The two emperors, alarmed at the danger which threatened the empire, and not thinking them-

¹ Paneg. 11. p. 132. ^k Paneg. 11. p. 131—137. ^l AUR. VICT. epit. p. 524. EUTROP. p. 585. BIRAG. p. 430. GOLTZ. p. 122.

selves alone able to oppose so many enemies at once, resolved to strengthen their interest with the assistance of others, and to name each of them a *Cæsar*, who should succeed them in the empire, and jointly with them defend the *Roman* dominions, both against foreign invaders, and domestic usurpers. Pursuant to this resolution and agreement, *Dioclesian* chose *Maximinus Galerius*, and *Maximian Constantius*, surnamed *Chlorus*, who were each of them invested with the tribunitial and proconsular power, and honoured with the titles of emperor, father of their country, high pontiff, &c. which had hitherto been peculiar to the sovereign^m. The two emperors, the better to cement the union between them and their *Cæsars*, obliged them to put away their wives, and marry others; upon which *Constantius* married *Theodora*, daughter-in-law to *Maximian*, and *Galerus Valeria* the daughter of *Dioclesian*ⁿ. Some authors write, that both the *Cæsars* were named by *Dioclesian*, and by him invested in that dignity with great solemnity the first day of *March* of this year 292, on a rising ground, about three miles from *Nicomedia*, where a pillar was afterwards erected, with a statue consecrated to *Jupiter*^o. But most writers suppose *Galerius* to have been chosen by *Dioclesian*, and *Constantius* by *Maximian*; and all agree, that *Galerius* was adopted by the former, and *Constantius* by the latter. After the nomination of the two *Cæsars*, the empire was divided into four parts; *Dioclesian* chose for himself the countries beyond the *Ægean* sea; *Thrace* and *Illyricum* were allotted to *Galerius*; *Italy* and *Africa*, with the adjacent islands, to *Maximian*; and *Gaul*, *Britain*, and *Spain*, with *Mauritania*, *Tingitana*, to *Constantius*. Each of these princes governed the provinces that fell to their share with an absolute sway; but the other three paid great deference to *Dioclesian*, acknowledging themselves indebted to him for the power they enjoyed, and looking upon him as their common father. An intire union and concord reigned among them, each of them carefully avoiding to assume any superiority over the rest, or to give the least motive of jealousy or umbrage to his colleagues*. From this time forward, the empire continued almost constantly divided; but at the same time each emperor was looked upon as master of the whole. Hence to the laws, which any of them enacted, were always prefixed the names of his colleagues; and likewise to all the

The two
emperors
chose two
Cæsars.

The empire
divided in-
to four
parts.

^m EUTROP. p. 585. AUR. VICT. p. 524. GRUT. p. 166.
EUSEB. l. viii. c. 17. p. 315. ⁿ VICT. p. 524. EUTROP.
p. 586. ^o LACT. perfl. c. 19. p. 18. Chron. Alex. p. 640.
* EUSEB. VICT. ibid.

The evils
attending
this divi-
sion.

requests and petitions that were presented to them. This multiplicity of princes was attended with great inconveniences, and is therefore much exclaimed against by *Lactantius*, who ascribes it to the cowardice of *Dioclesian*, unwilling to expose his own person to danger^p. As each of the four sovereigns would have as many officers, both civil and military, and the same number of forces, as had been maintained by the state when governed only by one emperor, there were more soldiers to pay, than people to supply the necessary sums. Hence the taxes and imposts were increased beyond measure, the inhabitants in the several provinces reduced to beggary, the lands left untilld for want of hands, &c. In proportion as the people grew less able to pay the heavy taxes laid upon them, the number of the officers was increased to exact them by force. Thus was the empire greatly weakened, and almost quite ruined^q. *Italy* itself, which had hitherto only supplied with provisions the court, and the troops attending it, was obliged to pay the same tribute as the provinces; which reduced it in process of time to a deplorable condition^r.

Birth, e-
ducation,
prefer-
ments, &c.
of *Galeri-
us Cæsar*.

Galerius, whom *Dioclesian* named to the dignity of *Cæsar*, is styled on most of his coins, *Caius Galerius Valerius Maximianus*. He was born in a village near *Sardica*, the metropolis of *New Dacia*; his mother, by name *Romula*, having retired thither from *Old Dacia*, or *Dacia* beyond the *Danube*, while that country was over-run by the *Carpi*. *Galerius*, in honour of his mother, gave afterwards the name of *Romulianum* to the place of his nativity^s. As *Romula* was a professed enemy to the christians, she inspired her son with the same hatred to them; which chiefly gave rise to the bloody persecution which broke out in the latter end of *Dioclesian's* reign. *Galerius* was descended of an obscure family; for both he and his sister's son *Maximinus*, whom he afterwards created *Cæsar*, are said to have been in their youth cow-herds; whence *Galerius* was nick-named *Armentarius*, from the *Latin* word *armentum*, signifying a drove of cattle. He was a person altogether illiterate; but nevertheless raised himself from the mean condition of a common soldier to the chief posts in the army, having given signal proofs of his valour and conduct under the emperors *Aurelian* and *Probus*^t. *Lactantius* reckons him amongst the worst emperors, and speaks of him as one abandoned to all manner of wickedness, naturally

^p LACT. perf. c. 7. p. 6.
p. 524.
P. 543.

^q Idem p. 6, 8.
^r Idem ibid. EUTROP. p. 581.

^s AUR. VICT.
^t VICT. epit.

inclined to cruelty, and a declared enemy to learning and men of letters^u. The same writer adds, that in his words, in his actions, and even in his countenance, there was something shocking and offensive, apt to inspire those who approached him, rather with terror and aversion, than with esteem or affection. *Aurelius Victor*, who seems to have been no-ways prejudiced against him, owns, that he was naturally of a fierce and savage temper, and that his rustic, haughty, and disobliging behaviour drowned all his good qualities; for, according to that writer, he had excellent natural parts, and would have made a good figure on the throne, had the gifts of nature been improved by a polite and liberal education^w. He had no children by *Valeria*, the daughter of *Dioclesian*; but a son, named *Candidianus*, by a concubine, and a daughter by his former wife, who was married to *Maxentius*, the son of *Maximian*^x. Of *Constantius*, the other *Cæsar*, we shall speak in a more proper place. *Galerius* was no sooner created *Cæsar*, than he marched, with all the troops he could assemble, against the barbarians in the neighbourhood of the *Danube* and *Illyricum*; but performed nothing, either in this or the three following years, against the enemies of *Rome*, which historians have judged worth transmitting to posterity. He caused several large forests to be grubbed up in *Lower Pannonia*, and a lake to be discharged into the *Danube*; by which means he gained a new province, which, from his wife's name, he styled *Valeria*, lying between the *Danube* and the *Draw*, and known in future ages by the name of *Pannonia Secunda*. The chief cities of this new province were, *Mursa*, *Aquincum*, and *Valeria*^y. *Maximian* passed this year over into *Africa*, where he gained a complete victory over the *Quinquegentiani*, and reduced *Julianus* (who had taken upon him the title of emperor in *Italy*, as we have hinted above, and afterwards crossed over into *Africa*) to such straits, that he stabbed himself with his own sword^z. *Constantius* was no sooner invested with his new dignity, than he hastened into *Gaul*; and arriving at *Gessoriacum*, now *Boulogne*, which was held by the troops of *Carausius*, invested the place, and blocked up the haven with huge beams driven into the ground at the entrance, and heaps of great stones like a rampart^a. The garison being by this means prevented from returning into

^u LACT. perf. c. 9. p. 8.^w AUR. VICT. p. 526.^x LACT. perf. p. 401. 44. 19. 16.^y AUR. VICT. p. 525, 526.

EUDRAN. p. 303.

^z AUR. VICT. ibid.^a Panegy. 7. 8.

p. 93, 105.

Carausius
murdered
by Allectus
who as-
sumes the
govern-
ment of
Britain.
Constanti-
us drives
the Franks
out of Ba-
tavia.

He restores
the city of
Autun.

Britain, and deprived of all hopes of relief, submitted to *Constantius*, and were incorporated among his troops. The mole, which had continued firm for several days, was quite disjointed by the first tide after the surrender of the city, and broken to pieces. *Constantius*, notwithstanding the reduction of that important place, did not yet attempt the recovery of *Britain*, not thinking himself furnished with a sufficient number of ships for so great an undertaking. Where *Dioclesian* was this year, or what he performed, we are no-where told. The following year, *Dioclesian* being consul the fifth time, and *Maximian* the fourth, *Carausius* was treacherously murdered by *Allectus*, his bosom friend and prime minister, who thereupon usurped the government, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor ^b. *Constantius*, while his fleet was preparing in the ports on the ocean for the *British* expedition, cleared *Batavia* of the *Franks*, who had seized on that country, and transplanted them, with their wives and children, into other parts of the empire, destitute of inhabitants, obliging them to till the ground, to pay tribute, and to supply, when required, a certain number of troops ^c. The emperor *Julian* tells us, that *Maximian* and *Constantius*, not only drove the barbarians out of the *Roman* territories, but built many forts on the frontiers, to prevent their making new irruptions; by which means the inhabitants long enjoyed a profound tranquillity ^d. It was probably on account of his victories over the *Franks*, that *Constantius* assumed the title of *Germanicus*, which is given him in an inscription of the following year 194, quoted by *Lactantius* ^e. *Eumenes*, the panegyrist, tells us, that *Constantius* performed many remarkable exploits before he attempted the reduction of *Britain*; that he utterly exterminated several barbarous nations, extended the limits of the empire, restored many provinces, pillaged and laid waste *Germany* from the *Rhine* to the *Danube*, and took the king of a very fierce and warlike nation prisoner ^f. He restored to its antient splendor the city of *Augustodunum*, now *Autun*, which had been almost utterly ruined in the year 269, by *Tetricus*, for having revolted from him, and invited the emperor *Claudius* into *Gaul*. The temples, baths, and other public edifices, nay, and most of the houses belonging to private persons, were, at an immense charge, rebuilt by *Constantius*, who moreover em-

^b AUR. VICT. p. 525. EUTROP. p. 586. Panegy. 8. p. 108.

^c Panegy. 1, 3, 7, 8. p. 3, 47, 93, 104, 106, 107.

^d JULIAN. p. 12.

^e LACT. perf. p. 366.

^f Paneg.

8. p. 103, 107.

bellished the city, in regard of its attachment to *Claudius*, his great uncle, with magnificent aqueducts, supplied it with plenty of water, transplanted thither the most conspicuous families in the other provinces, prevailed upon the famous orator *Eumenius*, who was himself a native of the place, to take upon him the charge of educating and instructing their youth, and, in short, did all that lay in his power to raise *Autun* above all the other cities of *Gaul*^s.

THE following year, when *Constantius* and *Galerius* were consuls, two strong castles were built by the latter on the *Danube*, in the country of the *Sarmatians*; the one over-against *Acincum*, or *Aquincum*, now *Strigonium*, or *Gran*, in *Lower Hungary*; the other opposite to *Bononia*, which stood between the *Draw* and *Save*, and is at present known by the name of *Bonmoſter*. From the date of several laws, published this and the preceding year, it appears, that *Dioclesian* spent them both in *Illyricum* and *Thrace*; which provinces belonged to *Galerius*, whom perhaps he was come to assist against the barbarians on the other side of the *Danube*: in the same manner we shall see *Maximian* enter *Gaul* to defend that province against the incursions of the barbarians, while *Constantius* was employed in *Britain*. The next consuls were *Tyſcus* and *Annulinus*. This year, the *Carpi*, after *The Carpi* having long maintained themselves in spite of the utmost intirely efforts of the *Roman* emperors, were at length intirely reduced subdued. by *Galerius*, and by *Dioclesian* transplanted into the territories of the empire, chiefly into *Pannonia*^h. From an inscription of this year, we learn, that the emperors caused the walls of *Vitodurum*, now *Wintherthur*, in the canton of *Zurich*, between *Zurich* and *Constance*, to be rebuilt. *Aurelius Proculus*, who commanded in the country of the *Sequani*, had the superintendency of the work. In that inscription, *Dioclesian* is styled *imperator* the tenth time, and *Maximian* the eighthⁱ. The following year 296, *Dioclesian* being consul *Constantius* the sixth time, and *Constantius* the second, the latter, after *us invades* three years preparations, undertook at length the reduction *Britain*. of *Britain*. *Eumenes* the panegyrist pretends, that the *Romans* were every-where victorious; that they had recovered whatever they had formerly possessed (he ought at least to have excepted antient *Dacia*); and that having overcome

^s Paneg. 6, 8, 9. p. 85, 112, 114.

^h Paneg. 8. p. 105, 107. JORN. rer. Goth. c. 16. p. 634. AUR. VICT. p. 525. EUTROP. p. 586. AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 357. ⁱ GRUTER. p. 166. VALES. not. Gall. p. 615. FERRAR. de ant. Ital. p. 332.

His army
lands in the
island.

Allectus
overcome
and slain.

the rest of their enemies, they deemed it a great disgrace, that such a wealthy province as *Britain*, which supplied them with many valuable commodities, should still be held by an assassin and usurper^k. *Constantius* therefore, without further delay, resolved to pass over into *Britain*; and *Maximian*, to whom he imparted his resolution, hastened into *Gaul*, to prevent the barbarians beyond the *Rhine* from breaking into the empire, while he was employed against the rebels in *Britain*. *Constantius* had equipped several fleets, and in different ports, that the enemy, not knowing where to expect him, might be obliged to divide their powerful navy. One of his fleets, commanded by *Asclepiodotus*, his captain of the guards, to whom historians ascribe the whole glory of the victory, set sail from *Boulogne*; and escaping, by the help of a fog, the *British* navy, which lay off the isle of *Wight*, and was ready to engage them, landed their men without meeting with the least opposition. *Asclepiodotus* had no sooner put his army ashore, than he set fire to his fleet, that there might be no hopes of safety, but in victory. *Constantius*, who had sailed with another squadron from the mouth of the *Seine*, landed at another place, not mentioned by historians, and was received by the inhabitants with the greatest demonstrations of joy. *Allectus* was encamped at a small distance from the place where *Constantius* landed; but either not daring to engage him in person, or hoping to overcome *Asclepiodotus* before the two armies joined, he quitted his post, and marched with great speed against the latter. *Constantius* followed him, but did not arrive, notwithstanding all the expedition he could use, till after the battle, in which *Allectus*, who had engaged, hurried on by fear and despair, before the arrival of the *Roman* troops who obeyed him, was killed; and his army, consisting only of foreign auxiliaries, either dispersed or cut in pieces. Before the battle he quitted the imperial robes, that they might not discover him; so that the conquerors, with much ado, discovered his body among the heaps of the barbarians who lay slain in the field^l. Part of *Constantius*'s fleet, separating from the rest during the fog, entered the *Thames*; and sailing up that river, arrived at *London*. This accident, which might have been attended with bad consequences, occasioned a new victory. For such of the auxiliaries of *Allectus* as had escaped the general slaughter, fled to *London*, with a design to plunder that wealthy city, and return to their respective countries with the booty. But *Constantius*'s

^k Paneg. 8. p. 107. ^l Idem paneg. 7. p. 99. & 8. p. 109—
III. AUR. VIC. p. 525. EUTROP. p. 586. EUSEB. chron.
men

men, landing luckily in the port of *London* at the same time, *London* fell upon the barbarians, and made a dreadful slaughter of ^{sawed by} them in all parts of the city; which was by that means, to *Constanti-* the great joy of the inhabitants, happily preserved. *Constanti-* us's men granted a general pardon to the partizans of *Carausius* and ^{from being} *Allectus*, and caused his own men to restore whatever they ^{plundered.} had taken from the natives upon their first landing, saying, that he was not come to oppress, but to deliver the people from oppression ^m. Thus was *Britain* reunited to the empire, after it had been held seven years by *Carausius*, and three by *Allectus*. Of this victory, *Eumenius* the panegyrist speaks thus:

“ O important victory! worthy of many triumphs! By this
 “ *Britain* is restored; by this the *Franks* are utterly defeated;
 “ and other nations in that rebellious confederacy reduced
 “ to obedience. To conclude, the sea itself is scoured, to
 “ establish a lasting tranquillity in those provinces. You,
 “ great *Cæsar*, for your part, may with justice triumph in
 “ this conquest of a new world; and, by restoring the na-
 “ val glory of *Rome*, may boast, that you have added to the
 “ empire a larger element than all its former dominions.----
 “ *Britain* is now so perfectly reduced, that all the neigh-
 “ bouring nations are under absolute subjection ⁿ.” Thus
Eumenius, a greater friend to *Constantius*, as will appear in the sequel of the history, than to truth; for the brave *Caledoni-* ans were not by him brought under the yoke, but still main- tained their antient liberties. The same writer observes, that from *Britain* *Constantius* sent several workmen to be em- ployed in rebuilding and embellishing the city of *Autun* ^o. *Constantius*, having thus settled affairs in *Britain*, returned to *Gaul*; and transplanting great numbers of *Franks* into that ^{Part of} province, peopled with them the countries of *Amiens*, *Beau-* ^{Gaul prop-} *vois*, *Troies*, and *Langres*, almost quite destitute of inhabi- ^{led by the} tants, obliging the new comers to cultivate the lands, to pay *Franks*. the usual tributes, and supply the *Roman* armies with a cer- tain number of troops ^p. The same year *Dioclesian* recovered *Egypt* from *Achilleus*, who had caused himself to be proclaim- ed emperor, and held that province, according to his coins, *Achilleus* for the space of near six years ^q. *Dioclesian* marched against ^{overcome,} him this year in person, overcame him without much trouble, and *Egypt* and punished him according to his deserts. Thus *Aurelius* ^{reduced by} *Victor* ^r. But *Eutropius* writes, that he sustained an eight ^{Dioclesian}

^m Paneg. 8. p. 110, 111. EUTROP. p. 586. ⁿ Paneg. 8. p. 111, 112. ^o Idem, ibid. ^p VALES. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 15. BUCH. Belg. p. 227. Panegy. 7. p. 93. ^q GOLTZ. p. 121. BIRAC. p. 430. ^r AUR. VICT. p. 525.

months siege in *Alexandria* ^f; and *Eusebius*, that great numbers were killed on both sides during the siege ^g. *Dioclesian* not only punished with death the ringleaders of the revolt, but filled *Egypt* with murders and proscriptions ^h; and even gave up, according to *Orosius* ^w, the city of *Alexandria* to be plundered by his greedy and enraged soldiery. If what these authors write be true, we leave our readers to judge of the sincerity of *Eumenius*, who tells us, that *Dioclesian*, by his extraordinary clemency, restored tranquillity to *Egypt* ^x. Some writers observe, that he made a strict search after all the books of chymistry, written formerly by the *Egyptians*, and caused them all to be publicly burnt, lest the *Egyptians*, enriched by that art, should be tempted to shake off the yoke anew ^y. *Constantine*, the son of *Constantius*, attended *Dioclesian* in this war; for *Eusebius* tells us, that he saw him as he passed with the emperor through *Palestine* ^z. The city of *Coptos* and *Busiris* in *Thebais*, having sided in this war with *Achilleus*, were by *Dioclesian* utterly ruined ^a. *Zonaras* supposes these cities to have been destroyed by *Dioclesian* some time before the revolt of *Achilleus*, for having attempted to shake off the *Roman* yoke ^b. *Eumenius* tells us, that the victories gained by *Dioclesian* in *Egypt*, struck terror into the *Indians* and *Ethiopians* ^c. However, the emperor was so far from taking any advantage of that consternation, and extending

Dioclesian yields part of Egypt to the Nubians.

the limits of the empire on that side, that, on the contrary, he entered into a treaty with the *Nubians*, who used to make frequent inroads into the adjoining territory of *Oasis*, yielding to them a large country, as much, says *Procopius*, as a traveller could go through in seven days, on condition that they prevented the *Blemyes*, and other barbarians, from breaking into *Egypt* on the side of *Ethiopia*. The same writer adds, that *Dioclesian* caused a castle to be built in an island formed by the *Nile* in the neighbourhood of *Elephantis*, and a temple, in which sacrifices were offered, both by the *Roman* and *Nubian* priests, for the prosperity of both nations. By this means the emperor hoped to establish a good understanding between the *Romans* and those barbarians; and therefore called the castle *Philas*, that is, *friendship*. But neither the country he yielded to them, nor the pension which he engaged to pay yearly both to them and the *Blemyes*, and which was still paid in the time of *Justinian*, was sufficient to re-

^f EUTROP. p. 586. ^g EUSEB. chron. ^h EUTROP. p. 586. JOHANN. ANTIOCH. p. 834. ^w OROS. l. vii. c. 25. p. 215. ^x Panegy. 9. p. 121. ^y SUID. p. 741. JOHANN. ANTIOCH. ibid. ^z EUSEB. vit. Constant. l. i. c. 19 p. 417. ^a THEOPH. chronograph. p. 4, 6. ^b ZONAR. p. 243. ^c Panegy. 8. p. 105.

strain them from making inroads into the empire, when not awed by the *Roman* troops ^d.

THE next consuls were *Maximianus*, the fifth time, and *Galerius*, the second. The former, quitting *Gaul* upon the return of *Constantius* from *Britain*, crossed over into *Africa*, cut in pieces the armies of the rebellious *Moors*, belieged ^{The Moors} their castles and strong-holds, drove them from their moun- ^{subdued by} tains and rocks, which they had hitherto deemed impregnable; ^{Maximian} and having obliged them to deliver up their arms, and surrender at discretion, transplanted them into other countries ^e. The same year *Narses*, king of *Persia*, emulating the glory of *Sapor*, who had defeated the *Roman* armies, and taken the emperor himself prisoner, entered *Armenia* at the head of a mighty army; and having, without much trouble, reduced that kingdom, advanced into *Mesopotamia*. *Dioclesian*, mindful of the misfortune that had befallen the unhappy *Valerian*, instead of marching against him in person, withdrew into *Egypt*, committing the whole management of this dangerous war to *Galerius*, whom he enjoined to leave *Illyricum* forthwith, and hasten into *Mesopotamia*, to oppose there the attempts of the *Persian* monarch. *Galerius* obeyed, flew to *Mesopotamia*, and meeting the *Persians* between *Callinicum* and *Carrhæ*, engaged their numerous army with the few troops he had then with him. The battle lasted some hours; but in the end the *Romans*, overpowered with numbers, were forced to give ground, and save themselves by flight. *Galerius* hastened to *Dioclesian*, to give him, by word of mouth, an account of the disaster, and advise with him about the most proper measures to prevent the evil consequences that might attend it. The emperor, who, at his arrival, was taking the air in the fields, received him with the greatest contempt imaginable, and suffered him, attired as he was with the purple, to walk one, or, as others write, several miles by his chariot ^f. This affront, instead of disheartening him, inspired him with an eager desire of wiping off the disgrace of his late overthrow. Having therefore, with much ado, obtained leave of *Dioclesian* to raise a new army, he assembled all the troops in *Illyricum* and *Mæsia*, made new levies, and in a short time returned with a considerable army, and entered *Armenia*. All authors agree, that *Galerius* in this war performed whatever could be expected from a brave soldier and experienced commander: he even went in person, attended

Galerius
defeated by
Narses,
king of
Persia.

^d PROCOPIUS. bell. Pers. c. 19. p. 59. OLYMPIODOR. p. 13.

^e PANEGYR. 8. p. 105—108. ^f AUR. VICT. p. 525. JULI.

orat. 1. p. 31. AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 27.

Narſes
utterly de-
feated in a
ſecond bat-
tle by Ga-
lerius,

The Per-
ſians ſue
for peace.

only by two horſe-men, to reconnoitre the enemy, paſſing himſelf upon thoſe who ſtopped him for a deputy ſent by the Roman emperor to the *Persian* monarch. Having thus viewed the enemy's camp and works, he attacked them ſo ſeaſonably, and conducted the whole action with ſuch prudence and addreſs, that only with twenty-five thouſand men he forced their entrenchments, though defended by an innumerable multitude, cut above twenty thouſand of them in pieces, took an immense booty, and an incredible number of priſoners, among whom were the king's wives, ſiſters, and children, both ſons and daughters, and a great many perſons of the firſt rank². *Galerius* treated the princeſſes with great reſpect, and would not ſuffer the leaſt affront to be offered to them; which ſeemed ſo ſurpriſing to the *Persians*, that they owned themſelves as much inferior to the *Romans* in chaſtity as in valour¹. *Eutropius* tells us, that *Licinius*, afterwards emperor, ſignalized himſelf on this occaſion¹. *Narſes*, who was preſent at this battle, and, according to *Zonaras*, wounded in the beginning of the engagement, fled with the reſt, and took ſhelter in the moſt remote deſerts of his kingdom; whence he ſent *Apharban*, one of his chief favourites to conclude a peace with the *Romans* upon any terms. *Apharban*, in the moſt humble and ſubmiſſive manner, intreated the conqueror not to deſtroy the *Persian* empire, but to uſe his victory with moderation; which, he ſaid, would gain him greater reputation and fame, than the victory itſelf. As for the conditions of the peace, he left them intirely to him; and only begged in his maſter's name, that, mindful of the generoſity which in all ages had been peculiar to the *Romans*, he would add to the obligations which he already owed him, for treating his wives and children with ſuch humanity, that of reſtoring them to their former condition. *Galerius* answered him, that it ill became the *Persians* to expect moderation in others, after they had in ſuch an enormous manner, as was known to the whole world, abuſed their victory in treating their illuſtrious captive *Valerian* like the meaneſt of ſlaves, nay, worſe than their beaſts of burden. However, as it is beneath a *Roman*, added he, to retaliate ſuch indignities, and we are taught to ſpare thoſe who ſubmit, and humble ſuch as oppoſe us, let your maſter know, that he may perhaps ſoon have the pleaſure of ſeeing the perſons who are ſo dear to

² EUTROP. p. 586. FESTUS. p. 553. LACT. perſec. c. 9. p. 8. AMMIAN. l. xxiii. p. 245. ZONAR. p. 244. ¹ PETR. PATRIC. in excerpt. de legat. p. 26. & 30. ¹ EUTROP. ibid. him

him ^k. *Galerius*, having dismissed the *Persian* ambassador, hastened to *Dioclesian*, who received him at *Nisibis* in *Mesopotamia* with all possible marks of honour and esteem. They held several conferences, the subject of which was, whether or no they should conclude a peace with the *Persians*, and upon what terms. We are told, that they might have easily reduced *Persia* to a *Roman* province; but that *Dioclesian* did not approve of it, for reasons, says *Aurelius Victor*, unknown to us ^l. *Sicorius Probus*, one of *Galerius*'s secretaries, was therefore dispatched to *Narses*, who received him with great demonstrations of kindness and esteem, and soon after admitted him to an audience on the banks of the *Aprudis* in *Media*, in the presence only of *Apharban* and two others. ^{Which is granted them upon their yielding five provinces to the Romans.} The terms proposed by *Probus* were, that *Narses* should yield to the *Romans* the five following provinces, *Intelene*, *Sophene*, *Arxene*, *Carduene*, and *Zabdicene*; that the *Tigris* should be the boundary between the two empires; that *Nisibis* should be a common emporium to both nations; that the limits of *Armenia* should be extended to the castle of *Zintha* on the confines of *Media*; and lastly, that the king of *Iberia* should receive the crown at the hands of the *Roman* emperor. *Narses* excepted against the article relating to *Nisibis*, but complied with the rest. Whereupon a peace was concluded, and the *Persian* king's wives and children sent back to him ^m. This peace proved very advantageous to the *Romans*, and lasted forty years, till the *Persians*, desirous to recover the provinces they had yielded, broke it in the latter end of *Constantine*'s reign. The above-mentioned provinces lay towards the springs of the *Tigris*, and on the *Roman* side of that river; but were by the *Romans* commonly called the provinces beyond the *Tigris*, because they had been so called by the *Persians*. Instead of *Intelene* and *Sophene*, we read in *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Moxoene* and *Rehimene*: as to the names of the other three, there is no disagreement among authors. For these conquests, *Galerius* assumed the pompous titles of *Persicus*, *Armeniacus*, *Medicus*, and *Adiabenicus*, as if he had subdued all these nations; and became so elated with his victory, that *Dioclesian* began to take umbrage at his haughty behaviour, imagining that he would not be much longer satisfied with the bare title of *Cæsar* ⁿ. The following year, *Anicius Faustus* being consul, the second time, with *Severus Gallus*, *Dioclesian* built several forts and castles on the

Galerius
is puffed up
with his
victory.

^k EUTROP. *ibid.* PETR. PATRIC. *legat.* p. 26. ^l AUR. VICT. p. 525. ^m PETR. PATRIC. *legat.* p. 29. ⁿ EUSEB. l. viii. c. 17. LACT. *pers.* c. 9. p. 9. AUR. VICT. p. 525.

frontiers of the empire towards *Persia*, and surrounded with high walls and strong towers the castle of *Cercusium* in *Mesopotamia*, at the confluence of the *Aboras* and the *Euphrates* ^o. The next consuls were *Dioclesian*, the seventh time, and *Maximian*, the sixth. This year, the *Marcomanni* and *Bastarnæ* received a great overthrow, and great numbers of their captives were transplanted into the *Roman* territories. From several laws it appears, that *Dioclesian* was this year in the months of *January*, *February*, *April*, and *November*, at *Sirmium*, and on the fifth of *June* at *Philippopolis* in *Thrace* ^q. The following year, when *Constantius* and *Galerius* were consuls the third time, is quite barren of events. The next consuls were *Titianus*, the second time, and *Nepotianus*, whom *Onuphrius* takes to be the father of *Flavius Popilius Nepotianus*, who usurped the empire fifty years after ^r. This year *Constantius* gained a remarkable victory over the *Alemanni*, who coming upon him unexpectedly, while he had but a small body of troops with him, obliged him to retire, and shelter himself within the walls of *Langres*. But his army arriving a few hours after he had entered the city, he marched out at the head of the detachment he had with him, joined his other forces, and falling upon the enemy, cut sixty thousand of them in pieces ^s. *Eumenius* mentions another victory gained this year by *Constantius* in the plains of *Vindonissa*, now *Vindisch*, in the canton of *Bern*, near the confluence of the *Aar* and the *Rufs* ^t. The same writer tells us, that a numerous army, consisting of different *German* nations, having rendezvoused in an island in the *Rhine*, while that river was frozen over, were by a sudden thaw shut up there, and obliged to surrender at discretion to the *Romans*, who kept them blocked up with their fleet ^u. *Dioclesian* was, as appears from the code ^w, on the fourth of *July* at *Antioch* in *Syria*. The following year, when *Constantius* and *Galerius* were consuls the fourth time, a great dearth prevailed in most provinces of the empire, occasioned, says *Lactantius* ^x, by the avariciousness of *Dioclesian*, who, to obviate that evil, fixed the prices of all sorts of necessary provisions; but the rates being too low, the traders, instead of exposing to sale, concealed their

Constantius gains a signal victory over the Alemanni.

A great dearth in most provinces of the empire.

^o Panegy. 9. p. 121. GRUT. p. 166, 167. AMMIAN. l. xxix. p. 359. ^p AUR. VICTOR. p. 525. EUTROP. p. 586.

^q Cod. Just. l. ii. tit. 13. leg. 17. p. 201, &c. ^r ONUPH. p. 261. ^s ZONAR. p. 244. THEOPHAN. chronog. p. 5.

Panegy. 7. p. 93. ^t Panegy. 7. p. 92. BAUDR. p. 31.

^u Panegy. 7. p. 92. ^w Cod. Just. l. ii. tit. 28. leg. 25. p. 263.

^x LACT. pers. c. 7. p. 362.

commodities :

Commodities : by which means the dearth was changed into a famine, which raged till the merchants were allowed to sell their commodities at their own prices. The same thing happened in the reign of *Julian*, surnamed the *apostate*. We read in the chronicle of *Alexandria*, that *Dioclesian* gave this year to that city the *military bread* ^o : what is meant thereby, we are not told. *Procopius* writes, that *Dioclesian* ordered two millions of bushels of corn to be yearly distributed among the inhabitants of that populous metropolis ^p. Before the reign of *Dioclesian*, corn was given monthly to old and disabled persons ; and in the reign of *Constantine* to the ecclesiastics ^q. *Dioclesian* seems to have passed this year partly in *Syria*, and partly at *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*, with *Galerius* ^r. The next year, *Dioclesian* entered upon his eighth, and *Maximian* upon his seventh, consulship. *Dioclesian* and *Galerian* passed the winter at *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*, in consultations, not about the means of extending the empire, and securing it against the incursions of the barbarians, but concerning the most effectual methods of utterly extirpating the christian religion, to which *Galerian* had imbibed from his infancy an irreconcilable hatred. He found means to inspire *Dioclesian* with the same fury, and, as we may call it, madness ; the effect of which was the most bloody and dreadful persecution the church had yet suffered. This persecution, which was the tenth and last general one, broke out on the twenty-third of *February* of this year, 303, the nineteenth of *Dioclesian's* reign, and raged ten whole years with a fury hardly to be expressed, the christians being every-where, without distinction of sex, age, or condition, dragged to execution, and tortured with the most exquisite torments, rage, cruelty, and hatred could invent. Such numbers of christians suffered death in all the provinces of the empire, that the tyrants, imagining they had compassed their wicked intent, and intirely abolished christianity, told the world in a pompous, but lying, inscription, that they had extinguished the christian name and superstition, and every-where restored the worship of the gods to its former purity and lustre. But the church triumphed over all the powers and artifices of men, and, in spite of the utmost efforts of tyranny, prevailed a few years after in the very metropolis of idolatry and superstition. During this persecution, *Albanus Verolamiensis*, *Julius, Aaron*, a citizen of *Isca legionum*, now *Exeter*, and other champions of the

The tenth
general
persecution.

^o Chron. Alex. p. 644.

^p PROCOPIUS. arcan. hist. c. 26. p. 77.

^q EUSEBIUS. l. vii. c. 21. p. 267. EVAGRIUS. p. 68. ATHANASIUS. p. 737.

^r Cod. p. 240, 242.

faith,

A fire
breaks out
in the pa-
lace at Ni-
comedia.

faith, almost without number, suffered martyrdom in *Britain*. But to give an account of their sufferings, of their truly heroic firmness, and unshaken constancy, would be intrenching on the province of the ecclesiastic writers. Happy and glorious had hitherto been the reign of *Dioclesian*; but he no sooner began to imbrue his hands in the blood of the righteous, says *Eusebius*, than he felt the effects of divine vengeance in the many calamities which soon overtook him^f. A few days after the issuing of the first edicts against the christians, a fire broke out in the palace at *Nicomedia*; where *Dioclesian* and *Galerius* were lodged, and reduced part of it to ashes^g. *Eusebius* writes, that he could never know how that accident happened^h. *Constantine*, who was on the spot, ascribes it to lightningⁱ; and *Lactantius* assures us, that *Galerius* caused fire to be privately set to the palace, that he might lay the blame of it upon the christians, and by that means incense *Dioclesian* still more against them, which he did accordingly^k. *Constantine* tells us^l, that *Dioclesian* was so disturbed with this accident, that thenceforth he constantly imagined to see lightning falling from heaven, which was in effect the beginning of that phrenzy, which by *Lactantius* and *Eusebius* is ascribed to the malady, of which we shall speak anon. *Dioclesian's* terror and dismay were greatly increased by a second fire, which broke out in the palace fifteen days after the first, but was stopt before it had done any great mischief. However, it had the effect which was intended by the author of it, *Galerius*; for *Dioclesian*, ascribing it to the christians, resolved to keep no measures with them; and *Galerius*, the more to exasperate him against them, withdrew from *Nicomedia* the same day, saying, that he was afraid of being burnt alive by the christians^m. About this time, one *Eugenius* assumed the title of emperor in *Syria*. He commanded five hundred men in *Seleucia*, who, being employed in the day-time in cleansing the harbour of that city, and in the night in baking their own bread, to deliver themselves from that insupportable drudgery, agreed to revolt, and proclaim their leader emperor. *Eugenius*, who expected nothing less, refused at first the dignity offered him; but was at length prevailed upon, through fear, to accept it; for they threatened him with present death, if he refused to second their designs. Being therefore

Eugenius
proclaimed
emperor by
a few sol-
diers.

^f EUSEB. l. viii. c. 13. p. 308. ^g LACT. perf. c. 14. p. 12. EUSEB. l. viii. c. 6. p. 297. ^h Idem ibid. ⁱ CONST. orat. ad sanct. cœtum. ^k LACT. perf. c. 14. p. 12. ^l Constant. ibid. ^m LACT. ibid. EUSEB. de marty. Palæst. c. 2. p. 320.

arrayed

arrayed with a purple robe taken from the statue of one of the gods, he led his men strait to *Antioch*, which city he reached the same day in the close of the evening, and entered it without opposition, as there was no garison in the place, and the inhabitants were quite unapprised of his revolt; but when he began to act as emperor, the whole city rose, and falling upon the rebels, for the most part intoxicated with wine, with such arms as chance presented, killed them all to a man before midnight. Thus the empire of *Eugenius* began *Who are* and ended the same day ^a. *Dioclesian* ought rather to have *all cut in* rewarded than punished the *Antiochians*; but on this occasion *pieces*. he betrayed that cruelty which was natural to him; for, without any trial, without paying any regard to the usual forms of law, he commanded the chief magistrates of *Antioch* and *Seleucia* to be publicly executed, as if they had been *The cruelty of Diocle-* all privy to the conspiracy; which rendered him so odious *fian to the* to the *Syrians*, that they could not, without horror, hear *Antiochi-* his name mentioned ninety years after ^b. Among the many *ans*. persons who lost their lives on this occasion, *Libanius* names his paternal grandfather and his grandfather's brother, whose estates were likewise confiscated^c. Towards the close of the year, *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, with their two *Cæsars*, *Constantius* and *Galerius*, repaired to *Rome*, and there enjoyed the honour of a triumph, which the senate had long since decreed them, and their many victories and conquests well deserved. As *Dioclesian*, both in his triumph and the sports *Dioclesian triumphs,* that followed it, shewed greater œconomy than was pleasing *and leaves* to the populace, they took thence occasion to rally him with *Rome*. great liberty; which he not being able to bear, left the city soon after his triumph, and set out for *Ravenna*, on the nineteenth of *December*. As the season was then both rainy and cold, he contracted a lingering distemper, which in a short time weakened him to such a degree, that he could neither walk nor stand ^d. He entered upon his ninth consulship at *Ravenna*, having *Maximian*, the eighth time consul, for his colleague. In the beginning of the spring, he set out from *Ravenna*, and passing through *Venetia* and *Illyricum*, carried always, contrary to his custom, in a litter, arrived at *Nicomedia* in the beginning of the autumn. As his distemper increased daily, on the thirteenth of *December* so deep a swoon seized him, that he was believed to have paid the last debt *His illness*.

^a LIBAN. orat. xiv. p. 399. & orat. xv. p. 410, 411. ^b Idem
ibid. ^c Idem ibid. ^d LACT. persec. 6. 17. p. 15. AM-
MIAN. l. xvi. p. 131.

of mortality, and a report of his death was spread all over the city. However, he recovered his sight and voice; but his head remained so affected, that thenceforth he frequently fell into fits, which quite deprived him of the use of his reason. As he was not in a condition to appear abroad till the first of *March* of the following year, many persons believed he was dead; but that his death was kept concealed till the arrival of *Galerius*, lest the soldiers should, in the mean time, according to their custom, proclaim a new emperor. To dissipate this report, he shewed himself to the people of *Nicomedia* on the first of *March*; but there appeared such a change in his countenance, that many doubted whether it was the same person. Soon after *Galerius* arrived, who had already threatened *Maximian* with a civil war, if he did not resign the empire; and was come into *Nicomedia* with a design to oblige *Dioclesian* likewise to resign the sovereignty, since he was no longer able to discharge the functions of the imperial dignity. As *Dioclesian* did not yield to the reasons he alledged, but only offered to take both him and *Constantius* for his partners in the empire, *Galerius* told him plainly, that if he did not resign of his own accord, he would force him to it. *Dioclesian*, frightened with these menaces, and well apprised, that *Galerius*, who had, for some time, been increasing his army with new levies, was in a condition to make good his word, yielded at length, and it was agreed, that *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* should resign the sovereignty; that *Constantius* and *Galerius* should, at the same time be invested with it; and that, to preserve the form of government introduced by *Dioclesian*, two new *Cæsars* should be named. *Dioclesian* immediately dispatched an express to *Maximian*, who was then at *Milan*, acquainting him with what had passed at *Nicomedia*. He was no less unwilling than his colleague, to part with the sovereignty; but nevertheless, to avoid a civil war, in which, he was well apprised, *Galerius* would prevail, he came into the same measures. Such is the account which *Lactantius* gives us of the resignation of *Maximian* and *Dioclesian*, in a piece not long since recovered from darkness. *Constantine*, who was then at *Nicomedia*, and lodged in the same palace with *Dioclesian*, assures us, in a speech which he pronounced in public, that the emperor, thinking himself no longer able to govern, on account of the fits to which he was subject, resigned of his own accord^e;

Galerius
obliges him
to renounce
the empire.

^e LACT. persec. c. 17. p. 15. EUSEB. l. viii. c. 13. of LACT. persec. c. 17. p. 15. & c. 18. p. 16. ^f CONSTANT. orat. c. 25.

and the panegyrists, who wrote at that time, mention his resignation as a shining instance of greatness, generosity, and an utter contempt of all human grandeur; nay, they tell us, that both he and *Maximian* had agreed long before, and even bound themselves, by a solemn oath in the capitol, to resign the sovereignty. *Aurelius Victor* writes, that *Dioclesian* quitted the government, and betook himself to a private life, that he might not be overwhelmed with the misfortunes that threatened the empire ^h. As two new *Cæsars* were to be chosen, *Dioclesian* proposed *Maxentius*, the son of *Maximian* and son-in-law of *Galerius*, and *Constantine*, the son of *Constantius*; but *Galerius*, rejecting them, prevailed upon *Maximin* *Dioclesian* to name two others in their room, viz. *Severus*, and *Severus* whom he had already sent to receive the purple at the hands ^{rus declar-} of *Maximian*, and *Daia*, or *Daza*, his sister's son, to ^{ed Cæsars.} whom he had a little before given the name of *Maximin*. They were both greatly attached to *Galerius*, but neither of them any-ways qualified for such a high station. However, *Dioclesian* consented to their election; and a few days after, on the first of *May* of the present year 305, the *Dioclesian* twenty-first of his reign, he resigned the empire in the pre- and *Maxi-* sence of his court and the army, divesting himself of the *mian re-* purple, and delivering it to *Maximin*, whom at the same ^{sign the} time he declared *Cæsar*, together with *Severus*. This cere- ^{empire.} mony was performed in the same place where *Galerius* had been declared *Cæsar*, about three miles from *Nicomedia*. *Dioclesian*, before he divested himself of the purple, made an harangue to the soldiers, telling them, That his infirmities obliging him to retire, he yielded the empire to *Constantius* and *Galerius*, who were more able and better qualified than he to discharge so great a trust. When the ceremony was over, *Dioclesian* passed through *Nicomedia* with a small retinue, and retiring to *Dalmatia*, his native country, chose the city of *Salona* for the place of his residenceⁱ. The same day, *Maximian*, quitting the purple at *Milan*, consigned it to *Severus*, as had been agreed on before-hand, declared *Constantius* and *Galerius* emperors, and then retired to *Lucania*, where we shall soon see him raising disturbances, with a design to resume the dignity which he had quitted. As for *Dioclesian* ^{leads a re-} *Dioclesian*, he passed the remainder of his life, that is, near ^{tired life.} nine years, at a country-seat in the neighbourhood of *Salona*, on the spot where the city of *Spalatro* was afterwards built. The ruins of the palace of *Dioclesian* are still to be seen there,

^h AUR. VICT. p. 525.
VICT. epit. p. 543.

ⁱ LACT. pers. c. 18. p. 16, 17.

and take up two thirds of the town. It was, according to the description which *Constantius Porphyrogenitus* gives us of it, a most stately and magnificent building, and contained four temples, one of which is still intire, and the cathedral of *Spalatro*. *Dioclesian* diverted himself, during his retirement, with cultivating a garden, saying often, *Now I live ; now I see the beauty of the sun*. Some time after, when *Maximian* and others wrote to him to join them and resume the empire, he returned them this answer ; *I wish you would but come to Salona, that I might shew you the colworts which I have planted with my own hands : I am sure you would never thenceforth mention the empire to me*^k. He was long honoured in his retreat by the princes who reigned after him, and looked upon him as their common father, since to him they were indebted for their dignity. In an inscription of the year 306, both he and *Maximian* are styled the *antient emperors*, and the *fathers of the emperors*^l. In his time they consecrated the *Thermæ*, or hot baths, which he had begun at *Rome*, and consulted him in all affairs of great importance, paying great deference to his counsels. Thus *Galerius* invited him in the year 307, to *Carnus*, or *Carnuntum*, in *Pannonia*, to advise with him about the promotion of *Licinius*^m. However, several things happened afterwards which gave him great concern and uneasiness : His daughter *Valeria* refusing to marry *Maximin*, after the death of her husband *Galerius* in the year 311, was by that prince treated in a barbarous manner, and banished. *Constantine* and *Licinius*, in the beginning of the year 313, espoused with great zeal the cause of the persecuted christians, whom he and his colleague *Maximian* had attempted utterly to extirpateⁿ. *Victor* adds, that the two above-mentioned princes having been invited to the nuptials of *Licinius* with the sister of *Constantine*, and he excusing himself on account of his age, they wrote a threatening letter to him, as if he had been concerned in the disturbances raised by *Maxentius*^o. The same author adds, that the dread he was in of an ignominious death prompted him to end his life with poison^p. *Theophanes* writes, that the senate had already issued a decree for his execution^q ; and *Lactantius*, that seeing himself, after a glorious reign of twenty years, ill used and despised, he resolved to put an end to his life, abstained from

His death.

^k Idem, 542. EUTROP. p. 587.

^l P. PAGI. p. 148.

^m LACT. pers. c. 29. p. 26.

ⁿ Idem ibid. c. 41. p. 36.

^o VICT. epit. p. 542.

^p Idem, ibid.

^q THEOPH. chronogr. p. 3.

all food, and died of hunger, grief, and despair ^r. In the chronicle of *Alexandria* we read, that he died of a dropsy ^t; and in *Eusebius*, that he was consumed and worn out by a lingering distemper ^l. He died, according to *Aurelius Victor* ^u, soon after the marriage of *Licinius*, which was celebrated in the *March* of the year 313, after having lived about eighty years, and reigned twenty and some months. He was deified with the usual solemnities after his death ^w, probably by *Licinius* or *Maximin II*; for *Constantine*, at the time of his death, professed the christian religion. *Libanius* writes, that *Dioclesian* shewed himself in many, but not in all, things an excellent prince ^x; and the emperor *Julian* commends him for having done many things that proved very useful to the public ^y. He enacted a great many wholesome laws, and was so far from countenancing informers, that he commanded them to be executed, when they could not make good their charge. He would not receive the accusation of one *Thaumasius* against his benefactor *Symmachus*, in whose house he had been brought up, and condemned another to banishment, for informing against his brother ^z. He suppressed the officers called *frumentarii*, of whom *Casaubon* speaks much at length, without giving us any satisfactory reason why they were so called ^a. They were first established to give the emperor immediate notice of the disturbances that happened in the provinces; but abusing their office, especially in the distant countries, they often extorted large sums from the inhabitants, by threatening to accuse them, if they did not comply with their unjust demands. However, no great benefit was reaped from their suppression; for those who were styled *agentes in rebus*, and *curiosi*, proved no less mischievous than the *frumentarii* ^b. *Dioclesian* encouraged and preferred persons of merit and virtue, discountenanced vice, managed the public money with great frugality, had much at heart the worship of the gods, and was, till seduced by *Galerius*, rather a friend than an enemy to the christians, of whom he had, till the year 303, great numbers both in his court and army ^c. He was greatly addicted to building, and embellished several cities of the empire, especially *Rome*, *Carthage*, *Milan*, and *Nicomedia*, with

He shewed himself in many things an excellent prince.

His public buildings.

^r LACT. perf. c. 42. p. 36.

^t Chron. Alexand. p. 656.

^l EUSEB. l. viii. c. 7. p. 317.

^u AUR. VICT. p. 542.

^w EUTROP. p. 586. EUSEB. l. ix. c. 10. p. 364.

^x LIBAN.

orat. xiv. p. 399. ^y JUL. orat. i. p. 12.

^z Cod. Just. l. ix.

tit. i. leg. 17. p. 111. & leg. 12. p. 810.

^a CASAUB. not. in

Spart. p. 22.

^b AUR. VICT. p. 524.

^c Idem, p. 525.

LACT. perfec. c. 10. p. 9.

many stately edifices. From the ruins of his *thermæ*, or public hot baths, which are still visited and admired by all travellers to *Rome*, we may judge of the grandeur and magnificence of that surprising fabric. Besides the bathing places, in which three thousand persons could conveniently bathe at a time, there were many other rooms and apartments; for the books which were lodged in *Trajan's* library were conveyed thither^d. The emperor *Constantius II.* when he came to *Rome* in 358, admired nothing so much as *Dioclesian's* baths, which seemed rather a province, says *Ammianus Marcellinus*, with no small exaggeration, than a building^e. Part of these baths were by pope *Pius IV.* changed into a church, consecrated to the *Virgin Mary*, under the title of *Santa Maria degli Angeli*. *Dioclesian* embellished with a great number of stately buildings many other cities, but above all *Nicomedia*, with a design of equalling it to *Rome*, for which purpose he spared no cost or labour, that might render the place either beautiful or convenient. He built there a circus, several basilics, a mint, an arsenal, a palace for his wife, and another for his daughter. Thus *Nicomedia* became the ordinary residence of the emperors, when the affairs of the empire called them into the east, till the removal of the imperial seat to *Constantinople*^f. We have spoken above of his magnificent palace or villa at *Spalatro* in *Dalmatia*, in which province he likewise built the castle of *Dioclea*, in the village where he was born, the inhabitants whereof were called *Dioclesians*^g. But these buildings proved very burdensome to the people, who were not only obliged to abandon their antient habitations to make room for them, but moreover to furnish workmen, beasts of burden, and the necessary materials; by which means he ruined provinces, while he embellished the cities. If he happened not to like a building when it was quite finished, he caused it to be pulled down, though reared at an immense expence, and to be rebuilt upon a different plan, perhaps to pull it down a second and third time^h. *Laetantius* charges him with avarice, and with putting, under various false pretences, many persons to death, in order to seize their estatesⁱ. *Eutropius*^k, *Zonaras*^l, and *Aurelius Victor*^m tell us, that to cover the meanness of his extraction, he affected extraordinary

They prove
burdensome
to the
people.

^d EUSEB. chron. p. 244. Prob. vit. p. 233. VICT. epit. p. 525.

^e AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 71.

^f LACT. perf. c. 7, 17. p. 7. 15.

^g CONSTAN. PORPHYR. de administr. imper. ad Rom. fil. p. 72.

^h LACT. perf. c. 7. p. 7.

ⁱ Idem ibid. c. 9. p. 9.

^k EUTROP. p. 586.

^l ZONAR. p. 244.

^m AUR. VICT. p. 523.

nary magnificence in his attire, caused those who approached him to fall prostrate at his feet, assumed the titles of *Lord* and *God*, as *Caligula* and *Domitian* had done, and claimed divine worship. Hence *Spartian*, in addressing his works to him, uses this expression; *I lay them at the feet of your deity* ^a. Other writers express themselves in the same style, whether they direct their speech to him or his colleagues, who, it seems, followed his example ^o. *Dioclesian* took the name of *Jovius*, and *Maximian* that of *Hercules*, as if they had been descended from these pretended deities, and even obliged their successors to assume the same titles. Thus *Galerius* and *Maximian* added to their other titles that of *Jupiter* and *Jovius*, and *Constantius* the surname of *Hercules*, which he transmitted to *Licinius*, and his son *Constantine*; but they soon quitted them; for *Lactantius* tells us, that in the year 320, the impious names of *Jupiter* and *Hercules* were abolished from off the face of the earth ^p. We cannot help observing, before we close this chapter, that tho' no reign was more remarkable, either for length, or variety of great events, than *Dioclesian's*, yet no prince's reign is less known; which seems the more surprising to us, when we reflect on the great number of historians who flourished in his time. Many of them must, without all doubt, have written the history of his life, as we know they did those of his predecessors, which most of them inscribed to him: but no particular and distinct account of his reign has reached us; nay, a chasm even in the history of *Zosimus*, from the death of *Carus* to the resignation of *Dioclesian*, has deprived us of what we might have learnt concerning him of that, as we may call him, second-hand historian. May we not ascribe this general loss of memoirs concerning him to divine vengeance, for his attempting utterly to abolish the holy scriptures? This, at least, seems more probable to us, than what we read in a modern critic, viz. that the christians, out of hatred to so cruel an enemy, suppressed all histories and memoirs relating to him ^q. Of the writers who flourished under *Dioclesian*, we shall speak in our note (C).

^a SPART. vit. Ver. p. 13. ^o Paneg. 10. p. 123. ^p LACT. ibid. c. 52. p. 46. ^q CASAUB. not. in Spart. p. 201.

(C) *Claudius Eusthenius*, secretary to *Dioclesian*, wrote in four books the history of the four princes, *Dioclesian*, *Maximian*, *Constantius*, and *Galerius* (45); and this is all we know of him. *Vof-*

(45) *Car. vit. p. 254.*

sius is of opinion, that *Asclepiodotus* wrote the history of *Dioclesian's* reign, because *Vopiscus* quotes him in relating some things concerning that prince (46); but as *Asclepiodotus* was captain of the guards to *Constantius*, and well acquainted with the court, *Vopiscus* might have quoted him, as he often quotes his father and grandfather, who never committed any thing to writing. The *Augustine* writers, viz. *Spartian*, *Lampridius*, *Vulcatius*, *Capitolinus*, *Pollio*, and *Vopiscus*, all lived in the reign of *Dioclesian*, though some of them wrote under his successors. *Ælius Spartianus*, wrote first the lives of all the emperors, from *Julius Cæsar* to *Adrian*, and afterwards resolved to add to them the lives of all the other emperors and *Cæsars*, and to inscribe the whole to *Dioclesian*, of whose family he seems to have been (47). The lives of the following princes pass under his name, viz. of *Adrian*, of *Ælius Verus*, his adopted son, of *Julian*, *Niger*, *Severus*, *Caracalla*, and *Geta*. Those of *Ælius*, *Cæsar*, *Adrian*, *Julian*, *Severus*, and *Niger*, are inscribed to *Dioclesian*; that of *Caracalla* has no dedication prefixed to it; but the life of *Geta* is addressed to *Constantine*, already *Augustus*. What the author says in his address gives us room to believe, that he had dedicated other lives to the same prince; nay, *Salmasius* takes him to be the author of the lives of all the emperors to *Maximin I.* (48). This opinion we shall examine anon. *Vopiscus*, in the life of *Probus*, names *Julius Capitolinus* and *Ælius Lampridius* among the historians who had written before him (49). To the latter are generally ascribed the lives of *Commodus*, of *Diadumenus* the son of *Macrinus*, of *Heliogabalus*, and *Alexander*. The life of *Commodus* is inscribed to *Dioclesian*; those of *Heliogabalus* and *Alexander* to *Constantine*, who desired the author, as he tells us, to write the life of *Heliogabalus*, and to address it to him, as he had done several other lives before (50). He adds, that he designed to write the history of *Alexander Severus*, and his successors, to *Constantine*; namely of the *Gordians*, of *Aurelian*, *Claudius*, *Dioclesian*, *Maximian*, *Licinius*, *Severus*, *Alexander*, who revolted in *Africa* in 308, and of *Maxentius*. These princes were, it seems, at that time all dead, and consequently he could not write this before the year 324. He tells us elsewhere, that he had written the lives of *M. Aurelius* and *Macrinus* (51). In some ancient manuscripts, all the lives that pass under the name of *Lampridius*, are ascribed to *Spartian*; and truly the lives said to have been written by these two historians are in every respect so like, that some learned critics have taken them to have been done by one writer, named *Ælius Lampridius Spartianus*. *Casaubon* and *Vossius* are greatly inclined to this opinion*; the more because *Vopiscus* often quotes *Lampridius*,

(46) *Voss. hist. Lat. l. ii. c. 5. p. 185.* (47) *Ver. vit. p. 13.*
 16. (48) *Salmas. not. in Spart. p. 242, 243.* (49) *Prob. vit.*
p. 234. (50) *Lampr. p. 45, 101, 136, 113.* (51) *Commod.*
vit. p. 45. *Diadum. vit. p. 99.* * *Casaub. in Spart. p. 1.*
Voss. hist. Lat. l. ii. c. 7. p. 192, 193.

and never *Spartian*. On the other hand, *Salmasius* takes them to be two distinct writers (52). *Julius Capitolinus* likewise undertook to write the lives of all the emperors in so many distinct and separate books, as others had done before him; but, upon second thoughts, to avoid prolixity and repetitions, he joined several lives together, of such emperors especially as reigned at the same time (53). Under his name pass the lives of *T. Antoninus*, *M. Aurelius*, *L. Verus*, *Pertinax*, *Albinus*, *Macrinus*, the two *Maximins*, the three *Gordians*, *Maximus*, and *Balbinus*. The history of *Titus Antoninus*, *M. Aurelius*, *L. Verus*, and *Macrinus*, are dedicated to *Dioclesian*; and that of the *Maximins*, of the *Gordians*, and of *Albinus*, to *Constantine*, for whose sake he undertook the whole work (54). Perhaps *Cornelius Capitolinus*, quoted by *Trebellius Pollio* in his account of *Zenobia* (55), and *Julius Capitolinus* are one and the same person. Some manuscripts ascribe to *Spartian* all the lives that pass under the name of *Capitolinus*, except those of the *Maximins*, of the *Gordians*, and of *Maximus* and *Balbinus* (56). *Salmasius* yields to the authority of the manuscripts (57); but *Vossius* asserts, that the lives commonly ascribed to *Capitolinus* were done by him, and not by *Spartian* (58). *Vulcatius Gallicanus*, a Roman senator, undertook, in the reign of *Dioclesian*, to write the lives of all those who had enjoyed the sovereignty, whether by right or usurpation (59); but of all he wrote, or designed to write, nothing has reached our times, except his history of *Avidius Cassius*, who revolted in the east during the reign of *M. Aurelius*, which is dedicated to *Dioclesian*. This life too *Salmasius* ascribes to *Spartian* (60). But the name of *Vulcatius*, which is no common name, has not, in the opinion of *Vossius* (61), been prefixed to it by chance, or mere caprice of the transcriber. *Valesius* takes the historian to be one and the same person with *Gallicanus*, who was consul with *Bassus* in the year 317.

Trebellius Pollio wrote the life of *Philip*, and of all the other princes, whether lawful emperors or usurpers, from his time to the reign of *Claudius*, and his brother *Quintillus* (62). He had begun, it seems, this work before the year 291, when *Tiberianus* was governor of *Rome* (63). Great part of this work has been long since lost. He likewise designed to write the life of *Aurelian*; which design, if he ever put in execution, it was after *Vopiscus* had written on the same subject; for that writer glories in his being the first among the *Latins* who published the life of *Aurelian* (64). *Trebellius*

(52) *Salmas. in Spart. p. 66.* (53) *Gord. vit. p. 151. Maxim. vit. p. 138.* (54) *Capit. p. 30, 39, 96, &c.* (55) *Trig. tyr. c. 29. p. 198.* (56) *Voss. hist. Lat. l. ii. c. 5. p. 186.* (57) *Salmas. in Capit. p. 58.* (58) *Voss. hist. Lat. c. 65. p. 18.* (59) *Cassii. vit. p. 40, 41.* (60) *Salmas. in Spart. p. 108.* (61) *Voss. hist. Lat. l. ii. c. 5. p. 187.* (62) *Aur. vit. p. 209, 242.* (63) *Idem, ibid.* (64) *Idem ibid.*

Pollio seems to have been greatly attached to *Constantius* the father of *Constantine* (65). *Vopiscus* thinks he overlooked some things, and was too minute and diffuse in others (66). His history of the thirty tyrants was published after the year 291, when *Constantius* was already *Cæsar*. He inscribed his work to some particular friend or friends, whom he does not name; but the life of *Claudius* he addresses to *Constantine*, and not to *Constantius*, as some have maintained (67). *Vossius* thinks his language and style not unworthy of praise, if compared with that of his contemporary writers (68). Some ascribe to *Capitolinus* the lives that pass under the name of *Pollio*; but their opinion is rejected by the best critics (69). *Flavivus Vopiscus* was a native of *Syracuse*, and seems to have been descended of a noble family; for his father and grandfather, whom he often quotes, lived in great intimacy with *Dioclesian*. He was induced to write the life of *Aurelian*, as he himself informs us, by *Junius Tiberianus*, governor of *Rome* (70) in 291, or 292; but he did not publish it before *Constantius* was created *Cæsar* (71). He seems to have made some additions to it long after; for he takes notice of a saying of *Dioclesian* after his resignation, which, he says, he had learnt of his father (72). He wrote likewise the histories of *Tacitus*, and his brother *Florianus*, of *Probus*, of *Firmus*, and of some other usurpers. He was employed in writing the lives of *Carus* and his children, while *Galerius* was waging war with the *Persians* (73); that is, about the year 297; but he must have afterwards added several things to it; for he mentions the shows exhibited by *Dioclesian* in 309; and says, *That Eusthenius, who had been secretary to that prince, had written his life, and the lives of his three colleagues* (74). From which expression we may conclude, not only that *Eusthenius* was no longer his secretary, and consequently that *Dioclesian* was no longer emperor, but likewise that he and his colleagues were dead, since their lives were already written. The last of them died in 311. *Vopiscus* inscribed his works, not to the emperors, but to his friends. The life of *Firmus* is addressed to *Bassus*, and that of *Probus* to one *Celsus*, his intimate friend, perhaps *Herennius Celsus*, who aspired at the consulship (75), and was, according to *Casaubon* (76), governor of *Egypt*. *Vopiscus* was a great admirer of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, and promises, in one place of his work, to write his life; but of such a performance no mention is made by any of the antients (77). These six writers, viz. *Spartian*, *Lampridius*, *Vulcatius*, *Capitolinus*, *Pollio*, and *Vopiscus*, are commonly known to the learned by the name of *historiæ Augustæ scriptores*, though they are in effect

(65) *Casaub. in not.* p. 203. (66) *Aurel. vit. ibid.* (67) *Vide Voss. hist. Lat. c. 6.* p. 190. (68) *Voss. hist. Lat. c. 6.* p. 190. (69) *Vide Casaub. in Poll.* p. 203. (70) *Aur. vit.* p. 209. (71) *Idem.* p. 224. (72) *Idem.* p. 223. (73) *Car. vit.* p. 250. (74) *Idem.* p. 254. (75) *Trig. tyr. vit.* p. 195. (76) *Casaub. in Vopisc.* p. 216. (77) *Aur. vit.* p. 217.

rather biographers than historians, and take more care to inform us of the good and bad qualities of the emperors, of their birth, education, stature, mien, and even their diet, and the cloaths they wore, than to describe their wars, the laws they enacted, and the great revolutions that happened during their respective reigns. *Vopiscus*, in the opinion of the learned, far excels the rest, both as to his method and style; but nevertheless has many great faults, and is not to be compared with any of the antient *Latin* historians. As for the other five, they betray great want of judgment in their choice, and of method in digesting what they had chosen. Of these six writers *Capitolinus* is the most confused and injudicious: whence some have suspected, that the author of this collection might have mixed and blended together the relations of *Capitolinus*, *Spartian*, and some others (78). Their style is quite coarse and unpolished, their expressions uncouth, and sometimes hardly intelligible. *Vopiscus* writes, that *Lampridius* and *Capitolinus* minded rather truth than elegance in their narrations (79). *Pollio* owns his style to have nothing of the elegance of the antients (80). But of the many historians, some say fifty and upwards, who have handled the same subject, only the above-mentioned six have reached us. *Tatius*, or *Statius Cyrillus*, was contemporary with these six writers, and translated the lives of several emperors out of *Greek* into *Latin*. *Constantine* desired him to abridge them, and to join several lives together in one volume (81). His work has been long since lost. *Sotericus*, a poet and historian, flourished in the reign of *Dioclesian*, on whom he wrote a panegyric. He was a native of *Oasis* in *Libya*, and much esteemed by the learned men of his age. He left behind him several works, and, among the rest, the life of *Apolonius Tyaneus* (82); but only a small fragment of what he wrote has been conveyed to us by the scholiast of *Lycophron* (83).

But, of all the writers who flourished under *Dioclesian*, the most famous was the philosopher *Porphyrus*, born, as he himself writes, in the city of *Tyre*, or that neighbourhood; for he styles himself a *Tyrian* (84). *St. Jerom* gives him the surname of *Bataneotes* (85): whence some have believed him to have been a native of *Batanea*, a village in *Syria*, according to *Stephanus*, or rather in *Phœnicia*; for it stood within fifteen miles of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*. Perhaps the family of *Porphyrus* came originally from *Tyre*, and thence he styled himself a *Tyrian*, tho' born in the village of *Batanea* (86). It is certain, that he passed part of his life in the neighbourhood of *Tyre* (87). *Baronius* maintains him to have been by religion a *Jew* (88), probably for no other reason but because he supposed him to have been a native of *Batanea*; but in those days *Batanea*

(78) *Vide Casaub. in Spart. p. 13.* (79) *Prob. vit. p. 234.*

(80) *Trig. tyr. p. 184.* (81) *Max. vit. p. 138. Voss. hist.*

Lat. c. 7. p. 193. (82) *Suid. p. 784.* (83) *Voss. hist.*

Græc. l. ii. c. 16. p. 246. (84) *Plot. vit. p. 6.* (85) *Hier.*

in Gal. par. prim. 156. (86) *Vide Jonsf. l. iii. c. 15. p. 286.*

(87) *Plot. vit. p. 12.* (88) *Baron. ad ann. 302.*

was inhabited not only by *Jews*, but likewise by *Greeks* and *Syrians*. It is true, he always spoke with great reverence of the God of the *Jews* (89); but at the same time he declared himself an open enemy to that people, as well as to the *Christians* (90). St. *Austin* styles him *Porphyrius the Sicilian* (91), probably on account of his having resided a long time in *Sicily*, and publishing there several books against the christians. He was descended of a good family. His ancestors were not *Greeks* but *Syrians*, so far as we can judge from the name of his father, who was called *Malchus*; which name he himself bore in his youth: but as the name of *Malchus*, in the *Syriac* language, signified *king*, *Longinus* advised him to exchange it for that of *Porphyrius*, which has some relation to royalty, the word *πορφυρα* signifying in *Greek*, *purple*, which was peculiar to the emperors and *Cæsars*. However, he was by some still called *Malchus*, and *Longinus* himself gave him that name in addressing a work to him (92). He was born in the year 233, for he was thirty in the tenth year of the reign of *Gallienus* (93). *Socrates* writes, that, at first, he professed the christian religion; but afterwards, upon his being beaten and abused by some christians at *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, out of revenge, he not only renounced, but undertook to impugn the religion, which he had till that time professed (94). *Holstenius* likewise supposes him to have been once a christian, and for that supposition quotes St. *Austin* (95); but that father only says, that *Porphyrius* had read the scripture with great attention, but could not be reconciled with the humility of *Jesus* (96); from which words no one can conclude, that he ever professed the doctrine and humility of *Jesus*. While he was yet very young, he saw *Origen*, at that time in great credit among the christians (97), not at *Alexandria*, as *Vincentius Lirinensis* writes (98), (for he had left that city in 231), but either at *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, or at *Tyre*. *Porphyrius* came to *Rome* about the year 252. He was disciple to *Longinus*, under whom he studied at *Athens* the philosophy of *Plato*, and made such progress in his studies, that he soon became the honour and ornament of that school (99). Though he was one of the most dangerous and inveterate enemies the christian religion ever had, yet this has not hindered the christian writers from doing him justice, and bestowing upon him the praises he deserved. *Eusebius* ranks him among the most illustrious men and eminent philosophers that flourished at any time (100). *Cyrillus* of *Alexandria* extols his knowledge; and St. *Austin* styles him an ex-

(89) *August. civit. Dei*, l. xix. c. 23. p. 253. (90) *Euseb. præp. evang.* l. x. c. 9. p. 485. (91) *Aug. retract.* l. ii. c. 11. p. 24. (92) *Eunap.* c. ii. p. 16. *Plot. vit.* p. 10. (93) *Idem*, p. 3. (94) *Socr.* l. iii. c. 3. p. 100. (95) *Porphyr. vit.* c. 5. p. 19. (96) *Aug. civ. Dei*, l. x. p. 118. (97) *Euseb.* l. vi. c. 19. p. 220. (98) *Vinc. Lir.* c. 23. p. 352. (99) *Euseb. præpar. evan.* l. x. c. 3. p. 464. *Eunap.* c. 2. p. 16. (100) *Euseb. ibid.* *Porphyr. vit.* c. 1. p. 10, 11.

traordinary genius, and the most learned among philosophers (1). In the year 263, being then thirty, he passed from *Greece* to *Rome*, where he heard *Plotinus*, who taught there; and no sooner heard him, than, forgetting *Longinus*, and all the other philosophers, he addicted himself intirely to him (2). *Suidas* suppoies him have been likewise disciple to *Amelius* (3); but the latter studied at the same time under *Plotinus*, so that he and *Porphyrus* were rather condisciples (4). *Porphyrus* indeed might have learned many things of *Amelius*, who was eighteen years older than he, and been, in that sense, his disciple. He lived six years with *Plotinus*, and the fruit he reaped from his instructions was a profound melancholy, which in the end reduced him to such misery, that he resolved to destroy himself. *Plotinus*, suspecting his design from some words he dropped, prevailed upon him to divert his mind from such gloomy thoughts by travelling. He therefore took his leave of *Plotinus*, and, in the beginning of the year 268, the fifteenth of the reign of *Gallienus*, set out from *Rome*, and crossed over into *Sicily*. He landed near *Messana*, now *Messina*; but, without visiting that city, went strait to cape *Lilybæum*, to see one *Probus*, who was generally esteemed a man of great learning. He continued some days with *Probus*, without taking any food, or conversing with any one (5); but in the end got the better of his melancholy, and staid near two years at *Lilybæum*. While he was there, *Plotinus* died at *Rome* about the beginning of the year 270. From *Sicily* *Porphyrus* seems to have passed into the east, to have staid some time at *Tyre*, and returning from thence to *Sicily*, to have crossed over from *Lilybæum* to *Africa*, and there visited the city of *Carthage* (6). From *Africa* he sailed back to *Sicily*, and from *Sicily* returned to *Rome*, where he applied himself to the study of eloquence, and even made some public speeches or declamations (7). He lived to a great age, says *Eunapius*; and *Porphyrus* himself, in his life of *Plotinus*, speaks of a thing that happened to him when he was sixty eight; that is, in the year 299, or 300 (8); so that he not only lived to the reign of *Probus*, as *Eunapius* writes, but to that of *Dioclesian*, and perhaps longer; which confirms what we read in *St. Austin*, viz. that he lived in the time that the princes of the earth, and the adorers of the infernal spirits, conspired to extirpate the christian religion; and therefore could not persuade himself, that it had been given by God for a means of Salvation; whereas he ought, continues *St. Austin*, to have looked upon that bloody persecution as an evident proof of the glory and invincible strength of the church (9). He died, ac-

(1) *Aug. civ. Dei*, c. 32. p. 120. (2) *Plot. vit.* p. 3. *Eunap. c. 2.* p. 17. (3) *Suid.* p. 573, 193. (4) *Plot. vit.* p. 3. (5) *Idem*, p. 4. *Eunap. c. 2.* p. 17, 18. (6) *Porphyr. vit.* p. 2—12. *Plot. vit.* p. 17. (7) *Eunap. c. 2.* p. 21. *Plot. vit.* p. 16. (8) *Idem, ibid.* (9) *Aug. civ. Dei*, l. x. c. 32. p. 120, 121.

cording to *Eunapius*, (10) at *Rome*. *St. Jerom* seems to have believed, that he was buried in *Sicily* (11). He had married a widow, by name *Marcella*, who had five children by a former husband. *Eunapius* tells us, that he married her with no other view, but to bring up her children with greater care, out of regard to their father, who was his particular friend (12). As the christian writers upbraid him with no vices, we conclude him to have been, as to his life and manners, altogether blameless. *Eunapius* cries up his eloquence, and the beauty of his style and expressions (13). He was thoroughly versed in every branch of literature, excelled all men of his age in the knowledge of polite learning, arithmetic, geometry, and music (14); but shone chiefly in philosophy, his favourite science and study. Authors observe of him, that, whereas others philosophers studied to conceal their sentiments with an affected obscurity, *Porphyrius* expressed himself in a manner adapted to the meanest capacities (15). He taught philosophy at *Rome* both by word of mouth and in writing. *Iamblichus*, a celebrated philosopher in those times, and *Theodorus* of *Asine* in *Peloponnesus*, a man in great repute among the pagans, were both his disciples (16); as likewise were, according to some writers, *Cbrysaotes*, *Nemercus*, and *Gedalus*, who inscribed some works to him (17). He was very communicative to those who desired to be informed and instructed, and kind to his disciples, whom on all occasions he was ready to assist to the utmost of his power. He applied himself, as most of the *Platonic* philosophers did in those days, to the execrable study of magic, which he disguised with the plausible name of *theourgia*, or *divine operation* (*). He composed an infinite number of books upon different subjects, of which the reader will find a catalogue in the latter end of the dissertation which *Holstenius* published on the life and writings of that philosopher (18.) We shall only take notice of such of his works as are still extant. A manuscript has reached our times on the quantity and measure of words, under the name of *Porphyrius*, whom *Holstenius* believes to have been the true author of it. To *Homer* is added in several editions a small work, containing thirty-two questions concerning that poet, done by *Porphyrius*, and looked upon by *Holstenius* as the beginning of an intire comment, well known to the ancients. The same writer published in 1630 a piece, which he ascribes to *Porphyrius*, on the cave of the nymphs, described in the thirteenth book of the *odyssey*: the reader will find there many difficulties cleared up touching the theology of the pagans: at the same time *Holstenius* published a fragment of *Porphyrius* on the river *Styx*; and several other fragments of that piece are to be found in *Stobæus*.

(10) *Eunap. c. 2. p. 21.*(11) *Hier. in Exech. p. 377.*(12) *Eunap. c. 2. p. 11.*(13) *Idem, c. 2, 3 p. 19, 20.*(14) *Idem, p. 18, 19.*(15) *Idem, ibid.*(16) *Phot. c. 242.**p. 1057. Steph. p. 121.*(17) *Porphy. vit. c. 5. p. 44, &**51, 53. (*) Aug. civ. Dei, l. x. c. 9. p. 111. Euseb præp. Evan.**l. 4. c. 6. p. 143.*(18) *Holsten. vit. Porph. c. 6.**Porphyrius*

Porphyrius often quotes there the heretic *Bardesanes*, and his disciples, who, he says, lived in the time of *Heliogabalus*. He wrote in five books the *curious history*, or, as it is styled by others, *curious entertainments* (19). Out of the first book of this work, *Eusebius* quotes a long passage upon plagiarists, who copy from one another (20). Among his philosophical works, *Holstenius* takes, in the first place, notice of the introduction upon the *universals*, which he wrote while in *Sicily*, to explain to *Chrysaores*, his disciple, the *categories* of *Aristotle*. One *Ammonius* wrote a comment upon this work, which is still extant. Another work of *Porphyrius*, on *Aristotle's categories*, was first printed at *Paris* in 1543. Besides these two, he wrote a third on the same subject, in seven books, which he inscribed to *Gedalus*. This was in great part copied by *Iamblichus*, who likewise published a treatise on the categories longer than that of *Porphyrius* (21). In the latter end of the last century was published at *Basle* an introduction, written by *Porphyrius*, on *Ptolemy's* work touching the influence and force of the stars; and several manuscripts of a comment by *Porphyrius* on another work of *Ptolemy*, treating of harmony and music, are still extant (22). His books, containing the lives and tenets of the philosophers, were well known to the ancients; but he brings them no lower than to *Plato's* time (23). The subject of the first book of this work was the life of *Pythagoras*, which *Holstenius* has published, but imperfect. The third contained the life of *Socrates*, of whom he speaks very contemptuously, having, as is supposed, compiled these lives with passages borrowed from the ancients, and among the rest from *Aristoxenus*, a declared enemy to *Socrates* (24). The reader will find, in the second book of *Stobæus*, great part of a work done by *Porphyrius* on *what it is in our power to do*, and inscribed by him to *Chrysaores* (25). The four books, which he wrote against eating of flesh, and the *Latin* translation of them by *Bernardus Felicianus*, are highly esteemed by *Holstenius*. These books are addressed to *Castricius Firmus*, who had an estate at *Minturnæ*, in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and greatly admired, or rather adored, both *Plotinus* and his favourite disciple *Porphyrius* (26). *Eusebius* and *Theodoret* have made use of several passages in this work, in writing against the sacrifices of the gentiles (27). As in this work *Porphyrius* condemned the sacrifices, which the *Jews* were by their law commanded to offer to the true God, *Diodorus*, bishop of *Tarsus*, undertook to confute him as to that particular. *St. Austin* often quotes a treatise of *Porphyrius* on *the return of the soul to God* (28), divided into several books. This is, without all doubt, the treatise *on the soul*, which is often cited by *Eusebius*, and was divided into five books, written by *Porphyrius* to confute *Bæ-*

(19) *Vit. Porpb.* p. 46—49. (20) *Euseb. præp. Evang.* l. x. c. 3. p. 464. (21) *Porpb. vit.* p. 51, 52. (22) *Idem.* p. 54. 55. (23) *Idem* p. 56. *Eunap.* p. 10. (24) *Porphyr. vit.* c. 7. p. 60. (25) *Idem.* p. 64. (26) *Idem* *ibid.* (27) *Idem* *ibid.* (28) *Aug. civ. Dei*, l. x. p. 9, &c.

thius, a celebrated *peripatetic* in the time of *Augustus* (29). *Porphyrius* published another work on the *faculties of the soul*, out of which a long passage has been conveyed to us by *Stobæus*. *Holsenius* has published several sentences or sayings of *Porphyrius*, which make up part of a treatise intitled, *introduction to things intelligible*: *Eusebius* and *St. Austin* make frequent mention of a letter from *Porphyrius* to one *Anebon* an *Egyptian* priest or prophet, containing several questions touching the nature of demons, the oracles, and magic. This letter was answered by *Iamblichus*, under the feigned name of *Abammon* (30). *Eusebius* and *Stobæus* quote several passages out of a book upon *statues*, wherein *Porphyrius* is supposed to have excused, in the best manner he could, the worship paid by the pagans to their idols (31). *Cyrillus of Alexandria* has transcribed some passages out of another book of his, inscribed to *Nemercus*, upon *Divine Providence*. *Eusebius* and *St. Austin* speak frequently of a treatise intitled, *philosophy founded upon oracles*, in all likelihood the same work with that which *Eusebius* elsewhere styles a *collection of oracles*. This work consisted at least of three books (32). *St. Austin* is of opinion, that most of the oracles related by *Porphyrius* in that treatise were feigned by himself (33). He published, by the advice of *Plotinus*, a book against the heretics called *gnostics*, to shew, that a treatise on magic, which they perused and ascribed to *Zoroaster*, was a supposititious piece, and written by some of them (34). He published an incredible number of other books, which are mentioned by the ancients, and have been long since intirely lost. But none of his works have rendered him so famous as that which he wrote against the christians, to whom he bore an irreconcilable hatred, and whose religion he endeavoured to discredit with the blackest calumnies. He read with great attention the scriptures, not to seek the truth, but to find arms wherewithal to impugn it, says *Theodoret* (35). He pretended to have discovered in the sacred books a great many contradictions, which were, it seems, the subject of his first book; for the whole work was divided into fifteen (36). He found the prophecies of *Daniel* so clearly and evidently fulfilled, that he employed great part of his twelfth book in endeavouring to shew, that the prophecies ascribed to *Daniel* had been published under his name by one who lived in the time of *Antiochus*, and wrote when the things, supposed to have been foretold, had already happened (37). As *Porphyrius* was a man of great learning and highly esteemed by the pagans, many were by his writings diverted from embracing the

(29) *Porph. vit.* p. 71, 72. *Euseb. præp. Evang.* l. iii. c. 34.
 (30) *Aug. civ. Dei*, l. x. c. 11. p. 112, &c. *Euseb. ibid.* l. xiv. c. 10. p. 741. (31) *Eutrop.* p. 75. *Euseb. ibid.* l. iii. c. 9. p. 100.
 (32) *Porph. vit.* p. 78. *Jons.* l. iii. c. 15. p. 280. (33) *Aug. civ. Dei*, l. xiv. c. 25. p. 253. (34) *Plot. vit.* p. 19.
 (35) *Theodoret. de Græc. affect.* l. vii. p. 588. (36) *Euseb. l. vi. c. 19.* p. 219. *Porphyr. vit.* c. 10. p. 81. (37) *Hier. in Dan.* p. 567.

christian religion, which, however, triumphed in the end over this, as it had done over all its other enemies. The emperor *Constantine*, after he had embraced the christian religion, published some severe edicts, either against the person of *Porphyrius*, if he was still alive, which is not at all likely, or against his memory and writings, which he caused to be publicly burnt (38.) Some authors think, that this punishment extended to all his writings; but *Constantine's* words need not be taken in so general a sense (39). That prince, to shew his aversion to the *Arians*, ordered them to be called *Porphyrians* (40). The christians did not fail to answer the ill-grounded calumnies and sophistical reasonings of their crafty and malicious enemy. The holy bishop *Methodius* confuted him in a very learned piece, which he published before the persecution of *Dioclesian*, in which he was crowned with martyrdom. Some are of opinion, that he wrote it during the persecution (41); but we can hardly persuade ourselves, that he was then at leisure to compose such a long and elaborate work, the bishops being, in times of persecution, wholly taken up in relieving, comforting, and encouraging the distressed christians under their care. *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, a man of great learning and erudition, published, soon after *Methodius*, an answer to the calumnies of *Porphyrius* in thirty books; and *Apollinaris* wrote the same number of books against him about sixty years after *Eusebius*. But all these works, as well as that of *Porphyrius*, which they confuted, have been long since lost. *Julian* the apostate borrowed from *Porphyrius* what he wrote against the christian religion; but he was fully answered by the pious and learned *Cyrillus* of *Alexandria*. *St. Jerom*, *St. Austin*, *Eusebius*, and *Theodoret*, make use of several passages out of *Porphyrius*, in confuting the calumnies of the pagans; for that implacable enemy to the christian religion, notwithstanding all his hatred and malice, could not help uttering many things which redounded greatly to the honour of those whom he intended to traduce and expose: hence the judicious observation of *Theodoret*, with which we shall close this note; viz. *That as God obliged Balaam to bless his people, whom he was come with a design to curse, so he turned the tongue of Porphyrius against himself, and employed him as a means to destroy the falsehood which he laboured to establish* (42).

(38) *Socrat. l. i. c. 9 p. 32.*
ibid. (41) *P. Pagi, p. 302.*
affect. l. iii. p. 117.

(39) *Idem ibid.*

(40) *Idem*

(42) *Theodor. de curand. Græcor.*

C H A P. XXV.

The Roman history, from the resignation of Dioclesian, to the removal of the imperial seat to Constantinople, by Constantine the Great.

Constanti-
us and Ga-
lerius ac-
knowledg-
ed emperors

Extraction
and prefer-
ments of
Constan-
tius.

UPON the resignation of *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, the two *Cæsars*, *Constantius* and *Galerius*, were universally acknowledged emperors. Of the latter we have spoken above, and shall here give a succinct account of the birth, education, preferments, and qualities of *Constantius*, the father of the great *Constantine*, to whom the christian religion is so highly indebted. *Constantius*, styled in the ancient inscriptions, *Flavius Valerius Constantius* (D), was the son of *Eutropius*, one of the chief lords of *Dardania* in *Upper Mæsia*, by *Claudia*, the daughter of *Crispus*, brother to the emperor *Claudius*^r; so that he was not, as some have styled him grandson^r, but great nephew, to that prince. He is commonly distinguished from other emperors of the same name by the surname of *Chlorus*, borrowed perhaps from the *paleness* of his countenance, for such is the import of that word in the *Greek* tongue. He was born, according to some writers^r, on the thirty-first of *March*, of what year we know not, being only told, that at the time of his death, which happened in 306, he was, or at least seemed

^r ZONAR vit. Dio. p. 243. AMMIAN. anonym. p. 471. SPON. p. 193. Claud. vit. not. Salmas. p. 331. ^r Byzantinor. familiæ, p. 43. ^r BUCHER. de cycl. p. 276.

(D) *Constantius* is sometimes called *Julius* by *Aurelius Victor*, to distinguish him from the other emperors of the same name (43). He probably assumed the name of *Valerius*, when he was adopted by *Maximian*, who had borrowed it of *Dioclesian*. As for that of *Flavius*, it was, according to some authors (44), peculiar to the family of the emperor *Claudius* II. whose great nephew he was. In some inscriptions, *Constantius* is falsely styled the grandson of *Claudius*; and in one, *Constantine* is called the grandson of *Claudius*, and the son of *Constantius* (45).

(43) *Aur. Vict.* p. 524. (44) *Vide Salmas. in Claud.* p. 331.
(45) *Gruter.* p. 283.

to be, very old ^u. In his person he was well shaped ; and in his aspect there was something extremely gracious and pleasing ^w. He was not so well versed in letters as in the military art, which he learnt under two great warriors, *Aurelian* and *Probus* ^x. An ancient anonymous writer tells us, that he served some time in the guards, was afterwards made tribune, and at length, appointed governor of *Dalmatia*. He signalized himself in war, and gained a great victory over the *Alemans* in *Campis Vindonis*, that is, in the neighbourhood of *Windisch*, at present a small village in the canton of *Bern*, the same year that *Constantine* was born, that is, in 274 ^z. He was made governor of *Dalmatia* in the year 282, or 283, by *Carus*, who had even some thoughts of creating him *Cæsar*, in the room of his debauched and wicked son *Carinus*, whom he designed to depose ^a. *Dioclesian*, judging him well qualified for the sovereignty, agreed with *Maximian* to create him *Cæsar*, together with *Galerius*, on the first of *March* of the year 292, as we have related above. He received the purple at the hands of *Maximian*, who by that ceremony adopted him ; and hence he is sometimes called by the name of *Hercules* ^b, which *Maximian* had assumed. He took place of *Galerius*, though created *Cæsar* at the same time, on account of his more noble extraction ^c. Upon his being made *Cæsar*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain* fell to his share. We have related, in the foregoing reign, the exploits he performed in *Gaul* and *Britain*, while he was only *Cæsar*. When he attained to the empire, he governed the same provinces with such justice, equity, and moderation, as gained him the hearts of his people, and made them look upon him rather as their common father, than their sovereign. He is extolled, not only by *Eusebius* and *Lactantius*, whose testimony might be suspected, but by all the pagan writers, as the most equitable, pious, prudent, humane, and generous prince, that ever swayed a sceptre ^d. He was not solicitous, says *Eutropius* ^e, about enriching the exchequer, but pleased that his people should enjoy the fruit of their labour and industry. He was often heard to say, it was better the wealth of a country should circulate among the people, than be locked up in the coffers of the prince. For fear of loading his people, he was

His excellent qualities.

^u EUSEB. vit. Const. l. i. c. 18. ^w Paneg. 5. p. 126.
^x & 9. p. 192. ^x AUR. VICT. p. 524. Prob. vit. p. 241.
^y Anonym. Ammiano subjunctus, p. 471. ^z Paneg. 9.
^a p. 192. ^a Car. vit. p. 235. ^b Paneg. 4. p. 115.
^c LACT. perf. c. 29. p. 18. ^d Panegy. 5. p. 126. 6. p.
136. 137. 9. p. 192, 219. ^e EUTROP. p. 587.

An instance
of the af-
fections of
the people
to him.

extremely sparing in his diet, furniture, equipage, and retinue. When he entertained his friends, and the officers of his court, he was obliged to borrow plate for the use of his table. What *Eutropius* writes is confirmed by *Eusebius*, who relates the following remarkable story, passing over in silence, says he, many others no less remarkable, but generally known: As the moderation and mildness with which *Constantius* governed were every-where mightily applauded, and it was generally said, that he had no money by him, being unwilling to raise any upon his people, *Dioclesian* sent persons on purpose to reproach him with his neglect of the public, and the poverty to which he was reduced by his own fault. *Constantius* heard these reproaches with patience; and having persuaded those, who made them in *Dioclesian's* name, to stay a few days with him, he sent word to the most wealthy persons in the provinces, that he wanted money, and that they had now an opportunity of shewing whether or no they truly loved their prince. Upon this notice, every one strove who should be foremost in carrying to the exchequer all their gold, silver, and valuable effects; so that in a short time *Constantius*, from the poorest, became by far the most wealthy, of all the four princes. He then invited the deputies of *Dioclesian* to visit his treasury, desiring them to make a faithful report to their master of the state in which they should find it. They obeyed; and while they stood gazing on the mighty heaps of gold and silver, *Constantius* told them, that the wealth, which they beheld with astonishment, had long since belonged to him; but that he had left it, by way of depositum, in the hands of his people; adding, *That the richest and surest treasure of the prince was the love of his subjects*. The deputies were no sooner gone, than the generous prince sent for those who had assisted him in this exigency, commended their zeal, and returned to every one what they had so readily brought into his treasury. *Suidas* writes, that, for his contempt of riches and grandeur, he was surnamed *the poor*. *Libanius* too extols his tender and paternal regard for the people, who were blessed with so good a prince; and adds, *No prince ever loved money less; no prince was ever more loved by his subjects*. *Eusebius* frequently commends the piety of *Constantius*; and not only tells us, that he was inclined to the true religion, but that he acknowledged only one God, the supreme being; that he had honoured him all his life, had con-

His piety.

† EUSEB. l. viii. c. 13, 17. p. 309, 317. & vit. Constan. l. i. c. 13. p. 414. § SUID. π. p. 466. ♀ LIBAN. orat. 3 p. 104.

secrated to him his whole house, and condemned the many gods adored by the impious ¹. This is in a manner telling us, that he was a christian; and nevertheless, neither *Eusebius*, nor any other writer, affirms that, at least in express terms; nay, it appears from *Eusebius*, that he esteemed and countenanced, but never professed, the christian religion. When *Dioclesian*, in the year 303, at the instigation of *Galerius*, began to persecute the church, he sent his bloody edicts to *Maximian* and *Constantius*, injoining both to see them put in execution in their respective provinces. *Maximian* obeyed with great readiness and joy; and *Constantius*, that he might not seem to oppose his colleagues, suffered some churches to be pulled down; but was so far from encouraging that, or any other violence, that, on the contrary, he preserved the christians in his provinces exempt from all the evils which they suffered in those of the others; insomuch, that the church enjoyed under him a profound tranquillity and entire liberty of worship ². *Eusebius* relates of him the following memorable action: While his colleagues, says he, were persecuting the christians with fire and sword, he politically pretended to persecute them too; and declared to such officers of his household and governors of provinces, as were christians, that he left it to their choice either to sacrifice to the gods, and by that means maintain themselves in their employments, or to forfeit their places and his favour, by continuing steady in their religion. When they had all declared, the emperor discovered his real sentiments, reproached in most bitter terms those who had renounced their religion, highly extolled the virtue and constancy of such as had despised the wealth and vanities of the world, dismissed with ignominy the former, saying, *That those who had betrayed their God, would not scruple to betray their prince*; and retaining the latter, trusted them with the guard of his person, and the whole management of public affairs, as persons on whose fidelity he could depend, and in whom he might repose an intire confidence ³. Thus he filled his palace, continues *Eusebius*, with the pious adorers of the true God, while the other princes exerted all their power to extirpate the christian name; nay, many ministers of God daily offered up prayers and vows for the happiness and preservation of so good a prince in his very palace, which seemed rather a church, or oratory, than the habitation of an emper-

*He favours
the christ-
ians.*

¹ EUSEB. vit. Const. l. i. c. 13. & hist. l. viii. c. 13. p. 309.

² EUSEB. l. viii. c. 13. 18. p. 309, 317. & Const. vit. l. i. c. 13. p. 413. OPTAT. mil. l. i. p. 44. LACT. c. 15. p. 43.

³ EUSEB. vit. Const. l. i. c. 15. p. 415.

His issue.

ror^m. Tho' *Constantius* thus countenanced and honoured the christians, yet he never embraced himself, which is altogether surprising, the true religion; at least we are no-where told that he did. By his first wife, *Helena*, he had but one child, viz. *Constantine*, surnamed *the Great*, of whom, as well as of his mother, we shall speak anon. He was obliged in the year 292, to divorce her, and marry *Flavia Maximiana Theodora*, daughter to the wife of *Maximian*, by a former husband. He had by her three sons, *Dalmatius* or *Dematius*, *Julius Constantius*, and a third, named by some *Annibalianus*, and by others *Constantine*; and as many daughters, viz. *Constantia*, *Anastatia*, and *Eutropia*ⁿ. *Dalmatius*, who was honoured with the censorship, died before *Constantine*, and left two sons, viz. *Dalmatius* the younger, who, after having been consul in 333, with *Zenophilus*, was created *Cæsar* on the eighteenth or twenty-fourth of September in 335, and *Annibalianus*, king of *Pontus* and *Armenia*. *Julius Constantius* was consul with *Albinus* in 335, and killed with one of his brothers soon after the death of *Constantine the Great*. He had by his first wife *Galla*, *Gallus Cæsar*, and another son, whose name is unknown; and by his second wife *Balsina*, *Julian*, surnamed *the Apostate*. *Valesius*, who calls the third son *Constantine*, takes him to have been consul in 327, with *Maximus*, whose colleague is styled in the fasti *Constantine*. As to *Constantius's* three daughters; *Constantia*, styled on the ancient coins *Fl. Valeria Constantia*, was married to *Licinius* in 513. *Anastatia* married *Bassianus*, who, at the instigation of *Licinius*, betrayed *Constantine* in 314, though he had then some thoughts of creating him *Cæsar*. *Eutropia* was mother to *Nepotianus*, who usurped the empire in 350, and is supposed to have been married to *Nepotianus*, who was consul in 301.

BEFORE we proceed to the history of the reign of *Constantius*, it will be necessary to give the reader a succinct account of the birth, education, and extraordinary qualities of his son *Constantine*, whose actions are inseparably interwoven with those of his father. *Constantine*, styled in the ancient inscriptions, *C. Flavius Valerius Aurelius Claudius Constantinus*^o, was born on the twenty-seventh of February, about the year 274, for at his death, which happened on the twenty-second of May in 337, he was about sixty-four^p. As for the

The birth,
education,
and extra-
ordinary
qualities
of his son
Constantine.

^m Idem ibid. c. 17. p. 416. ⁿ Aur. Vict. epit. p. 524. EUTROP. p. 586. AMMIAN. p. 2. Byzan. famil. p. 44. GOLTZ. p. 125. ^o GOLTZ p. 126, 127. ^p BUCH. cycl. p. 276. Byzant. fam. p. 214. LACT. p. 411, 412. Anonym. p. 471.

place of his nativity, the anonymous writer of his life, published in 1636, by *Henricus Valesius*, and subjoined to the fifteen books of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Stephanus* the geographer ^q, *Julius Firmicus* ^r, who, according to the best-grounded opinion, wrote in the reign of *Constantine*, and *Cedrenus* ^t, tell us in express terms, that *Constantine* was born in the city of *Naissus* in *Dardania*, called also *Naifus* and *Nassus*, and now known by the name of *Nissa*. It is certain, that the father and ancestors of *Constantine* were natives of *Dardania*; that *Constantine* himself frequently resided at *Naissus*, as appears from the many laws which he enacted there; and that he ever shewed himself partial to that city, enriching it with many privileges, and embellishing it with a great number of stately edifices; whence it is styled by *Stephanus*, the birth-place and work of the emperor *Constantine* ^t. However, most modern writers of all nations, not excepting such as are most jealous of the glory of ours, do us the honour to acknowledge this great emperor, this deliverer of the church, as *Eusebius* styles him, a native of *Britain*, some of them supposing him to have been born in the city of *Colchester*, where *Coellus*, the father of *Helena*, reigned; others in *York*, where the Roman governors usually resided. We heartily wish, an opinion, which reflects so much glory on our island, were better grounded. But to speak our sentiments, unbiassed by any national prejudice or partiality, though we have had from abroad, and perused with great attention, the elaborate work, published at *Antwerp* in 1641, by the learned jesuit father *Alford* on this subject, under the title of *Britannia Illustrata*, yet we cannot say, that his arguments weigh down with us the above-mentioned authorities. The moderns have been led into this opinion by a passage in a panegyric pronounced before *Constantine*, wherein the orator, addressing the emperor, told him, that he had ennobled *Britain*, *illic oriendo*, which words equally import *by being born there*, and *by being there made emperor*. In the latter sense they are understood by *Lipsius* ^u, and *Livineius* in his comments on those ancient panegyrists; but by father *Alford*, and above seventy other authors of different nations, whom he quotes, in the former ^w; nay, both he and *Baronius* ^x think the above-mentioned words can admit of no other sense. For *Constantine*, say they, was made *Cæsar* at *Rome*, and emperor at *Treves*: but that he was

The birth-
place of
Constantine.

Whether
born in
Britain.

^q STEPH. in Naifo.

^r JUL. FIR. mathes. l. i. c. ult.

^t CEDREN. hist. p. 221.

^t STEPH. ibid.

^u LIPS. de mag.

Rom. l. iv. c. ult. ^w Vide ALFORD. Britain. illustrat. p. 140—155.

^x BARON. ad ann. 306.

created *Cæsar* in *Britain*; that he was there first saluted *Augustus*; and consequently, that the words of the panegyrist may, and perhaps ought to, be understood in the sense of *Lipsius* and *Livini*, will evidently appear in the sequel of this history from *Libanius*, *Eusebius*, the emperor *Julian*, *Lactantius*, and *Eumenius*, whom we shall quote hereafter. *Aldhelmus*, who flourished in the seventh century, was the first who wrote in express terms, that *Constantine* was born in *Britain*: those who came after copied from him, and, as it generally happens, from one another; by which means that opinion universally prevailed. *Aldhelmus* probably held it upon the authority of some tradition, or was persuaded by the ambiguous passage of the above-mentioned panegyrist. *Eusebius*, who relates the most minute particulars of the life of *Constantine*, never once mentions, which is very surprising, the place of his nativity.

Whether
his mother
He ena
was born
in Britain.

Nicepho-
rus's ac-
count.

Constantius had *Constantine* by the celebrated *Helena*, so much extolled, and not undeservedly, by all the christian, especially the ecclesiastic, writers. Most modern authors, whether natives of this island or foreigners, suppose her to have been the daughter of *Coellus*, a *British* king, and to have married *Constantius*, who was charmed with her beauty, when he first came into *Britain*, in the reign of *Aurelian*. But this opinion is no better grounded, than the former relating to the birth-place of *Constantine*, there being a profound silence among the ancients, if we except *Nicephorus*, with respect to the country of this pious, as *Eusebius* styles her, and venerable princess. As for *Nicephorus*, he gravely tells us, that *Helena* was the daughter of an inn-keeper of *Drepanum* near *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*; that *Constantius*, being seized with a lustful desire, while he lodged in her father's house, as he passed through that place upon an embassy to the king of *Persia*, acquainted therewith his landlord, who, to oblige the *Roman* ambassador, offered him his daughter, a virgin in the flower of her age, and of extraordinary beauty; that *Constantius*, terrified that night with a dream in which he saw the sun rising out of the western ocean, exhorted his landlord next morning to preserve his daughter from any further pollution, and earnestly recommended to him the child she should bring forth; that some time after, other *Roman* ambassadors, who happened to lodge in the same house, chiding young *Constantine*, the fruit of that amour, and the child highly resenting that freedom, the mother informed them

7 BUCHER. de Belg. l. 6. c. 15. ALDHELM. de laude virg.
c. 23.

whose

whose son he was, and at the same time shewed them a purple robe, the gift of *Constantius*. The ambassadors upon their return to *Italy* acquainted *Constantius* with what had passed, who thereupon ordered *Constantine* and his mother to repair to *Rome*; but afterwards, not thinking them safe there, on account of the jealous temper of his lawful wife *Theodora*, he sent *Constantine* to *Nicomedia*, to be brought up in the court of *Dioclesian*, where he was instructed in the sciences, and the truths of the christian religion, which he embraced^a. Such is the account *Nicephorus* gives us of the condition of *Helena*, of the birth and education of *Constantine*; an account which contains, we may say, without exaggeration, as many notorious blunders as periods. But we shall for the present only take notice of two; the one in point of chronology, the other of history; which, with every judicious reader, will be a sufficient apology for our rejecting, as altogether fabulous, the narration of that historian, though highly applauded by *Lipsius*^a, and adopted by some modern writers of no mean character. To begin with the enormous anachronism contained in that account, it is evident from all the ancients, that *Constantine*, at the time of his father's pretended embassy to the king of *Persia*, was twenty-nine, or at least twenty-seven, years old. For *Constantius* was sent into *Persia*, according to *Nicephorus*^b, after *Dioclesian* had begun to persecute the christians; but his first edicts against them were published, as we read in *Eusebius*^c, who lived at that time, on the twenty-third of *February*, in the nineteenth year of his reign, that is, according to all chronologers both ancient and modern, in the 303^d of the christian æra. On the other hand *Eusebius*^d, *Epiphanius*^e, *St. Jerom*^f, *Victor*^g, *Nicephorus Constantinopolitanus*^h, &c. agree, that *Constantine* died in 337, being then sixty-four, or, as some will have it, sixty-two; so that he must have been born in 274, or 272, and consequently was, at the time of his father's supposed embassy, twenty-nine or twenty-seven years old. Besides, *Constantine* himself, in his oration annexed to the works of *Eusebius*, tells us, that he was with *Dioclesian* in the palace at *Nicomedia*, when the memorable fire broke out there, of which we have spoken above; and that accident happened, according to *Eusebius*ⁱ, a few days after the publishing of the

False and inconsistent with history and chronology.

^a NICEPH. l. vii. c. 17, 18. ^a LIPS de magnit. Rom. l. iv. c. 11. ^b NICEPH. ibid. ^c EUSEB. hist. l. viii. c. 7. ^d EUSEB. vit. Const. l. iv. c. 53. ^e EPIPHAN. lib. de mens. ^f HIER. in chron. ^g VICT. in Const. ^h NICEPH. Const. in chronol. c. 12. ⁱ EUSEB. l. viii. c. 7. p. 292

Whether
Helena
was Con-
stantius's
lawful
wife.

first edicts against the christians. 'Tis amazing, that *Lipsius* should, with other chronologers, suppose *Constantine* to have been born about the year 272, and yet admit, as an unquestionable truth, the fable of *Nicephorus*, which utterly destroys that supposition. As to the *Greek* historian's mistake in point of his history, he tells us, that the *Persians* having made an irruption into the *Roman* dominions, and threatening the empire with a destructive war, *Constantius* was sent with the character of ambassador, to try whether he could, by any means, even by the offer of a pension to be paid yearly to the *Persian* king, prevail upon him to desist from hostilities, and conclude a peace with the *Roman* emperors^k. Now it is evident from *Eutropius*^l, *Eusebius*^m, *Ammianus Marcellinus*ⁿ, *Zonaras*^o, *Aurelius Victor*^p, *Festus*^q, *Lactantius*^r, &c. that the *Persians* had, at least six years before the time of this pretended embassy, been utterly overthrown by *Galerius*, and had purchased a peace of *Dioclesian*, by yielding up to him five provinces, as we have related above. This peace lasted, as the same writers assure us, for the space of forty years, that is, till the year 337, the last of *Constantine*'s long reign. But after all, we must not imagine *Nicephorus* to have been the only writer who questioned the legitimacy of *Constantine*, the chastity of his mother *Helena*. For *Zosimus* writes, that she was not *Constantius*'s lawful wife^s. The chronicle of *Alexandria* calls her son *Constantine*, in plain terms, a bastard child^t. *St. Ambrose* gives us room to think, that this was a current report or tradition in his time; and that he himself did not disbelieve it^u. The same thing is asserted in the *Greek* text of *Eusebius*'s chronicle, published by *Scaliger*; and in that of *St. Jerom*, who has been followed by several eminent writers of a later date, namely, by *Prosper*, *Cassiodorus*, *Aldhelmus*, bishop of the *West-Saxons*, and the venerable *Bede*, who, speaking of *Helena*, style her the concubine of *Constantius*. On the other hand, *Eutropius*^w and both the *Victors*^x tell us, that *Constantius* and *Galerius* were obliged, when created *Cæsars*, to divorce their former wives. *Constantius* therefore had a lawful wife before he married *Theodora*; and we are no-where told, that he had any besides her and *Helena*. *Scaliger* indeed pretends, that he was

^k NICEPH. *ibid.* ^l EUTROP. p. 586. ^m EUSEB. p. 170.
ⁿ AMMIAN. p. 109. ^o ZONAR. p. 144. ^p AUR. VICT. p. 526.
^q FESTUS, p. 954. ^r LACTAN. *perl. c. 9. p. 9.*
^s Zos. l. ii. p. 672. ^t Chron. Al. p. 650. ^u AUB. div. 3. p. 123.
^w EUTROP. p. 586. ^x AVR. VICT. p. 524. VICT. epit. p. 542.

married

married to *Minervina*, the mother of *Crispus*, not apprised; that *Crispus* was *Constantine's* son, and not his brother; a pretty considerable mistake in a critic. The anonymous author of *Constantine's* life, published by *Valesius*, writes in express terms, that *Constantius* divorced *Helena* to marry *Theodora*¹; and *Eutropius*, that *Constantine* was the fruit of an obscure, but lawful, matrimony². At *Naples* is still extant an inscription, in which *Helena* is styled the wife of *Constantius*³. In two others, to be seen in *Gruter*, she is distinguished with the title of *Augusta*, which was never given, as is well known, to a concubine. The antient panegyrist supply us with presumptions, of equal strength with these authorities, in favour of *Helena's* marriage with *Constantius*. One of them^b, in an oration which he pronounced before *Constantine* on occasion of his marriage, addresses him thus: "You, O *Constantine*, make it your study to imitate the continence of your father; treading in his footsteps, you prefer in your early youth the ties of matrimony to an unrestrained liberty, that you may not be tempted to abandon yourself to loose and unlawful amours." How preposterous and unseasonable would this address have seemed, had *Constantine* been the fruit of an unlawful amour? By supposing *Helena* to have been the concubine, and not the wife, of *Constantius*, we at once turn the panegyric into a satire. For what can it be called but a satire, to cry up the continence of the father before a son, whose very birth is a proof of his incontinence; and to commend the son thus unlawfully begotten for imitating the continence of his father? *Helena* is styled, not only by the panegyrists, but historians, a most pious, venerable, religious, and virtuous woman; which epithets they would have hardly bestowed upon her, had she been *Constantius's* concubine, and not his wife: neither would *Constantine*, we conceive, have dignified her with the title of *Augusta*, had she not been his lawful mother. The emperor *Dioclesian* ever distinguished *Constantine* with particular marks of honour and esteem; whereof *Eusebius* tells us; he himself was an eye-witness^c; for he saw young *Constantine* on the emperor's right-hand, as they passed together through *Palestine*, either going to or returning from *Egypt*. He caused him to be brought up in the court with great care, took him with him whithersoever he went, and in the year 305, when two new *Cæsars* were to be created, named him in the first place,

¹ Anonym. p. 471. ² EUTROP. p. 587. ³ GRUTER. p. 1086. ^b Panegy. 5. p. 126. ^c EUSEB. vit. Const. c. 15. p. 601.

no one, says *Eumenius*, calling in question the right which he had to that dignity, as the son of *Constantius* ^d. *Eusebius*, speaking of his father *Constantius*, says, that at his death he left the empire to his son *Constantine*, whose birth-right it was ^e. Illegitimate children were not, as is well known, thus treated and respected among the *Romans*. *Galerius* is said to have alledged several reasons to divert *Dioclesian* from naming *Constantine* to the dignity of *Cæsar* ^f; but among these we do not find the least mention made of his birth, which had it been unlawful; would have furnished him with a stronger and far more plausible reason than any he produced. Nay, we can by no means imagine, that *Dioclesian* would have ever thought of preferring *Constantine*, had he only been *Constantius*'s natural son, to that prince's lawful children by *Theodora*, for whom both he and his colleague *Maximian* had cogent motives to interest themselves. The arguments are of such weight with us, that, notwithstanding the above-mentioned authorities, we cannot entertain the least doubt of *Constantine*'s legitimacy, unbiassed as we are by any prejudice or partiality with respect either to him or his mother *Helena*. As for *Helena*'s country and parentage, no writer before the seventh century mentions either: those who flourished after that time, commonly suppose her to have been a native of this island, and the daughter of a king, whom they call *Coelus* or *Coellus*. This opinion, grounded; as we conjecture, upon tradition, or perhaps the authority of some historian, whose works have not reached our times, obtained pretty early here, and produced the many churches and monuments which were erected throughout *Britain* to her honour.

Helena's
country and
parentage.

Constantine's
excellent
qualities.

BUT to return to *Constantine*. When his father was created *Cæsar* in 292, and sent into *Gaul*, *Dioclesian* kept him as an hostage, caused him to be brought up in the court with great care, and raised him, long before the year 303, to the rank of a tribune ^g. He already appeared capable of any degree of fortune, however elevated. The loveliness of his countenance, blended with a certain air of majesty; the tallness of his person, extremely well shaped and regular; his life without blame or reproach; his generosity, goodness, affability, and obliging behaviour, towards persons of all ranks, gained him the affections both of the people and

^d Panegy. 9. p. 191, 192.

^e EUSEB. vit. Const. l. i. c.

19. p. 417.

^f LACT. perf. c. 18. p. 16.

^g EUSEB. vit.

Const. l. i. c. 12. p. 415. LACT. perf. c. 18. p. 17.

foldiery

soldiery to such a degree, that no one knew him, who did not wish to see him one day emperor, and was not ready to contribute, so far as lay in his power, to his preferment^h. The anonymous writer of his life saysⁱ, that he had no great learning: and truly, learning could not then be much in request, since none of the four princes who governed were men of letters. However, both *Eusebius*^k and *Aurelius Victor*^l assure us, that *Constantine* was well versed in most branches of literature; that he was a generous encourager of learning; that after he was raised to the empire, he spent much of his time in reading; that he composed, and pronounced in public, several orations; and, that the many laws which he published, were all drawn up by himself. One of his orations has reached us, and is subjoined to the ecclesiastical history of *Eusebius*^m. But he chiefly signalized himself in war, and served with great reputation under *Dioclesian* and *Galerius*, in their wars with the *Germans*, *Goths*, *Sarmatians*, and *Persians*ⁿ. He often grappled with the enemy hand to hand^o, and gave such proofs of his valour as raised some jealousy in the other princes^p. All authors, pagans as well as christians, agree in extolling, with the highest encomiums, his sobriety, continence, and the abhorrence he shewed from his early youth to unlawful pleasures^q. He never violated the laws of chastity, says an antient panegyrist^r; but subjected himself, when yet a youth, to the ties of matrimony, that he might not be tempted to sully himself with any kind of lewdness or impurity. He married to his first wife *Minervina*, of whose parentage and condition no mention is made by the antients; and had by her *Crispus*, who must have been born about the year 300, for, twenty years after, he signalized himself in the wars against the *Franks* and *Licinius*. *Dioclesian*, before he resigned the empire, was for appointing *Constantine*, and *Maxentius*, the son of *Maximian*, *Cæsars*. But their election was opposed by *Galerius*, who at length prevailed upon the emperor to name in their room *Severus* and *Maximinus*, who he knew would be intirely ruled by him, and blindly obey his orders. The former was a native of *Illyricum*, descended of an obscure family, abandoned to all manner of vices, and in every re-

His courage and valour.

His singular continence.

Severus and Maximinus declared Cæsars.

^h EUSEB. *ibid.* l. i. c. 19. p. 417. Panegyr. 5. p. 125.

ⁱ Anonym. p. 471.

^k EUSEB. *ibid.* p. 418.

^l AUR. VICT.

p. 524.

^m Orat. CONST. ad sanctor. cœtum, p. 567.

ⁿ EU.

SEB *ib.* p. 589.

^o THEOPH. p. 6.

^p EUSEB. *ibid.* p. 418.

^q EUSEB. *ibid.* Panegyr. 7. p. 175. & 5 p. 126.

^r Panegyr.

vi. p. 137.

spect unequal to so great a charge. The latter was born in the same country, and no less meanly than the other; for though he was nephew to *Galerius*, being his sister's son, yet in his youth he had followed the mean calling of a shepherd; and he proved, after his preferment, no less vicious than his colleague. He was yet a youth, and half barbarian, unknown to the emperors, and quite unacquainted with state-affairs, when *Galerius*, who had taken him a little before from his flocks, named him to *Dioclesian* for the dignity of *Cæsar* ^c. The emperor, terrified with the menaces of *Galerius*, consented, much against his will, to the promotion both of *Severus* and *Maximinus*; and on the day appointed for his resignation, after having declared in a great assembly, that he yielded the empire to *Constantius* and *Galerius*, who were more capable than he of bearing so great a weight, added, not without betraying some concern and reluctance, *I am likewise to name two new Cæsars, and these are Severus and Maximinus*. The whole assembly was greatly surprised to hear these two names, and began to ask one another whether *Constantine* had changed his? Their surprise was doubled, when they heard *Galerius* command *Constantine* to descend from the throne on which he sat with *Dioclesian*; and saw unexpectedly a young barbarian, who stood behind it, step forth and receive the purple at the hands of the emperor. The numerous multitude was struck with amazement; every one asked, who *Maximin* was? whence he came? for what demerit *Constantine* had been excluded from a post, to which he had so just a claim? but no one dared to oppose his promotion ^t. This happened at *Nicomedia*; and on the same day, that is, on the first of *May* of the year 305, *Maximian* resigned the empire at *Milan* to *Constantius*, and declared *Severus Cæsar*. *Galerius* excluded *Constantine*, with a view of becoming soon sole master of the empire; for he was well apprised, that *Constantius*, who was subject to many infirmities, and quite worn out, could not live long; and besides, he hoped easily to get the ascendant over him, on account of his mild and peaceable temper. But he dreaded *Constantine*, on account of his courage, his experience in war, his address, and other extraordinary qualities; and therefore resolved to keep him in a private condition, and allow him no share in the government, that it might not be in the young prince's power to defeat his vast designs ^u. As for the two

^c LACT. pers. c. 18. p. 17. AUR. VICT. p. 525. EUSEB. l. ix. c. 9. ^t LACT. pers. c. 19. p. 17, 18. ^u LACT. c. 18. p. 17.

new *Cæsars*, he looked upon them as his own creatures, and persons to be governed in every thing by him. Matters being thus settled, the empire was divided between *Constantius* and *Galerius*. To the share of the former fell *Gaul, Italy, Africa, Spain, and Britain*; the latter had *Illyricum, Pannonia, Thrace, Macedon, Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt, Judæa, Syria*, and all the eastern provinces. *Constantius* yielded to *Severus*, *Italy* and *Africa*, as did *Galerius*, *Syria* and *Egypt*, to his nephew *Maximin*^w. *Severus*, who was created *Cæsar*, to govern under *Constantius*, is always named before *Maximin*, who governed under *Galerius*^x. As *Severus* was indebted to *Galerius* alone for his promotion, that prince expected he should obey him even against *Constantius* himself^y. However, it is certain, that notwithstanding the implacable hatred which *Galerius* had to the christians, the persecution ceased both in *Italy* and the other western provinces, soon after *Constantius* was declared emperor^z. In the mean time, *Constantine* continued at *Nicomedia*, in the heart of the provinces belonging to *Galerius*, who would not, though earnestly intreated by his father *Constantius*, during a dangerous malady, with which he was seized, suffer him to depart; but pretending a great affection to him, kept him by way of hostage^a. *Victor* the younger tells us, that he kept him with him at *Rome*^b; but it is certain, that *Galerius* never came to that city^c. As the extraordinary qualities of that prince gave the emperor great umbrage, he only waited some opportunity of destroying him; but not daring, through fear of the soldiery by whom *Constantine* was greatly beloved, to make any open attempt, he had recourse to treachery, and exposed him, under various specious pretences, to many dangers; from which he was happily delivered by the watchful providence of God, whose church he was to deliver from the persecution, with which it had been cruelly oppressed for the space of near three hundred years. *Praxagoras*, a pagan author, who compiled in two books the history of the first emperors, and wrote, according to *Vossius*, in the time of *Constantine*, or his children, tells us, that *Galerius* often encouraged him to enter the lists with wild beasts, on which occasion he once killed a lion of extraordinary fierceness and size^d. The same thing is related by *Zonaras*, who adds, that *Gale-*

The empire divided between Constantius and Galerius.

Galerius seeks the destruction of Constantine.

^w EUTROP. p. 587. AUR. VICT. p. 525. ZOS. l. ii. p. 672.

^x Vide SPON. p. 192. ^y LACT. perf. c. 18, 20. p. 17—19.

^z EUSEB. de marty. Palæstin. ^a LACT. perf. p. 406. ^b VICT. p. 525. ^c LACT. perf. c. 27. p. 25. ^d PHOT. c. 67. p. 64. VOSS. hist. Græc. l. ii. c. 17.

rius, in the *Sarmatian* war, observing one of the chiefs of the barbarians, who surpassed all the others in stature and the fierceness of his looks, ordered *Constantine* to engage him, which he did accordingly with great resolution and intrepidity, overcame him, and throwing him to the ground, dragged him by the hair to the emperor's presence, and laid him at his feet^e. On another occasion, *Galerius*, who sought his destruction, having ordered him to cross a marsh at the head of some troops, he entered it the first on horse-back; and being followed by his men, put great numbers of the enemy to the sword, and gained a complete victory^f. This too happened in *Galerius's* war with the *Sarmatians*, which we must place in this, or in the beginning of the next, year.

THE following year, *Constantius* and *Galerius* being both consuls the sixth time, the latter, finding he could no longer detain *Constantine* without openly breaking with his colleague, gave him at length leave to depart, and signed a warrant for the officers of the post to supply him with the necessary horses and chariots. This warrant he delivered to him in the evening; but at the same time ordered him not to make use of it till the next morning, when he designed to give him his final instructions^g. In the mean time, he dispatched an express to *Severus*, injoining him, by all means, to stop *Constantine*, and prevent his arrival in the provinces governed by his father. That the express might reach *Italy* before *Constantine*, he did not rise that day, contrary to his custom, till noon, when he sent for *Constantine*. But he had set out the night before, as soon as *Galerius* had withdrawn; and travelling with all possible speed, for several stages, hamstringed or killed the horses which he did not make use of, that no one might pursue or stop him while he crossed the provinces of *Galerius*, and *Italy*, where *Severus* ruled. This precaution saved him; for next morning, *Galerius*, being informed, that he had set out the night before, flew into a violent passion, and ordered several messengers to make what haste they could after him; but he was told, that *Constantine* had disabled all the post-horses; which transported him to such a degree, that, through grief and rage, he could scarce forbear bursting into tears^h. *Eusebius*, *Lactantius*, and several historians, tell us, that *Constantine*, arriving in *Britain*, found his father at the point of death; but therein they must certainly be mistaken,

Constantine escapes from Galerius to his father.

^e ZONAR. vit. Diocles. p. 246. ^f AMMIAN. Anonym. p. 471. ^g LACT. c. 24. p. 22. EUSEB. Const. vit. l. i. c. 20. ^h EUSEB. p. 418. AMMIAN. Anonym. p. 471. LACT. p. 21. Zos. l. ii. p. 672. AUR. VICT. p. 525.

since

since *Eumenius*, in the panegyric which he pronounced before *Constantine* a few years after, writes, that he arrived while his father was weighing anchor with a design to pass over into *Britain*¹. With him agrees the anonymous writer, published by *Valsius*, who says, that *Constantine* found his father at *Gessoriacum*, or *Boulogne*^k. He attended him into *Britain*, where he was going to make war, says *Eumenius*^l, upon the *Caledonians* and *Picts*. The latter people, now first mentioned in history, inhabited *Scotland*; but were thought, says *Bede*, to have come from *Scythia*, that is, according to the learned *Usher*, from *Scandinavia*, or some other northern country^m. *Constantius*, in the last days of his life, overcame the *Picts*, as the anonymous author quoted above informs usⁿ, being assisted in this war, as we read in *Aurelius Victor*^o, by *Eroc*, or, as others style him, *Crocus*, king of the *Alemans*. Not long after this victory over the *Picts*, he died at *York* on the twenty-fifth of *July* in 306, the fourth year of the persecution of *Dioclesian*, according to *St. Jerom*^p; and the sixteenth, or rather fifteenth, of his reign, reckoning from the time he had been created *Cæsar*, that is, from the year 292, for he had enjoyed that dignity thirteen years and two months, and the empire one year, and near three months^q. He died in his palace, surrounded by his children, and his body was with the utmost pomp and magnificence interred by his son *Constantine*. Some pretend, that he was buried at a place called *Cair Segeint*, and by some *Cair Caſent*, that is, the city of *Constantius* or *Constantine*^r. In 1283, a body was found at a small distance from that place, which *Edward I.* who reigned then, caused to be removed to a church, believing it to be the body of *Constantius*. This was not agreeable to the canons. Not long before, as some persons were digging in a place at *York*, where *Constantius* was supposed to have been buried, they discovered a lamp that was still burning^s. After his death, he was ranked among the gods, as appears from several antient coins, and among the rest from one of his brother-in-law *Maxentius*^t. *Constantius* bequeathed the empire to his son *Constantine*^u, who declared he would

Passes over with him into Britain where Constantius overcomes the Picts.

The death of Constantius.

He bequeaths the empire to Constantine.

¹ Panegy. 9. p. 194. ^k AMMIAN. Anonym. p. 472. ^l Panegy. 9. p. 194. ^m Vide USSER. Brit. eccles. antiquit. p. 581, 578, 579. ⁿ Anonym. p. 471. ^o VICT. epit. p. 943. ^p HIER. chron. ^q AUR. VICT. p. 526. EUSEB. chron. GOLTZ. p. 124. EUTROP. p. 587. Panegy. 9. p. 194. ^r USSER. eccles. Brit. antiq. p. 60. ^s ALFORD ann. ad ann. 306. ^t BIRAG. p. 440. ^u EUSEB. vit. Const. l. i. c. 21. p. 418. JULIAN. orat. 1. p. 13. LACT. perf. c. 24. p. 21. Panegy. 5. p. 127. & 9. p. 194.

Who is saluted Augustus by the soldiery

Galerius grants him only the title of Cæsar.

Maxentius causes himself to be proclaimed emperor.

not accept it without the consent of the other princes, to whom he immediately wrote, acquainting them with the death and last will of his father. But the soldiers, by whom he was greatly beloved, impatient of delays, proclaimed him emperor the same day in which his father died, and, the first time he appeared in public, saluted him with the title of *Augustus*, and forced him to accept the purple, knowing him, says *Zosimus*, a writer no-ways biased in his favour, to be truly worthy of the empire, and promising themselves great things from his generosity *. Thus was *Constantine* first declared emperor in *Britain*, the same day in which his father died; that is, on the twenty-fifth of *July* of the year 306, which, in an ancient calendar, is marked as the first day of his reign w. *Lactantius* tells us in express terms, that, upon his father's death, he took the title of *Augustus* x; and *Eusebius* y, that he performed his father's obsequies clad in purple; which is a plain proof, that he took, in *Britain* at least, the title of *Cæsar*, which, however, those must deny, who maintain him to have been born in *Britain*, as we have observed above. He afterwards sent his image to the other emperors, adorned, according to custom, with the marks of the imperial dignity. *Galerius* was long in suspense whether or no he should receive it; nay, transported with rage, he was upon the point of condemning both the image, and the messenger who brought it, to the flames; but his friends remonstrating, that such an affront would give rise to a civil war, in which the soldiery would in all likelihood abandon him, and side with *Constantine*, he was prevailed upon to receive his image, and to send him the purple, that he might at least seem to hold his authority of him z. However, he gave him only the title of *Cæsar*, and created *Severus* emperor, whose provinces, viz. *Italy* and *Africa*, he governed with as absolute a sway as his own, oppressing them with endless taxes, and practising unheard-of cruelties upon such as were not in a condition to comply with his unjust demands. This occasioned great disturbances in all the cities of *Italy*; but especially in *Rome*; which *Maxentius* laying hold of, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor by the dissatisfied soldiery and people. *Maxentius* was, or at least passed for, the son of *Maximian*; for some writers tell us, that he was a supposititious child, and that his mother, before her death, owned she had imposed him upon her husband to gain his af-

* Zos. l. ii. p. 67.
 perf. c. 24, 25. p. 23.

w BUCH. cycl. p. 286.

x LACT.

y EUSEB. Const. vit. l. i. c. 22. p. 419.

z LACT. perf. c. 25. p. 22. Zos. l. ii. p. 672.

fection. However that be, he was quite destitute of every commendable quality, proud, arrogant, cruel, ill-shaped, or rather deformed, in his person, abandoned to all manner of vices, and universally abhorred, not only by his father's friends, but by his father himself, and much more by *Galerius*, whose daughter he had married. He had highly complained of *Galerius*, for excluding him, in the year 305, from the dignity of *Cæsar*; but when he heard that *Constantine* had been raised to that high station, and saw his image publicly exposed in *Rome*, transported with rage, he resolved at all events to do himself justice; and accordingly, having with large promises gained over the few prætorian guards that were then in *Rome*, and some of their officers, namely, *Lucianus*, *Marcellus*, and *Marcellinus*, he caused himself to be proclaimed emperor on the twenty-eighth of *October* of this year 306, and was acknowledged as such by the *Roman* people, who hoped, by his means, to deliver themselves from the insupportable tyranny of *Galerius*. The news of his revolt no sooner reached the east, where *Galerius* then was, than he dispatched a messenger to *Severus*, injoining him to hasten with all his forces to *Rome*, to surprise and suppress at once this new usurper. On the other hand, *Maxentius* had recourse to his father *Maximian*, who, either with a view to resume the empire, which he had quitted much against his will, or to support his son, hastened to *Rome*, and thence wrote to *Dioclesian*, exhorting him to abandon his solitude, and remount the throne. *Dioclesian*, taken with the sweets and tranquillity of a private and retired life, returned him the answer which we have related above. But *Maximian*, instead of following his example, suffered himself to be declared emperor a second time by the senate and people of *Rome*; and receiving the purple at the hands of his son, was universally acknowledged for his colleague in the empire^a. *Aurelius Victor* writes, that his lust of reigning, and desire of supporting his son in his claim to the empire, prompted him to quit his solitude, and resume the authority which he had unwillingly abdicated^b.

WHILE these things passed at *Rome*, *Constantine* was busied in visiting the provinces under his care, viz. *Britain*, *Spain*, and *Gaul*, and defending them against the barbarians. His father *Constantius* had no sooner left *Gaul*, to make war upon the *Picts* in *Britain*, than the *Franks*, forgetful of their

The Franks break into Gaul, but are overcome by Constantine
oaths, time

^a VICT. epit. p. 543. LACT. perf. c. 18. p. 16, 17. ZOS. i. p. 672. EUTROP. p. 587. EUSEB. vit. Const. p. 498. Panegyger 5. p. 131. ^b AUR. VICT. p. 526.

His severity to-
wards the
captives.

oaths, had invaded *Gaul*, and committed there dreadful ravages. Against them therefore *Constantine* marched at the head of a powerful army, overcame them in a pitched battle, and having taken two of their kings prisoners, *Ascaric* and *Gaisus*, or *Regaisus*, he exposed them to be devoured by the wild beasts in the magnificent shows which he afterwards exhibited ^c. He thought himself obliged, says the panegyrist ^d, to renew the severity of the ancient *Romans* towards their captive kings, in order to restrain, with the fear of punishment, a perfidious people, who made no account of the most sacred ties that awed other nations. *Eutropius* writes, that he treated in like manner the kings of the *Alemans*, who, it seems, were in confederacy with the *Franks*, and fell into his hands in this war ^e. After this victory, he passed the *Rhine*, and entering the country of the *Brueterians*, when least expected, made a dreadful havock of that people, and took a great many prisoners, whom he likewise condemned to be devoured by the wild beasts ^f. He repaired all the forts on the *Rhine*, placed numerous garisons in them, kept there a powerful fleet, and by that means struck such terror into the *Franks* and other *German* nations, that none of them dared to approach that river ^g. He even undertook to build a bridge over the *Rhine* ^h, and accomplished, according to *Baudrand* ⁱ, that great work; for he tells us, that it stood till the year 955, when it was broken down by bishop *Berno's* orders. But *Valesius* ^k writes, that it was never finished, supposing, we imagine (for he alledges no proof in favour of his opinion), that such a memorable work would have been more famous in history, had it ever been executed. *Bucherius* writes, that *Constantine*, to defend this bridge, built, or repaired, the castle of *Duitz* on the *Rhine*, over-against *Cologne* ^l. Be that as it will, *Constantine*, in memory of his victory over the *Franks*, appointed solemn sports, called from them *ludi Francici*, to be annually celebrated from the fourteenth of *July* to the twentieth ^m. Notwithstanding the severity he exerted towards the enemy, *Lactantius* ⁿ and *Eusebius* ^o assure us, that he governed his subjects with extraordinary mildness and moderation; that to all he shewed himself kind, affable, benevolent, and good-natured; that he made it

The mild-
ness of his
govern-
ment.

^c Paneg. 9. p. 190, 197. 5. 127. 7. 163. ^d Idem, 5. p. 126. ^e EUTROP. p. 587. ^f Paneg. 3. p. 197. ^g Idem, p. 193. ^h Idem ibid. ⁱ BAUDR. p. 192. ^k Valef. rer. Franc. p. 18. ^l BUCH. hist. Belg. l. viii. c. 2. ^m EUTROP. p. 587. ⁿ LACT. perf. c. 24. p. 23. ^o EUSEB. vit. Const. l. i. c. 25. p. 420.

his chief study to render those happy who lived under his administration, &c.

THE following year, *Severus* and *Maximinus* were created consuls by *Galerius*, and acknowledged as such in all the provinces of the empire, except those that obeyed *Maxentius*, where *Maximian* caused himself to be declared consul the ninth time. This is what we look upon as most probable; for the confusion which appears this year 307, in the consular tables, was the natural consequence of that which prevailed in the empire. *Constantine* was likewise consul this year, having, as we conjecture, been substituted in the room of *Severus*, who was killed before the year expired. Many writers, to avoid the confusion occasioned by such a number of consuls, have chosen to date this with the consuls of the preceding year, whereof we have not yet had any instance, but shall have frequently in succeeding times. This year *Severus* *Severus*, in compliance with the orders he had received *marches a-* from *Galerius*, left *Milan*, and marched towards *Rome*, *gainst* to drive from thence the usurper *Maxentius*. He had *Maxentius* with him a powerful army; but consisting of troops which two years before had belonged to *Maximian*, the father of *Maxentius*, they were easily gained over by the latter, with *Anullinus*, who commanded them in quality of captain of the guards. Hence *Severus* no sooner approached *Rome*, with a design to besiege it, than they abandoned him, and joined his rival. Hereupon *Severus*, with a small body of troops that remained faithful to him, betook himself to flight, bending his rout towards *Milan*; but being closely pursued by *Maximian*, who *He is abandoned by his men, besieged in Ravenna, and* met him at the head of some troops which he had raised *taken.* in *Campania*, and was leading to *Rome*, he was obliged to shut himself up in *Ravenna*; which *Maximian* immediately invested. The place was well fortified, and supplied with great store of provisions; so that it might have easily held out till relieved by *Galerius*: but *Severus*, distrusting his own men, and relying upon the mighty promises and solemn oaths of *Maximian*, yielded up the place to him, and the purple with which he had been invested about a year and nine months before ^P. *Maximian*, unmindful of his oaths, carried him captive to *Rome*; and, after having kept *His death.* him some time confined to a place on the *Appian* way, about thirty miles from the city, called *Tres Tabernæ*, or the *Three Inns*, he caused him to be there put to death. The only fa-

^P AUR. VICT. p. 525. ZOS. I. ii. p. 673. EUTROP. p. 587. Anonym. p. 471. HIER. chron. LACT. per. c. 26. p. 24.

Constantine marries Fausta the daughter of Maximian, and is by him declared emperor.

His issue by Fausta.

vour he could obtain was that of dying by having his veins opened. His body was interred in the tomb of *Gallienus*, about eight or nine miles from *Rome* ^q. He left a son behind him, named *Severianus*, who was put to death by *Licinius* in 313 ^r. *Maximian*, well apprised, that *Galerius* would not suffer the death of *Severus* to pass unrevenge, resolved to strengthen himself with the alliance of *Constantine*, who, having conquered the *Franks*, enjoyed at that time a profound peace and tranquillity, and was wholly bent on promoting the happiness and welfare of his people. Having therefore fortified *Rome* with many new works, and put it in a condition of sustaining a long siege, he left *Italy*, and went to confer with *Constantine* in *Gaul*, where he persuaded him to marry his daughter *Fausta*, and at the same time changed the title of *Cæsar*, with which he had contented himself hitherto, as appears from several medals ^s, and from a panegyric pronounced on account of his nuptials ^t, into that of *Augustus*. *Constantine* is generally thought to have been declared emperor on the thirty-first of *March* of this year 307. *Fausta*, whom he married, is styled in the ancient inscriptions *Flavia Maximiana Fausta* ^u. *Lactantius* calls her *Maximian's* second daughter ^w. Perhaps he looked upon *Theodora*, his wife's daughter, as his own; for we find no mention made of any other daughter of *Maximian*. She was born and brought up in *Rome* ^x. The emperor *Julian* commends her modesty and blameless conduct ^y. *Minervina*, *Constantine's* first wife, by whom he had *Crispus*, must have been dead at this time; for he is not said to have divorced her. By *Fausta* he had, besides *Constantius*, who is the best known of all his children, *Constantine* his eldest son, *Constans* his youngest, and two daughters, *Constantina* and *Constantia*, or rather *Constantina*, who was married, first to *Annibalianus*, and afterwards to *Gallus Cæsar*, her cousin-germans, and *Helena*, the wife of the emperor *Julian* ^z. The wife of *Gallus* is styled on an ancient coin *Flavia Julia Constantina Augusta* ^a. *Galerius* did not grant the title of *Augustus* to *Constantine* till about a year after, when he was obliged to bestow it on *Maximin* ^b. While *Maximian* was in *Gaul* with *Constantine*, *Galerius* entered *Italy* with a powerful army; but not sufficient, as he found by

^q VICT. epit. p. 542. Zos. l. ii. p. 673, &c. ^r LACT. perf. c. 50. p. 45. ^s GOLTZ. p. 126. BIRAG. p. 459. BYZANT. fam. p. 15. ^t Panegy. 5. p. 127. ^u GOLTZ. p. 128. ^w LACT. c. 27. p. 25. ^x Idem ibid. ^y JULIAN. ist. i. p. 9. ^z Vide Anonym. p. 3. & BYZ. fam. p. 46, 47. SPANH. p. 640. ^a LACT. perf. c. 32. p. 29.

experience,

experience, to besiege *Rome*: for, as he had never seen the great capital of the empire, he imagined it to be only some-^{approaches} what larger than *Antioch*, and some other cities of the east. ^{Rome} He threatned to lay it in ruins, to put all the inhabitants to ^{with a de-} the sword, and utterly to extirpate the senate; but when he ^{sign to be-} approached that immense metropolis, and viewed its fortifi-^{siege it.} cations, despairing to be able to carry it by assault, and not having with him a sufficient number of troops to invest it, he retired to *Interamna*, now *Terni*, and thence sent *Licinius* and *Probus* to exhort *Maxentius*, in his name, to demand the empire of his father-in-law, and not usurp it by force of arms. But *Maxentius*, having found means to gain under-hand some of *Galerius's* legions, was so far from hearkening to the deputies, that he would have marched out against *Galerius*, if he, ^{But is ob-} distrusting his troops, and dreading the fate of *Severus*, had not ^{liged to re-} hastened back into his own dominions. In his retreat he laid ^{tire with} waste the country far and wide, to prevent the enemy from ^{precipitati-} pursuing him, and allowed his soldiers to commit unheard-of ^{on.} disorders and cruelties. *Maximian* who was still in *Gaul*, being informed of the precipitous retreat of *Galerius*, did all that lay in his power to persuade *Constantine* to pursue him; but finding that prince no-ways inclined to engage in so dangerous a war, he repassed the *Alps*, and returned to *Rome*, where he reigned some time jointly with his son, but was less respected, and not so readily obeyed as he. This piqued him to such a degree, that, divesting himself of all paternal affection, he resolved to deprive *Maxentius* of the empire, not doubting, but the troops that had abandoned *Seve-* ^{Maximian} *rus*, as they had formerly belonged to him, ^{attempts to} would favour this ^{depose his} attempt. Having therefore endeavoured under-hand to ^{son.} estrange them from his son, he assembled both the people and soldiery; and after a long descent upon the evils and misfortunes of the times, he turned unexpectedly to his son, who sat on the throne or tribunal with him, reproached him as the sole author of the present calamities, and, after many bitter and virulent invectives, stripped him of his purple robes, and tore them in pieces. *Maxentius*, leaping from the throne, implored the protection of the soldiery, who, being moved with his tears, but more with his promises, received him in their arms, loaded *Maximian* with injuries, and threatened him with present death. *Zonaras* tells us, that *Maximian*, to appease the soldiery, told them, that he was

^c Idem ibid. c. 27. p. 25. Pan. 6. p. 136. Anonym. p. 472.
^d LAC T. Anonym. ibid. ^e Panegy. 6. p. 136. EUTROP. p. 687. Zos. l. ii. p. 674.

But is ob-
liged to re-
tire to
Gaul.

Licinius
created
emperor.

His ex-
traction
and cha-
racter.

not in earnest, but had made use of that artifice to try whether or no they were sincerely attached to his son; but no one believing him, he thought it adviseable to leave *Rome*, and accordingly hastened back into *Gaul*, where he complained to *Constantine*, that his son had driven him from *Rome*. But *Constantine*, not seeming to be much affected with his complaints, about the month of *November* he repaired to *Galerius*, the declared enemy of his son, to regulate with him, as he pretended, the public affairs, but in reality to watch an opportunity of dispatching him, and seizing his provinces ^f. But no favourable occasion offered of putting in execution his wicked purpose. *Galerius* was not then at *Carnutum* in *Gaul*, now *Chartres*, as we read in *Zosimus* ^g, but at *Carnuntum*, or *Carnus*, on the *Danube* in *Pannonia*, with *Dioclesian*, whom he had invited thither to authorize with his presence the election of *Licinius*, whom he intended to create emperor in the room of *Severus*. On this occasion *Maximian*, in a private conference with his ancient colleague, did all that lay in his power to prevail upon him to resume the empire, and deliver the people of *Rome* from so many tyrants ^h. *Victor* the younger writes, that *Galerius* himself pressed *Dioclesian* to re-ascend the throne ⁱ; which to us seems altogether improbable. Be that as it will, *Dioclesian* found such delights in a retired life, that he would hearken to no proposals of that nature. *Lactantius* assures us, that the design of *Maximian* was to re-instate *Dioclesian* and himself in the empire, and destroy the rest, one after another, his own son not excepted ^k. Some writers, and *Eutropius* among the rest ^l, seem to have believed, that *Maximian* only pretended to be at variance with his son, the better to deceive the other princes, and compass their ruin; but, instead of that, he was obliged to authorize with his presence the promotion of *Licinius*, whom *Galerius* created emperor in the room of *Severus*, on the eleventh of *November* of this year 307. *Licinius* was a native of *New Dacia*, which lay on the *Roman* side of the *Danube*, and was, ever since the reign of *Aurelian*, accounted one of the provinces of *Illyricum*. He pretended to derive his pedigree from the emperor *Philip*, but was in reality sprung from a family quite mean and ignoble ^m. His education was suitable to his birth; for he was brought up without the least knowledge of letters; nay he was not ashamed

^f LACT. pers. c. 29. p. 26. EUTROP. p. 687. ^g Zos. l. ii. p. 673. ^h Idem ibid. ⁱ VICT. epit. p. 542. ^k LACT. pers. c. 43. p. 37. ^l EUTROP. p. 587. ^m Anonym. p. 473. Gord. vit. p. 165. VICT. epit. p. 543.

to declare himself an open enemy to learning, calling the sciences the pest and bane of the stateⁿ. He was naturally of a cruel, violent, and haughty temper^o, and addicted, even in his old age, to the most infamous debaucheries^p. His insatiable avarice prompted him, when raised to the empire, to fill his coffers by the most unjust, tyrannical, and iniquitous methods^q. However, he was a brave and experienced officer, kept the soldiers to their duty, punished the least transgressions with the utmost severity, and by that means revived in the army the discipline of the ancient Romans^r. In the year 323, he was, according to *Victor* the younger, about sixty. *Eusebius* speaks of him as one at that time worn out with old age^s; and *Lactantius* tells us, that *Galerius* did not create him *Cæsar* in 305, because he was ashamed to call him his son, but chose to raise him to the empire at once, and style him his brother^t. However, in 313, he married *Constantia* the sister of *Constantine*, and had children by her^u. *Galerius* and he had lived in great intimacy ever since they first entered into the army; and the emperor, reposing an intire confidence in him, had, in all his expeditions, after he had attained to the dignity of *Cæsar*, suffered himself to be wholly governed by his counsels. The memorable victory, which *Galerius* gained over the *Persians*, was in great measure owing to the valour and conduct of *Licinius*^w. *Galerius* seems at first to have given him only the provinces of *Pannonia* and *Rhætia*; but at the same time he promised to put him in possession of those that were held by *Maxentius*, as soon as he had driven out that usurper^x. Thus was the empire ruled at once by six princes, viz. *Maximian*, *Galerius*, *Licinius*, *Maximin*, *Constantine*, and *Maxentius*.

THE following year, *Maximian* was consul the tenth time, and *Galerius* the seventh; but at *Rome* the year was dated by the consuls who should be named, *Maxentius*, who reigned there, refusing to acknowledge the consulship either of *Galerius* or his father *Maximian*. This continued till the twentieth of *April*, when *Maxentius* caused himself to be declared consul with his son *Romulus*, styled on the antient coins *M. Aurelius Romulus*^y. *Maxentius* gave him the title

*Maxentius
and his son
Romulus
consuls at
Rome.*

ⁿ VICT. ibid. ^o EUSEB. l. x. c. 8. p. 397. ^p VICT. epit. p. 544. ^q EUSEB. p. 396, 397. Anonym. d. 474. ^r EUTROP. p. 587. VICT. epit. p. 543. ^s EUSEB. l. x. c. 8. p. 397. ^t LACT. perf. c. 32. p. 29. ^u Idem ibid. c. 20. p. 19. ^w EUTROP. p. 587. ^x ZOS. l. ii. p. 674. LACT. perf. p. 424. ^y BUCH. cycl. p. 238. IDAT. BIRAG. p. 450, 452.

Maximin
causes him-
self to be
proclaimed
emperor.

Constan-
tine ac-
knowledg-
ed emperor
by Gale-
rius.

of *Cæsar* and *emperor*, created him consul the following year, and ranked him among the gods after his death, which happened during his second consulship ^a, being drowned, it seems, in the *Tiber* ^a. While the disturbances and changes, which we have mentioned above, happened in the west, *Maximin* enjoyed a profound peace and tranquillity in the east, which he governed with the title only of *Cæsar*. But when he understood, that *Licinius* had been declared emperor, he pressed *Galerius* to raise him too to the same rank. The emperor could not be prevailed upon to grant him his request, but, to content him, contrived a new title, appointing, that he and *Constantine* should, for the future, be styled *Filii Augustorum*, sons of emperors; which title is still to be seen on some of his and *Constantine's* coins ^b. *Maximin* pretended to be satisfied with this new mark of distinction, but, in the mean time, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor by his army; and in the letter which he wrote on that occasion to *Galerius*, assured him, that the troops had, without his consent or co-operation, saluted him *Augustus* ^c. This gave *Galerius* great uneasiness; but nevertheless, as he did not think it advisable to quarrel with his nephew about the title he had usurped, he confirmed it, and at the same time granted it to *Constantine*, who was thus, through the ambition of another man, acknowledged emperor through all the provinces of the empire ^d. This year, *Maximian*, thinking himself neglected by *Galerius*, left *Illyricum*, and privately withdrew to *Constantine* in *Gaul*, with a design to lay hold of the first opportunity that offered to dispatch him, and cause himself to be acknowledged in his room. The better to deceive him, he quitted the purple the second time, declaring, that, in imitation of *Dioclesian*, he would lead a retired life, and no longer concern himself with public affairs. *Constantine* received him with the greatest marks of honour and esteem, assigned him an apartment in his own palace, and commanded all his subjects to pay the same obedience to the orders of his father-in-law, as to his own. But the restless and turbulent spirit of *Maximian* did not suffer him long to enjoy so happy a situation. *Constantine* was then busied in building a bridge over the *Rhine*; which great undertaking struck the neighbouring nations with such terror, that they sent ambassadors to sue for peace, offering

^a Vide *NORIS*. de *Diocles* num. ^a *Paneg.* 6. p. 146. ^b *BR-*
RAG. p. 446. *LACT.* p. 23. *EUSEB.* p. 210. ^c *LACT.*
pers. p. 433. ^d *Idem* *ibid.* c. 43 p. 36. c. 44. p. 58.

to deliver up some of their chiefs as hostages and pledges of their sincerity. However, some *Franks* still continued in arms; and against these *Maximian* advised *Constantine* to march with a small body of forces, and leave the rest at *Arelatum*, now *Arles*. His design was to make himself master of *Constantine's* forces, and seize his provinces, if any misfortune should befall him, as there was room to believe there might, seeing he was attended only by a small army. *Constantine*, not suspecting the least treachery, followed the advice of his father-in-law, who marched part of the way with him, and then returned to *Arles*, where the emperor had left the flower of his troops. When he thought him engaged in the enemy's country, he all on a sudden resumed the purple the third time, made himself master of the palace, seized on the treasures there, distributed great part of them among the soldiers who were present, and wrote to those who were absent letters filled with most bitter invectives against *Constantine*, inviting them, with mighty promises, to follow the example of the troops at *Arles*. *Constantine* was no sooner informed of what had passed, than he led back his army by land from the *Rhine* to *Challon*, where he embarked his forces on the *Sône*; and landing them unexpectedly at *Arles*, surprised *Maximian*, before he was in a condition to oppose him. The soldiers who had declared for *Maximian*, awed with the presence of their lawful commander, returned to their duty, a small number excepted, who, being seduced by the presents and promises of the usurper, fled with him to *Marseilles*, and shut themselves up in that city. *Constantine* pursued them close, and arriving before the place, would have carried it by assault, had not his scaling-ladders unluckily proved too short. This obliged him to sound the retreat; but, in the mean time, some of the inhabitants having opened one of the gates to *Constantine's* men, they entered the city, seized on the usurper, while he was uttering from the walls bitter invectives against the emperor, and carried him to *Constantine*; who, after having reproached him with his treachery and ambition, and obliged him to quit the purple, not only granted him his life, but suffered him through an excess of clemency and goodness, to continue with him in the same palace^e. While these things passed in *Gaul*, the troops in *Africa* revolting from *Maxentius*, who was acknowledged there, declared

Maximian
attempts to
destroy
Constantine.

He is taken
prisoner;
but used
with great
clemency by
Constantine.

^e LACT. p. 26. Panegy. 9. p. 199, 200. Zos. l. ii, p. 673.
VALES. rer. Franc. p. 21. ^f Panegy. 9. p. 200, 201, 202.
LACT. perf. c. 29. p. 27.

Alexander *Alexander*, who commanded in quality of lieutenant, emperor, and with the usual ceremonies gave him the purple at *Carthage*^g. He was descended of an ignoble and mean family in *Phrygia*^h, or, as *Aurelius Victor* will have it, in *Pannonia*ⁱ. All authors paint him as one in every respect unequal to so great a charge, being stricken in years, and quite destitute of vigor, prudence, and courage. Besides, his troops consisted chiefly of new levies, unacquainted with the military discipline, and for the most part without arms. However, as he had a *Maxentius* for his rival, he maintained his usurped authority for the space of three years at least, some of his *Greek* coins, which have reached us, being dated the fourth year of his reign^k. One *Nigrinianus*, who is represented on some antient medals with rays round his head, and the title of *divus* or *deified*, is by most antiquaries thought to have been the son of *Alexander*^l.

THE following year 309, *Maxentius* took upon him his second consulship at *Rome*, having his son *Romulus* for his colleague^m. There were, it seems, no other consuls in the other parts of the empire; for this year is commonly distinguished by the consuls of the preceding year thus, the year after the tenth and seventh consulship, viz. of *Maximian* and *Galerius*. Some, however, are of opinion, that *Licinius* was this year consul for the first time; and it is past all doubt, that he was consul before the death of *Galerius*. This year *Eumenius*, as is commonly believed, pronounced his panegyric on *Constantine*, in a city which stood on a great river that falls into the *Rhine* above *Cologne*ⁿ; that is, according to most interpreters, in *Treves*, which stood then, as it still does, on the *Moselle*, the river plainly pointed at in the above-mentioned description. The panegyrist tells us, that *Constantine* was then busied in repairing the walls of that city, which had been ruined, and in building there a great circus, a large square, basilics, and a magnificent palace for the administration of justice. He extols the generosity of the good-natured emperor, the effects whereof had been felt in all the places through which he had passed; and therefore he intreats him to visit the city of *Autun*, where the orator himself was born, and at that time taught rhetoric. In the close of his speech, he recommends to the emperor his five children, and all his disciples, some of whom already enjoyed the first employments in

^g Zos. l. ii. p. 675. VICT. epit. p. 542. ^h Zos. & VICT. ibid. ⁱ AUR. VICT. p. 526. ^k GOLTZ. p. 125. ^l BIRAG. p. 445. ^m BUCH. cycl. p. 238. ONUPH. in fast. p. 263. ⁿ Panegyr. 9. p. 198.

the state *. The following year, *Andronius* and *Probus* were named consuls by *Galerius*; but were not acknowledged as such at *Rome*, where *Maxentius* took upon him that dignity the third time without a colleague. In the consular tables this year is dated as the preceding, thus; *the second year after the tenth and seventh consulship* †. This year, *Maximian*, no longer able to lead a private and retired life, resolved at all events to attempt the recovery of his former condition; but being well apprised, that all his efforts would prove unsuccessful, so long as *Constantine* lived, he determin'd, in the first place, to murder him; and, in order to compass his wicked purpose, had recourse to his daughter *Fausta*, the wife of *Constantine*, using his utmost endeavours, and all manner of caresses and intreaties, to prevail upon her to betray her husband, and leave the door of the bed-chamber open; which she promised to do, but immediately revealed the whole to *Constantine*, who unwilling to condemn his father-in-law without some undeniable proof of his guilt, placed one night an eunuch in his bed, and left the door of the chamber open. *Maximian* did not fail to lay hold of the opportunity, and entering the room about midnight, killed the eunuch, crying out as he retired, *Constantine is dead; I am emperor*. But *Constantine* appearing that instant, attended by a numerous guard, stopped him, and shewed him the body of the murdered eunuch. It is easier to conceive than express the terror and dismay that seized him, when he found himself thus convicted of the most detestable treachery imaginable, without being able either to excuse or deny it. As he had been chiefly prompted to this excess of wickedness by the mild treatment which he had hitherto met with, and still promised himself, from *Constantine*, that prince thought himself obliged, in his own defence, to put an end to the life and crimes of such an ambitious, implacable, and treacherous, enemy. The only favour he granted him was the choice of his death, and he chose of all deaths the most infamous and disgraceful, which was hanging. Such was the unhappy, but deserved, end of *Maximian*, after having reigned with great glory at least twenty years, and lived, according to *Victor* the younger ‡, about sixty (E). *Constantine* caused all his statues to be pulled

Maximian
attempts to
murder
Constantine.

He is discovered
and seized.

His death.

* Idem, p. 190, &c. † BUCH. p. 238. & 249. IDAT. PROSP. &c. ‡ LACT. pers. c. 30. p. 27. EUTROP. p. 587. Zos. l. ii. p. 674. VICT. epit. p. 542. † Idem ibid.

(E) Some authors write, that *Maximian* died at *Marseilles*, confounding perhaps his death with what happened to him there in

Galerius
is seized
with a
dreadful
distemper.

led down, his images to be torn in pieces, and his inscriptions erased, not sparing even such as were common to him with *Dioclesian*. The same year, *Galerius* was seized with a most dreadful distemper, ^{*}an incurable ulcer in his privy parts. *Lactantius* [†] and *Eusebius* [‡] describe at length the miserable condition to which he was reduced, and tell us, that, besides the inexpressible torments with which he was racked night and day, without the least respite, such an insufferable stench issued out of his body, as infected not only the palace, but the whole city. The distemper increased daily, in spite of all the art and skill of the best physicians and surgeons: his thighs putrified by degrees, his belly was consumed, his bowels laid open, and the whole mass of his blood corrupted. Notwithstanding all the care that could be used, he was devoured alive with infinite swarms of worms and vermin. No longer able to bear such unrelenting torments, he often attempted to lay violent hands on himself, and caused some of his physicians to be put to death, because their remedies proved ineffectual. He had recourse to *Apollo*, to *Æsculapius*, and all his gods, but to no effect; nay, the remedies which *Apollo*, or rather some impostor in his name, prescribed to him, served only to aggravate his raging distemper. He languished in this painful, and, beyond expression, miserable condition, a whole year and upwards, suffering every minute all the agonies of death [¶]. The pagan as well as christian writers take notice of this unaccountable malady of *Galerius* [¶]. The latter ascribe it to divine vengeance, as he had been the chief author

[†] LACT. perf. c. 33. p. 30. [‡] EUSEB. l. viii. c. 16. p. 314, 315
[¶] Idem, ibid. LACT. c. 33. [¶] AUR. VICT. epit. p. 525. ZOS. p. 674. Anonym. p. 472.

308, as *Zosimus* confounds it with that of *Maximin II.* in telling us, that he died a natural death at *Tarsus* (46). In an antient chronicle, quoted by *Du Chesne* (47), we are told, that about the year 1054, his body was discovered at *Marseilles* in a leaden coffin, inclosed in a tomb of white marble, so well embalmed, that it was still intire, and appeared fresh. The author of the chronicle writes, that he learnt this of those who had seen the body; and adds, that *Raimbaud*, archbishop of *Arles*, persuaded the inhabitants to throw the carcase of such an unmerciful persecutor of the church into the sea, with the coffin, tomb, and whatever else was found with it. *St. Ambrose* had written long before, that *Maximian* was buried in a most beautiful tomb of marble (48).

(46) Zos. l. ii. p. 674.
 (48) Ambros. epist. lvii. p. 321.

(47) Du Chesne. tom. 3. p. 641.

of the persecution and unheard-of cruelties suffered by the christians. This year *Constantine* waged war with the *Alemans*, the *Bruſterians*, *Cheruscans*, *Chamavians*, and several other *German* nations; who, after having attacked the *Romans* in separate bodies, joined in the end all their forces, and formed a very numerous and powerful army^a. *Constantine*, not depending upon the relations of others, ventured in disguise into the midst of their army; pretending to be a deputy sent to them by the emperor. As he found, that not caring to engage him, they designed to separate, which would have rendered the war more tedious, he assured them, that the emperor was not then with his army; which they no sooner understood than they dismissed the pretended deputy, and without loss of time marched with all their forces against the enemy. *Constantine* received them at the head of his army, *Constantine* put them to the rout at the first onset, and made a dreadful slaughter of them in their flight^b. It was perhaps on account of this victory that he took the title of *Maximus*, which we find on some of his medals struck this year 310; the fifth of his reign^c. *Eusebius* tells us, that, after he had driven out of *Gaul*; or intirely subdued, the barbarians bordering on the *Rhine* and the ocean; he passed over into *Britain*, and there reduced such of the inhabitants as had not yet submitted to him^d. But of this expedition no mention is made by the panegyrist.

THE next consuls were *Galerius*; the eighth time, and *Maximinus*, the second; but *Maxentius* refusing to acknowledge them, *Rome* was without consuls till the month of *September*, when *Rufinus* and *Eusebius Volusianus* were honoured with that dignity^e. As the distemper of *Galerius* grew daily more raging and violent, he began at length to ascribe it to the just vengeance of heaven; for his cruelties to the innocent christians, and immediately published an edict, ordering a stop to be put to the persecution. This edict was enacted in the name of three emperors, viz. *Galerius*, *Constantine*, and *Licinius*. *Maxentius* was looked upon by *Galerius* as an enemy, and had never been acknowledged by him; and as for *Maximin*, he either would not agree with the rest to put a stop to the persecution, or his name has been, through a mistake of the transcribers, omitted in the edict, as that of *Licinius* has been left out in most editions of *Eusebius*, and even in the *Latin* translation by *Rufinus*. The edict was dated the

^a Panegy. 7. p. 163—165. ^b Idem, p. 164.
^c p. 462. ^d EUSEB. vit. Constant. l. i. c. 25. p. 420.
^e perl. c. 35. p. 31. BUCH. cycl. p. 238.

^a BIRAG.
^b LACT.

twentieth year of the reign of *Galerius*, and consequently must have been drawn up after the first of *March* of this year 311. *His death.* It was publicly set up at *Nicomedia* on the thirtieth of *April*, and the following month his death was known there; for he died, according to the most probable opinion, at *Sardica*, the metropolis of *New Dacia*, now known by the name of *Sofia*, or, as the inhabitants style it, *Triadizza* *c.* *Galerius* had reigned, reckoning from the time he had been created *Cæsar*, nineteen years, two months, and some days. He had been emperor six years, and a few days; for we find some of his coins dated the seventh year of his reign *d.* Before he expired, he earnestly recommended to *Licinius* his wife *Valeria*, the daughter of *Dioclesian*, and *Candidianus* his natural son *e.*; which shews, that *Licinius* was present when he died. He was buried in the same city where he was born, and afterwards deified with the usual ceremonies *f.* *Maximin* was no sooner informed of the death of *Galerius*, than he hastened from the east, where he then was, with a design to seize on his provinces, and entering *Bithynia*, made himself master of all the countries beyond the *Propontis*. On the other hand, *Licinius*, having drawn together his forces, marched to oppose him; and the two armies encamped over-against each other, the one on the coast of *Asia*, and the other of *Europe*. However, they came at length to an agreement; and in a private interview, which they had in the streights of *Chalcedon*, they entered into an offensive and defensive alliance, which they confirmed with the most solemn oaths *g.* *Maximin* remained master of *Bithynia*, and *Licinius* of *Thrace*, the streights of *Chalcedon* being the common boundary between the two empires *h.* *Valeria*, the widow of *Galerius*, though earnestly recommended by him at the point of death to *Licinius*, chose to withdraw into the dominions of *Maximin*, with her mother *Prisca* the wife of *Dioclesian*, *Candidianus* the natural son of *Galerius*, and *Severianus* the son of *Severus*, put to death by *Maximian* in 307. *Maximin* treated *Valeria* for some time with the utmost respect, honouring her with the title of mother; nay, he conceived a violent passion for her, and even offered to repudiate his own wife, and marry her. *Valeria*, not a little surpris'd at this unexpected proposal, answered him with great freedom, That the state and habit she was in, the time of her mourning for

Licinius
and Maxi-
min di-
vide his
provinces.

c LACT. perf. c. 33. p. 30. EUSEB. l. viii. c. 17. p. 315.
d PAGI, p. 311. *e* LACT. c. 35. 50. p. 32, 44. EUSEB. l.
 viii. c. 17. *f* VICT. epit. p. 543. BIRAG. p. 444. EUSEB.
 l. ix. c. 10. p. 364. *g* EUSEB. l. ix. c. 10. LACT. c. 45. p. 39.
h EUSEB. LACT. ibid.

the death of her husband not being yet expired, did not allow her to think of marriage; that to her it seemed very strange he should put away a wife, who had not given him the least occasion of complaint; that such a proceeding gave her room to expect the like treatment; and, in short, that it was both unbecoming and unprecedented in a person of her rank to entertain the least thought of a second marriage. *Maximin* was provoked to such a degree with this frank and generous answer, that, changing his love into hatred and rage, he immediately banished both her and her mother, seized on all her effects, confined her domestics, put her eunuchs to the rack, and, upon false accusations, sentenced to death several illustrious ladies who attended her, and among the rest two senators wives, and one whose daughter was a vestal at *Rome*. They were publicly executed at *Nicea*, upon the deposition of a Jew, who falsely accused them of adultery, hoping to escape the punishment due to his crimes by impeaching them. The people loudly complained of such a bare-faced piece of injustice, and, transported with rage, would have torn in pieces *Eratineus* the governor of that province, while he sat on his tribunal to condemn them, and see his sentence put in execution, had he not been surrounded by a numerous body of soldiers, who with much-ado protected him against the insults of the incensed populace. The Jew, their accuser, being afterwards condemned to be crucified, acknowledged on the cross their innocence, and his own guilt, in suffering himself to be suborned to accuse them¹. *Valeria*, though confined in the deserts of *Syria*, found means to acquaint her father *Dioclesian* with the miserable state she was in, who, moved with tenderness and compassion, sent several persons, and among the rest a kinsman of his own, an officer of great distinction in the army, to intreat *Maximin*, by all the obligations he owed him, to release his beloved daughter from her confinement, and allow him the satisfaction of enjoying her company in his old age. But the tyrant was deaf to all intreaties; which is said to have hastened the death of the old emperor².

Constantine, in the mean time, was busied in visiting the provinces under his government. He arrived this year, the sixth of his reign, at *Autun*; and finding the inhabitants overloaded with taxes, he not only forgave them what they owed to the exchequer ever since his accession to the empire, but remitted above a fourth part of all imposts. In acknow-

Constantine's generosity to the city of Autun.

¹ LACT. perſ. c. 39, 40. p. 35, 36. p. 36.

² Idem, c. 41.

Maxen-
tius reduces
and ruins
the pro-
vince of
Africa.

Rome and
Italy grie-
vously af-
fected by
him.

ledgment of this favour, the city of *Autun*, looking upon the generous and good-natured emperor as their saviour, took the name of *Flavia*, which was the name of his family; and upon his return to the place of his residence, probably *Treves*, they sent *Eumenius* to return him thanks for his extraordinary kindness to them; which the orator did in a speech that is still extant¹. In the mean time, *Maxentius*, who reigned at *Rome*, undertook the reduction of *Africa*, which had revolted, as we have related above, in 308, and declared *Alexander* emperor. Against him *Maxentius* dispatched *Rufus*, or *Rufius Volusianus*, probably the consul of this year, and one *Zenus*, a celebrated commander, who, in the first battle that was fought, put the troops of *Alexander* to the rout, took him prisoner, and caused him immediately to be strangled^m. Thus ended the war in *Africa*; but not the calamities of that unhappy province: for *Maxentius* caused such of the *Africans*, as were considerable either for their birth or wealth, to be inhumanly put to death, and seized their estates, pretending they had favoured the usurper; nay, he commanded the city of *Carthage*, at that time one of the most beautiful and flourishing cities in the world, to be laid in ashes. Thus was the province of *Africa* utterly ruined, and the inhabitants reduced to beggary, and obliged, through fear of the tyrant, to abandon their native country, and take shelter in the provinces of the other princesⁿ. *Maxentius* triumphed at *Rome* for the defeat of *Alexander*, or rather for the destruction of *Carthage*, and the ruin of *Africa*. But *Rome* and *Italy* were no less grievously afflicted by the lewd, inhuman, and avaricious tyrant, than *Carthage* and *Africa*. The inexpressible calamities, under which they groaned, are described at length by *Zosimus*^o, *Eusebius*^p, *Aurelius Victor*^q, and the panegyrists who flourished in those times^r. His lust spared not the most illustrious ladies of *Rome*, nor his avarice the chief men in the senate: he forced the former, by all manner of torments, to comply with his impure desires; and condemned the latter, under various pretences, to death or banishment, in order to seize their estates. *Eusebius*^s and *Rufinus*^t tell us, that having by menaces forced the governor of the city to yield up to him his wife, by name *Sophronia*, she, who professed the

¹ Paneg. 8. p. 188, &c. ^m AUR. VICT. p. 526. Zos. l. ii. p. 675. LACTAN. per. c. 43. p. 37. ⁿ Paneg. 6. 7. p. 145, 173. AUR. VICT. Zos. ibid. ^o Zos. l. ii. p. 675. ^p EUSEB. l. viii. p. 310. ^q AUR. VICT. p. 526. ^r Panegy. 6, 7. p. 137, 158. ^s EUSEB. hist. l. viii. c. 14. p. 313. ^t RUFIN. c. 17. p. 141.

christian religion, and consequently thought death a less evil than the defiling herself with any impurity, begged a few minutes to put on her best attire; which being granted, she withdrew into her closet, and there, after a short prayer, buried a dagger in her breast, and died on the spot. This action is mightily commended by *Eusebius* and *Rufinus*; and *Palladius* seems to approve it ^u. It shews a courage in *Sophronia* above her sex, and a love of purity worthy of the religion which she professed; but nevertheless cannot, in the opinion of *St. Austin* ^w, be commended, or even excused, unless done by a particular and extraordinary impulse from heaven, such as he supposes *Razias* to have had, of whom mention is made in the books of the *Maccabees*. *Maxentius* allowed his soldiers the same unrestrained liberty, or rather licentiousness, which he took himself, abandoning to them the honour, the lives, and the fortunes of the most innocent persons. By this means *Rome* was in a short time reduced to a most deplorable condition; the senators were stripped of their estates, and either banished upon false accusations, or publicly executed; and the people so loaded with taxes, that they had not wherewithal to purchase the common necessaries, and great numbers of them died daily for want. He was greatly addicted to the study of magic, which prompted him to many unheard-of cruelties, as he hoped to learn future events from the entrails of women and innocent children ^x. A fire accidentally breaking out in the temple of *Fortune*, and the people flocking from all parts to extinguish it, a soldier uttered some words of raillery against the *unfortunate goddesses*; which one of the populace hearing killed the soldier on the spot. His comrades, to revenge his death, fell sword in hand upon the people; which occasioned a dreadful tumult, in which an incredible number of persons lost their lives ^y. *Zosimus* writes, that *Maxentius* immediately restrained the fury of his soldiers; but though he excuses him on this occasion, yet he owns, that his tyranny grew daily more insufferable, and that the *Roman* people impatiently wished for a deliverer ^z. *Prudentius* gives us a pathetic account of the evils which the city endured under so cruel a tyrant, who was not ashamed to fill the public prisons with the most venerable and illustrious persons in the senate ^a. Being elated with his success against *Alexander*, tyrant of *Africa*, he began to entertain thoughts of destroying

The resolution and intrepidity of *Sophronia* a christian lady.

The cruelty of *Maxentius*.

^u PALLAD. hist. Lausiaca, c. 150. p. 105.

civ. Dei, l. i. c. 26.

^x Panegy. 6. p. 136.

^w AUGUST.

^y EUSEB. p.

310. AUR. VICT. p. 52.

^z Zos. l. ii. p. 675.

^a PRUD.

ni Sym. l. i. p. 219, 220.

Here resolves
to make
war upon
Constantine.

Constantine begins
his march
to Italy.

the other princes, one after the other ; for he was often heard to say, That he alone was emperor, and that the others were only his lieutenants, employed by him to defend and guard the confines of the empire against the incursions of the barbarians, that he might enjoy at *Rome* an undisturbed peace and tranquillity. He resolved to begin with *Constantine*, under the plausible pretence of revenging the death of his father *Maximian*, though we are assured, that he was not in the least affected with it ^b. He had then under his command an hundred and seventy thousand foot, and eighteen thousand horse, most of whom had served under his father, and consequently were inured to military toils and dangers. He had amassed by his extortions vast sums to defray the charges of a war, and great store of provisions, having for that purpose drained *Africa* and the adjacent islands. He no sooner began to assemble his troops, than *Constantine*, well apprised of his design, wrote to him, and by laying before him the dreadful evils and calamities attending a civil war, endeavoured to divert him from it. *Nazarius* tells us, that *Constantine*, pitying the miserable condition to which he saw, with the utmost concern, the metropolis of the empire reduced, burnt with a desire of redeeming it from the tyranny under which it groaned ; but not thinking that could justify his engaging in a war with his brother-in-law, he endeavoured to satisfy him as to the death of his father. But *Maxentius*, who wanted only a pretence for stripping *Constantine* of his dominions, without giving ear to his remonstrances, caused his statues to be pulled down, and his images defaced, giving out, that he was determined at all events to revenge the death of his father. Hereupon *Constantine*, leaving a strong body of troops to guard the banks of the *Rhine*, and prevent the barbarians from breaking into *Gaul* during his absence, set out on his march to *Italy*, at the head of an army, consisting, according to those who magnify their number the most, of ninety thousand foot and eight thousand horse. Of these only twenty-five thousand were *Romans*, and the rest auxiliaries ^c. A panegyrist, in an oration pronounced before him, says, that he engaged in this war with a smaller number of troops than *Alexander* had with him, when he went to attack the king of *Persia* ^d ; that is, not quite forty thousand men. He endeavoured to gain over *Licinius*, by promising him his sister *Constantia* in marriage ; which gave such jealousy to *Maximin*, that he sent deputies to court the friendship of *Maxentius*,

^b Zos. l. ii. p. 675. AUR. VICT. p. 526.
676. ^d Pan. 6. p. 137.

^c Zos. l. ii. p.

and entered into an alliance with him ; which, however, was kept secret ; for *Constantine* was not apprised of it till he became master of *Rome*, and saw there the statue of *Maximin* placed close to that of *Maxentius*^e. We are not told, that *Maximin* sent any succours to *Maxentius*, or *Licinius* to *Constantine*. In this war providence had something in view infinitely more important, than the rescuing of *Rome* from the tyranny of *Maxentius* ; nothing less than the delivering of the church from the cruel persecution under which it had groaned for the space of near three hundred years. *Constantine* had inherited of his father some love and esteem for the christians ; for the first use he made of his authority was to put a stop to the persecution in the provinces subject to him^f. However, he had not yet shewn any inclination to embrace a religion which he both honoured and esteemed ; but in the war with *Maxentius*, apprehending that he stood in need of an extraordinary assistance from heaven, he began seriously to consider with himself, what deity he should implore as his guardian and protector. He revolved in his mind the fallacious answers given by the oracles to other princes, and the success that had attended his father *Constantius* in all his wars, who despised the many gods worshipped by the *Romans*, and acknowledged only one Supreme Being. At the same time he observed, that such of his predecessors as had persecuted the christians, the adorers of this God, had miscarried in most of their undertakings, and perished by an unfortunate and untimely end ; whereas his father, who countenanced and protected them, had in all his wars been attended with uncommon success, and ended his life in the arms of his children. Upon these considerations he resolved to have recourse to the God of his father, and adhere to Him alone. To Him therefore he addressed himself with great humility and fervour, beseeching Him to make himself known to him, and to assist him in his present expedition. Heaven heard his prayer in a manner altogether miraculous ; which, however incredible it may appear to some, *Eusebius* assures us, he received from the emperor's own mouth, who solemnly confirmed the truth of it with his oath. As he was marching at the head of his troops in the open fields, there suddenly appeared to him, and the whole army, a little after mid-day, a pillar of light above the sun, in the form of a cross, with this inscription, *In this conquer*. The emperor was in great pain about the meaning of this wonderful vision, till the following night ; when our Saviour appearing to him,

He deliberates with himself what god he should implore.

A miraculous apparition.

^e LACT. perf. c. 43. p. 37.

^f Idem, c. 24. p. 23.

with the same sign that he had seen in the heavens, commanded him to cause such another to be framed, and to make use of it in conquering his enemies. The next morning, *Constantine* imparted to his friends what he had seen; and sending for the ablest artificers and workmen, ordered them to frame a cross of gold and precious stones, according to the directions which he gave them. This cross is minutely described by *Eusebius* who saw it ^g. *Baronius*, who has caused it to be engraved in his annals ^h, places the images of *Constantine* and his children on the standard that was fastened to the cross-part of it, though *Eusebius* seems to place them below the standard. In a crown of gold at the top of the cross was a figure, consisting of the two first letters of the name of *Christ*, according to the *Greek* orthography ⁱ. This figure, on some

medals, is formed thus  and in others thus . This cypher was probably shewn to *Constantine* with the cross; for we are no-where told that he contrived it. Some are of opinion, that this cypher, in which the cross is plainly represented, was the only thing *Constantine* added to the antient standard. This the pious emperor caused to be carried before him in all his wars, as an ensign of safety and victory ^k. *Socrates* seems to insinuate, that in his time, about the year 430, it was lodged in the imperial palace at *Constantinople* ^l; and *Theophanes* tells us, that it was still to be seen in the ninth century ^m. *Constantine* caused several other crosses to be made after the same manner, and to be constantly carried at the head of his armies, instead of the figures of *Mars*, *Jupiter*, *Romulus*, &c. The name of *Christ* was not always at the top of the cross, but sometimes on the standard ⁿ. When the troops in any part of the army began to give ground, the emperor caused the standard with the cross to be conveyed thither; and his faith, says *Eusebius* ^o, was rewarded with victory, which began on that side where the greatest danger was apprehended. He chose fifty of the most courageous, robust, and religious men among his guards to attend this standard, and carry it in their turns. *Eusebius* assures us, that none of those who carried it were ever wounded in battle; and adds, that, in one encounter, the person who held it, finding himself aimed at on all sides by the enemy, and therefore delivering it to another, in order to avoid the

The cross
becomes the
chief stan-
dard.

^g EUSEB. vit. Const. l. i. c. 27—31. p. 421—423.

^h BA-

RON. ad ann. 312.

ⁱ EUSEB. ibid. c. 31. p. 423.

^k Idem

ibid.

^l SOCRAT. l. i. c. 2. p. 7.

^m THEOPH. p. 11.

ⁿ NAZAR. orat. iii. p. 75. SOZOM. l. i. c. 4. p. 405. EUSEB. p. 535.

danger

danger by flight, was shot through with a dart the minute he parted with it ; whereas the other escaped unhurt amidst the showers of arrows that flew round him. This *Eusebius*, as he assures us, learnt of *Constantine* himself ^p. In the year 416, *Theodosius* the younger bestowed great privileges on those who carried the *labarum* or *laborum* ; for so the standard consecrated, to use the expression of St. *Ambrose* ^q, with the name of *Christ*, is styled by *Gregory of Nazianzum*, *Prudentius*, and others. As to the etymology of that name, we are quite in the dark. The reader will find many conjectures concerning it in *Du Cange*, who is of opinion, that it was borrowed of the *Germans* ^r. At the same time, *Constantine* ordered the shields, helmets, and offensive as well as defensive weapons of the soldiers, to be marked with crosses, as appears from *Eusebius* ^s, and various antient monuments. *Sozomen* tells us, that the emperor caused the name of our Saviour to be put upon the *labarum*, that the soldiers, who, in all times, paid the utmost respect to the imperial standard, might, by degrees, be brought to forget their false deities, and pay the same honours to Him, whose name they had constantly before their eyes ^t. *Constantine* had the above-mentioned vision before he passed the *Alps* to make war upon *Maxentius*, and consequently in *Gaul* ; but as to the precise place, we are quite at a loss. Some stand up for *Besançon* ; others for *Sinzic* on the *Rhine*, at a small distance from *Cologne* ; and some for *Numegen*, a village on the *Moselle*, about five miles below *Treves* ; which *Ausonius* calls the illustrious camp of *Constantine* ^u ; but their conjectures are altogether groundless. *Balufius* complains, and not without reason, of the irreligious temerity of a modern writer ^w, who is pleased to style the whole account of this miraculous apparition, that is, the best attested fact in the history of *Constantine*, a pious fiction, which, in other terms, is calling *Eusebius* an impious impostor, and at the same time charging him with the greatest folly imaginable, in pretending to impose upon the world with such an enormous falshood, while many thousands of witnesses were still living, who would not have failed to disprove what he wrote, and give him the lye. To imagine a writer of *Eusebius*'s character guilty of such folly, impudence, and presumption is, in our opinion, carrying scepticism and incredulity to

The labarum or laborum.

^p Idem ibid. p. 448. ^q AMBROS. epist. xvii. p. 213. ^r CANGE. dissert. de inferior. ævi. numismat. p. 18. & glossar. p. 190.
^s EUSEB. ibid. l. iv. c. 21. p. 535. ^t Soz. l. i. c. 4. p. 405.
^u BUCH. de Belg. l. viii. c. 6. p. 243. ^w JACOBUS OISELIUS in thesaur. numis. antiquor. p. 463.

Constantine is in-
fructed in
the christi-
an religion
and embrac-
es it.

His exam-
ple is fol-
lowed by
the imperi-
al family.

too great a height. *Constantine* being, after the miraculous vision, immutably determined to adore that God alone who had appeared to him, sent for several bishops, in order to be instructed by them in the mysteries of their religion, and in several particulars of the late apparition. He hearkened to them with the utmost respect, and believed what they told him of the divinity, incarnation, cross, and death of our Saviour, reading with great attention the holy scriptures, and consulting in his doubts the bishops, whom for that purpose he kept constantly about him². *Eusebius* does not name them; but *Zosimus* tells us, that an *Egyptian*, coming from *Spain* to the place where *Constantine* was, prevailed upon him to abandon the religion of the *Romans*¹. This may be true, though no great stress is to be laid upon what *Zosimus* writes touching the conversion of *Constantine*; for *Osus*, the celebrated bishop of *Corduba* in *Spain*, was by birth an *Egyptian*, and might, as he was a man of great piety and learning, have been sent for by the emperor. It is at least certain, that *Constantine* soon after appointed him his almoner, and treated him on all occasions with the utmost respect, esteem, and veneration. The modern *Greek* writers pretend, that one of the emperor's chamberlains, by name *Euphrates*, had a great share in his conversion; but of him no mention is made by the antients. We may well imagine what a great alteration the conversion of *Constantine* produced in the church. The whole imperial family followed, it seems, his example; we are well assured, that his mother *Helen* did: for though *Theodoret* writes, that she inspired her son from his infancy with sentiments of piety², yet *Eusebius* tells us in express terms, that she knew not the true God, till she was induced by her son to embrace the truth, and adhere to it³. The zeal which *Constantia* shewed for the doctrine of *Arius*, inclines us to believe, that she professed the christian religion. *Eusebius* tells us, that *Eutropia*, the widow of *Maximian* and mother-in-law of *Constantine*, followed the example of the emperor; and *Valesius* maintains the same thing of her daughter *Fausta*; which does not at all seem improbable, though not positively asserted by any of the antients. *Johannes Damascenus* writes, that *Constantine* caused not only the cross, but the image, of our Saviour, to be represented on his coins; but no medals have been yet found to confirm his opinion. On his coins appear only the *labarum*, and on some of his son *Constantius* the  with

² EUSEB. vit. Const. l. i. c. 32. p. 423, 424.
ii. p. 685. ³ THEODORET. l. i. c. 17. p. 563.
SEB. vit. Const. l. iii. c. 47. p. 506.

¹ EUSEB. l.
² EU-

the A and Ω, the emblem assumed by our Saviour in the *Revelations* ^b. The silence of the antient panegyrist with respect to so public and remarkable an event as the apparition of the cross, which occasioned the conversion of *Constantine*, would seem to us unaccountable, were we not well apprised of the great and almost invincible power of prejudice in matters of religion. The authors of those panegyrics could not, even in their speeches uttered before *Constantine*, forbear speaking of their fabulous deities, as if the emperor had still been a pagan. However, some of them seem to have hinted at that apparition, though in very dark and ambiguous terms; for one of the orators speaks much at length of an extraordinary assistance, which, he says, all *Gaul* believed to have been sent to *Constantine* from heaven ^c. Another says, that every one dreaded the war with *Maxentius*, on account of an evil omen ^d. This may be well understood of the cross, than which nothing was more infamous, or more detested, among the *Romans*. But *Constantine* placed his chief confidence in it, and causing it to be carried at the head of his army, as the banner of victory, crossed the *Alps* the following year, when he and *Licinius* were consuls the second time, without meeting with the least opposition, till he arrived at *Segusium*, now *Susa*; which, being fortified both by nature and art, and defended by a numerous garison, refused to submit. Hereupon *Constantine*, having ordered a general assault, and at the same time caused fire to be set to the gates, carried the place by storm the same day; but would not give it up to be plundered, nor suffer the inhabitants to be any-ways injured in their lives or fortunes ^e, though *Zosimus* writes, that he laid in ruins all the cities that presumed to oppose him ^f. From *Segusium* he marched to *Augusta Taurinorum*, now *Turin*, in the neighbourhood of which place he was met by a numerous army of the enemy, whose cavalry, armed cap-à-pé, fell upon him with a fury hardly to be expressed; but *Constantine* ordering his ranks to open and receive them, they were surrounded on all sides, and, unwieldy as they were, pulled off of their horses and killed, without the loss of a single man on *Constantine's* side. The rest of the army was easily put to the rout, and pursued with great slaughter to the gates of *Turin*; which the citizens shut against them, but opened to *Constantine*, whom they received with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable. All the cities between the *Po*

^b Vide Du CANGE Byzant. famil. p. 31—33. ^c Paneg. 7. p. 161. ^d Idem, 6. p. 135. ^e EUSEB. vit. Const. l. i. c. 37. p. 426. ^f Zos. l. ii. p. 676.

Verona
besieged.

Maxenti-
us's army
defeated.

Verona
taken.

And se-
veral other
cities.

and the *Alps* followed the example of this, sending deputies with great store of provisions to the conqueror, and assisting him to the utmost of their power against *Maxentius*, whose cruelties and tyranny they could no longer bear ^a. From *Turin* he marched to *Milan*, which city he entered without opposition; and having passed a few days there, he pursued his march to *Brescia*, where he was met by a numerous body of horse, who, being routed at the first onset, retired in great confusion to *Verona*, the place appointed for the general rendezvous of all the troops of *Maxentius*, dispersed up and down the country. They were very numerous, and commanded by *Ruricius Pompeianus*, an experienced officer, and captain of the guards to *Maxentius*, who, not thinking it adviseable to venture a battle, shut himself up in *Verona*, with part of his troops. *Constantine*, having passed the *Adige* a great way above that city, invested it with his whole army. *Pompeianus* made a vigorous sally; but being repulsed with great loss, he stole away in the night, and soon after returned with a numerous army, which he had with incredible expedition drawn together from all parts. *Constantine*, receiving intelligence of his approach, left part of his troops to pursue the siege, and marched with the rest to meet him. Hereupon an engagement ensued, which lasted almost the whole night; but in the end the troops of *Pompeianus* were utterly defeated, and the general himself killed. *Constantine* distinguished himself on this occasion in a very eminent manner, grappling hand to hand with the enemy like a common soldier; inso-much, that his officers, after the battle, conjured him with tears in their eyes, to moderate his courage for the future, and not expose to such dangers a life on which depended the safety and welfare of the state ^b. The city of *Verona* still held out for some time; but was in the end taken by storm, and utterly ruined. The garison surrendered at discretion, and *Constantine*, contrary to their expectation, granted them their lives; but that his own men might not be employed in guarding them, as they were very numerous, he caused chains to be made of their swords, and confined them in two prisons ^c. During the siege of *Verona*, *Constantine* detached part of his troops to attack *Aquileia*, *Mutina*, and several other cities; which readily submitted. By this means he became master of all the places between the *Alps* and *Rome*, the deliverance of which city from the tyranny of *Maxentius*, was what he had

^a Panegyr. 6, 7. p. 138, 166. ^b Idem, 6. p. 141. & 7. p. 168, 169. ^c Idem, 6. p. 141, 142.

most of all at heart ^k. He therefore bent his march thither, Constantine and approached the city with all his forces. His approach ^{time ap-} roused *Maxentius*, who had abandoned himself to ease, and ^{proaches} wallowed in all manner of pleasures and debaucheries, stifling Rome. the tidings that were daily brought to him of the defeat of his troops, and the progress of *Constantine*. He caused a bridge of boats to be laid over the *Tiber*, a little above the *Milvian* bridge, now *Ponte Molle*, so contrived, that it could be easily loosened, which he charged one of his engineers to do as soon as *Constantine* was entered upon it with his army. But the emperor chose to encamp in a spacious plain, over-against the *Milvian* bridge, hoping by that means to draw *Maxentius* out of *Rome*, and tempt him to venture a general engagement, being well apprised, that if he kept within the city, which was supplied with great store of provisions, the besieging him there would prove a dangerous undertaking, and protract the war to a great length. But *Maxentius* ordering his troops to encamp between the *Milvian* bridge and the city, in order to prevent *Constantine* from approaching the walls, did not so much as stir out of his palace, till he was frightened from it by an inauspicious omen, which obliged him to repair with his wife and son to the house of one of his friends ^l. *Lactantius* tells us, that the night preceding the twenty-seventh, or rather the twenty-eighth, of *October*, *Constantine* was admonished in a dream to cause the shields of ^{His dream.}

his soldiers to be marked with the X , and then give battle. The order was immediately executed, and not only on the shields, but likewise on the helmets, as appears from an ancient medal, of all the soldiers, were displayed the cross and the name of our Saviour. The same day, the twenty-eighth of *October*, *Maxentius*, who then ended the sixth year of his reign, exhibited, notwithstanding the danger that threatened him, magnificent shows in the circus; and having caused the sibylline books to be consulted, had this answer, that *the great enemy of Rome was doomed to perish that very day*. This he understood of *Constantine*; and therefore, quitting the city without delay, he crossed the bridge, which he had caused to be laid over the *Tiber*, and chose for the field of battle a place called *Saxa rubra*, or *the red rocks*, about nine miles from *Rome*, drawing up his numerous army between the enemy and the river. *Constantine*, overjoyed to hear that *Maxentius* had marched out of the city, immediately advanced against him; and having encouraged his men with certain hopes of victory, ordered the signal to be given

^k Idem, 7. p. 170, 171.^l Idem, p. 145.

Maxentius
defeated,
and
drowned
in the Ti-
ber.

Constan-
tine enters
Rome.

His ele-
mency after
victory.

for the battle. At the first onset, the *Romans* and *Italians* in *Maxentius's* army, out of hatred to the tyrant, gave way and retired; but the others, chiefly the prætorian guards, the ministers of his tyranny, stood their ground, and fought with great resolution and intrepidity; so that the victory remained doubtful, till *Maxentius's* cavalry being broken, the tyrant abandoned the field to save himself across his bridge of boats, and return to the city ^m. *Lactantius* writes, that the bridge broke down of itself during the battle ⁿ; but *Eusebius* and *Zosimus* tell us, that the engines which fastened the boats together, giving way under the great weight of the multitude that fled with or before *Maxentius*, the boats parted, and he was pushed into the river by those who were flying with him ^o. Be that as it will, all authors agree, that he was taken in the snare which he had laid for *Constantine*; and that, falling into the *Tiber* with his horse and armour, he was there drowned, with many of his men, and some of his chief officers. His body being with much ado found the next day buried in the mud, *Constantine* caused his head to be struck off, in order to shew it to the *Roman* people, who had not yet shewed any joy for his death, apprehending it might be only a false report, spread on purpose to discover their inclination and real sentiments ^p. The same day, the twenty-ninth of *October*, *Constantine*, causing the head of *Maxentius* to be carried upon a pole before his army, made his public entry into the city, attended by the senate in a body, and by infinite crowds of people, who flocked from all parts to behold and welcome, with loud shouts of joy, their new prince and deliverer. In the shows which were exhibited the following days, the people, neglecting the diversions, kept their eyes immoveably fixed on *Constantine*, returning thanks to the tutelar gods of the city and empire, for giving them, in the room of a cruel and inhuman tyrant, a prince, of whose humanity, prudence and moderation, fame had proclaimed so many instances ^q.

THE battle was no sooner over, says one of the panegyrist ^r, than *Constantine* sheathed his sword, and not only pardoned, but received into favour, even his most inveterate enemies ^s; nay, and preferred such of them as he found

^m BARON. ad ann. 312.

ⁿ LACT. perf. c. 44. p. 37.

^o ZOS. l. ii. p. 676. Anonym. p. 473. Panegy. 6, 7. p. 145. 170. LACT. 38. ^p LACT. ibid. ^q ZOS. p. 677. EUSEB. vit. Const. p. 427. ^r Panegy. 6. p. 148. ^s LIBAN. orat. 12. p. 262.

qualified for public employments. The people demanded with great importunity the death of some of the tyrant's chief ministers, but could not prevail upon the good-natured emperor to comply with their demands, and humour their revengeful temper^d. All the troops of *Maxentius* were immediately disarmed; but *Constantine* reinstated them soon after in their former condition, and employed them against the barbarians on the banks of the *Rhine* and the *Danube*. As for the prætorian guards, a corps so famous ever since the time of *Augustus*, and so powerful as to raise to the empire, and depose, whom they pleased, he either disbanded them, or reduced them to the rank of common soldiers, causing their camp which had been begun by *Sejanus*, in the reign of *Tiberius*, to be utterly demolished^e. *Aurelius Victor* seems to insinuate, that he would not suffer any troops to remain in *Rome*, thinking them more apt to foment, than suppress, tumults and seditions^f. *Zosimus* writes, that *Constantine* punished some, though very few, of those who had been most attached to the tyrant^g; and *Nazarius*, that he cut off his whole race^h, that is, his son, for he had no other issue; and of him no mention is made from this time forward, tho' he was alive when his father was drowned. Upon the death of *Maxentius*, incredible numbers of informers started up to accuse such as had adhered to him. But *Constantine*, treading in the footsteps of other good princes, put a stop to their accusations, and the evils that thence threatened the state, by a law enacted this year, in which he declared all informers, and such as attempted to disturb the peace and tranquillity of private persons with unjust suits, guilty of deathⁱ. He restored the senate to its former lustre and authority, filling it with persons of the greatest merit, chosen out of all the provinces subject to him. He recalled such as had been banished by *Maxentius*, set those at liberty whom he had confined, and, by a general edict, remitted to all without distinction whatever punishment had been inflicted on them by *Maxentius*^k. Not satisfied with delivering them from the evils under which they groaned, he exercised his generosity and good-nature to all in such a manner, as to make full amends, in the space of two months, for the calamities they had suffered, during the tyrant's six years reign^l. As

The prætorian guards disbanded.

He enacts a severe law against informers.

^d Panegy. 6. p. 148. ^e Zos. l. ii. p. 677. AUR. VICT. p. 526.

^f Idem ibid. ^g Zos. p. 677.

^h Paneg. 7. p. 157.

ⁱ Cod. Theodof. 3. p. 430, 431.

^k Panegy. 6. p. 137. & 7.

p. 175. EUSEB. l. i. c. 41. p. 409.

^l Panegy. 7. p. 174.

Honours
conferred
on him by
the senate.

he was now master of all *Italy*, the people crouded from every quarter to *Rome*, to see their benefactor and deliverer, and were received by him with such marks of kindness and unfeigned affection, that they returned home with a far greater opinion of his affability, good-nature, and moderation, than fame, which delights in exaggeration, had raised in them^m. The senate, out of gratitude, decreed him the first place among the emperors, tho' claimed by *Maximin*, and a triumphal arch, which is still standing, and was raised, as we read in the inscription, in honour of *Constantine*, for having, by divine instinct, and with extraordinary courage, delivered in one combat the republic from the tyrant and his whole faction. In the same inscription, *Constantine* is styled the deliverer of *Rome*, and the author of the public tranquillity. This arch is thought not to have been ended and dedicated before the solemnity of the tenth year of *Constantine's* reign, that is, before the year 315ⁿ. *Baronius* observes, that it was adorned with several statues, taken from monuments erected to the honour of *M. Aurelius* and other princes, which far excelled in workmanship such as were done at this time^o. The senate consecrated likewise to *Constantine* several magnificent edifices, which had been raised at a vast charge by *Maxentius*. *Baronius* observes, that the panegyrists, in describing the triumphal entry of *Constantine* into *Rome*, tell us, that he went to the palace and to the senate, but take no notice of his visiting the capitol, though that was one of the chief ceremonies of the solemnity^p. *Zosimus* writes, that the court being on occasion of a certain solemnity obliged to go to the capitol, *Constantine* was so far from complying with the antient custom, that he openly despised and derided both that and the other ceremonies of the religion of the *Romans*^q.

Pays great
respect to
the cross.

Causes a
fiop to be
put to the
persecution.

As he ascribed the late victory, and all his other successes, not to his own conduct or strength, but to God alone, soon after his entry into *Rome*, he caused a statue to be erected to himself, holding a cross in the right hand, with an inscription, importing, that under the influence of that victorious and salutary sign, he had delivered the city from the tyrannical yoke under which it groaned, and restored the senate and people of *Rome* to their antient liberty and splendor. About the month of *November* of this year 312, an edict was issued in his name, and in the name of *Licinius*, put-

^m Idem, p. 173.

ⁿ NORIS. de Licin. num. c. 3. p. 49, 50.

^o BARON. ann. 312. AVR. VICT. p. 526.

^p BARON. ibid.

^q ZOS. l. ii. p. 686.

ting a stop to the great persecution which had been begun by *Dioclesian*, and had raged with incredible fury in most provinces of the empire for the space of ten years. This edict was sent by the two emperors to *Maximin*, the most implacable enemy the christians ever had, accompanied by a letter from *Constantine*, wherein the pious emperor acquainted him with the miraculous assistance he had received from heaven, and the victory he had by that means gained over the tyrant *Maxentius*. As *Maximin* yet pretended to live in friendship and amity with *Constantine* and *Licinius*, (for the letter was signed by both princes) notwithstanding his hatred to the christians, he published in their favour the decree, which is related at length by *Eusebius*^r, and seems to have been enacted this year. That writer in speaking of the conduct of *Constantine* at this time, tells us, that he treated with the utmost respect the ministers of the true God, kept several of them constantly with him, entertained them at his own table, and paid an entire deference to their counsels. He seems to have honoured above the rest *Melchiades*, bishop of *Rome*; for to him he appeals in speaking of the veneration he had for the catholic church, and his sincere desire of seeing unity reign in it without the least schism or division^r. *Theophanes* mentions some constitutions said to have been addressed by *Constantine* to that holy bishop, but thought by *Theophanes* to be spurious pieces forged by the *Arians*^r. It is certain, that the emperor bestowed great privileges on the clergy of the city of *Rome*^u. We are not told what privileges these were; but most writers suppose the emperor to have exempted them from the payment of taxes, from the discharging of public offices, not suitable to their calling, and such-like burdens. *Baronius* pretends, that this year 312, *Constantine* gave the *Lateran* palace to the bishop of *Rome*^w. But *Optatus Milevitanus* writes, that in the year 313, a council was held there in the apartment of the empress *Fausta*^x; whence some conclude, that it still belonged to the emperor. However, as it is certain, that it appertained to the see of *Rome* in the fourth century, and that the church adjoining to it was even then styled the basilic of *Constantine*, we cannot think it improbable, that the palace was a gift of *Constantine* to the bishops of *Rome*, and that the church was built by him, as we read in *Ana-*

^r EUSEB. l. ix. c. 9. p. 360.^r EUSEB. hist. l. x. p. 391.^r THEOPH. p. 14.^u Cod. Theodos. 16. t. 2. l. xiv. p. 40.^w BARON. ann. 312.^x OPTAT. l. i. p. 44.

statius ¹. As for the famous donation, by which *Constantine* declared the *pope* prince and sovereign of *Rome*, it is now looked upon by the *Roman* catholic, as well as the protestant, writers, as a forgery of a later date. *Baronius* is ashamed to maintain it as a genuine piece, and yet declines declaring it a forgery. It is commonly believed to have been forged in the eighth century by the noted impostor *Isidorus* ². *Eusebius* tells us, that *Constantine* built a great number of churches, supplied them with vast riches, and adorned the altars with magnificent offerings ³. There are several churches at *Rome*, and in other places, said to have been founded by *Constantine*; but the authority of *Anastatius* and such-like writers is not of sufficient weight with us to ascribe that glory to any in particular. What he writes of the church of *St. Peter* on the *Vatican* is confirmed by two verses, that were formerly to be seen in the vault of that church, importing, that it had been founded by *Constantine* ⁴. In demolishing the antient church, to build that which is at present looked upon as the most magnificent structure in the world, the name of *Constantine* was discovered in several places. In some monuments, thought to be of the sixth century, we read, that *Constantine* built at *Rome* the basilic of the *Sefforian* palace, in which he placed the true cross, about the year 326, whence it was called the church of the holy cross ⁵. In some antient inscriptions, the church of *St. Agnes* is said to have been built by *Constantine*, at the request of his daughter *Constantia*, or rather *Constantina*, who is supposed to have been buried there in 354 ⁶. *Theophanes* writes, that *Constantine* no sooner saw himself master of *Rome*, than he caused the reliques of the holy martyrs to be carefully gathered and honourably interred ⁷. He received, continues *Eusebius*, in describing his conduct, all strangers with great demonstrations of kindness, and made them rich presents. Not thinking it enough to relieve the common beggars with money, he caused them to be maintained and cloathed at his own expence. To such as were come of noble, but decayed, families, he was rather magnificent than liberal, bestowing upon some of them estates, and profitable employments upon others. He took under his protection orphans and widows, supporting them with great generosity, and establishing rich funds for their maintenance. He married to wealthy citizens,

Builds a
great num-
ber of
churches.

His genero-
sity and
good na-
ture to all.

¹ ANAST. c. 34. p. 13.

² Vide P. PAGI, p. 324.

³ EUSEB. vit. Const. l. i. c. 4. p. 429.

⁴ BARON. ann. 324.

ANAST. c. 34. p. 15.

⁵ BOLL. 18. Feb. p. 69.

⁶ Idem,

p. 70.

⁷ THEOPH. p. 11.

and persons of distinction, many young women, who were destitute of friends and relations, allowing them fortunes out of the exchequer proportionable to the estates of their husbands. In short, all who had the good fortune to live under him, felt the effects of his generosity and good-nature. No one ever implored his assistance in vain ; no one ever departed dissatisfied from his presence. He was often heard to say, that whoever was allowed to approach his prince, ought to receive some favour or other at his hands ; that it was incumbent upon the prince to make it his chief study to content all who applied to him : hence to those, against whom justice obliged him to pronounce in the judging of causes, he usually gave large sums, or by some other means made good the losses they sustained ; so that his generosity was no less extolled and commended by those who lost their suit, than his justice was by such as carried it. Thus far *Eusebius* †.

THE *indictions*, that is, a cycle or revolution of fifteen years, made use of in reckoning time, are supposed to have begun about the end of the present year 312. The origion of this cycle, and the etymology of its name, has occasioned great disputes among modern writers. The reader will find in *Du Cange* a list of the authors who have written on this subject ^f. *Constantine* having reduced the time, which the *Romans* were obliged to serve, to fifteen years, says *Baronius*, he was consequently obliged every fifteen years, to impose, or *indicere*, according to the *Latin* expression, an extraordinary tax for the paying of those who were discharged ; and hence came this new cycle, which, from the *Latin* word *indicere*, was styled *indiction* ^g. The opinion of *Baronius*, though in reality a bare conjecture, seems to *Petavius* more probable than any thing that has been said by others on the same subject ^h ; for we know nothing for certain touching the origin, name, or author of this cycle. There are three kinds of *indictions*, viz. the *Cæsarean* or *imperial* *indictions*, which begin on the twenty-fourth of *September*, and were long made use of in *France* and *Germany* ⁱ ; the *Constantinopolitan* *indictions*, beginning with the year of the *Greeks*, on the first day of *September* ; and the *papal* *indictions*, or *indictions* of the *popes*, who, some centuries since, reckon from the first of *January*

† EUSEB. l. i. c. 43. p. 429, 430. & l. iv. c. 4. p. 528.
^f Vide Chron. Paschale. seu Alexandrin. ex edit. Cangiana, Paris. ann. 1688. ^g BARON. ann. 312. ^h PETAU. doct. temp. l. xi. c. 40. p. 365. ⁱ Vide JOHAN. FORBES, institut. historico-rheologic. l. v. c. 20. p. 268. & P. PAGI, ann. 312.

of the year 313. *Petavius* seems to think, that the *Constantinopolitan* indiction was generally used among the *Greeks* as early as the reign of the emperor *Anastatius*, and perhaps of *Theodosius* the younger; nay, he is inclined to believe, that the indiction originally began on the first of *September* ^k. And truly, from various passages of the history of the fifth century, it appears, that the emperors of *Constantinople* followed this style, and that it prevailed all over *Syria*, and even at *Rome* ^l. Some have reckoned the indictions from the year 314, or from *September* of the year 313, but *Petavius* ^m and cardinal *Noris* ⁿ shew, that we ought to count them from the month of *September* of 312, though we have no certain proof that they first began then; for some pretend, that they were in use in the time of *Julius Cæsar*, or *Augustus* ^o; which we can hardly believe, since no mention is made of indictions by any author who flourished before the reign of *Constantine*. The first thing we find dated by them is the council of *Antioch*, held, as we read in *Athanasius* ^p, if that passage is genuine, which *Petavius* questions ^q, in the year 341, and in the fourteenth indiction. However, it is certain, that St. *Ambrose* mentions the indiction in a letter of the year 386, and observes that it began in the month of *November* ^r. From that time forward it is common in the code, where mention is made of the indiction of the year 367, and in other monuments both of sacred and profane history; but the indictions, as cardinal *Noris* observes, are seldom marked right ^s. *Onuphrius* quotes a book on the indictions, by one *Chyrius Fortunatianus*, whom he takes to be the bishop of *Aquileia* of that name, so famous in the time of *Constantine's* children ^t. But *Petavius* thinks there never was any such book; and likewise rejects, as quite groundless, the opinion of those who tell us, that the council of *Nice* commanded all bishops to mark the indiction in their letters ^u. He even suspects the council of *Rome*, said to have been held under pope *Julius*, and dated the sixth indiction ^w. The reader must observe that the first year of this cycle is called the first indiction; the second year the second indiction, and so of the rest, till the fifteenth; after which, the cycle is begun anew, and the years counted in the same manner.

^k PETAV. p. 564. ^l NORIS, epoch. p. 340—342.
^m PETAV. p. 363. ⁿ NORIS, ibid. ^o Vide PETAV. c. 39. p. 360—362. & NORIS, epoch. p. 169, 171. ^p ATHAN. de syn. p. 894. ^q PETAV. p. 363. ^r Idem, p. 364.
^s NORIS, epoch. p. 342. ^t ONUPH. p. 265. ^u PETAV. p. 365. ^w Concil. tom. ii. p. 527.

DURING the war between *Constantine* and *Maxentius* in the west, *Maximin*, who had enjoyed a profound tranquillity in the east ever since his agreement with *Licinius*, began anew the persecution, which the edict of *Galerius*, in favour of the christians, had obliged him to interrupt for some time. In a rescript addressed to the inhabitants of *Tyre* he had bragged of the happiness of his reign, which, he said, had never been interrupted or disturbed by wars, storms, dearth of provisions, contagions, or earthquakes. This exemption from the evils that afflicted other parts of the empire, he ascribed to the great care he took in promoting the worship of the gods, and persecuting with fire and sword their enemies the christians². But providence did not fail to humble his pride, and punish, in a very remarkable manner, his cruelty to those who deserved it the least. For the very next winter proving exceeding dry, the drought produced a famine when no ways expected, and the famine a dreadful plague, attended with nauseous sores, which breaking out in the face, and especially about the eyes, deprived of sight an infinite number of men, women, and children. This *Eusebius*, with a great deal of reason, looks upon as a punishment from heaven upon *Maximin*, who sparing, out of his great mercy, to use his expression, the lives of several christians, caused their right eyes to be put out, in order to distinguish them by that mark of infamy from his other subjects¹. To the famine and plague, that ravaged the dominions of *Maximin* with a fury hardly to be expressed, was added a destructive war. For the tyrant, attempting to oblige the *Armenians*, who had embraced the true religion, to offer victims to his false deities, forced them to take arms in their own defence, and from ancient friends and allies, to become enemies of the *Roman* people and empire³. This must be understood of *Armenia Major*; for the people of *Armenia Minor* were not allies, but subjects, of the empire. This is the first instance we find in history of a religious war, or a war for the sake of religion. As to the issue of it, we are only told, that, in the course of this war, *Maximin* and his army suffered much, our historian being wholly taken up in describing the inexpressible miseries that attended the plague and the famine in all the provinces subject to *Maximin*, and the charitable conduct of the christians towards their greatest enemies, during the time of their distress⁴. *Maximin* was obliged, as we have related above, by the decree of *Constantine* and *Licinius*, to put a stop

*Maximin
persecutes
the christ-
ians.*

*His domi-
nions afflic-
ted with
many
dreadful
calamities.*

EUSEB. l. ix. c. 7. p. 353, 354.

¹ Idem ibid.

² Idem,

p. 355. ⁴ EUSEB. ibid. p. 553—557.

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S 1

to

to the persecution this year, not daring yet openly to oppose them.

Constantine marries his sister Constantia to Licinius.

THE next consuls were *Constantine* and *Licinius*, both for the third time. The former did not, it seems, stay at *Rome* above two months, as appears from a law he published at *Milan*, dated the tenth of *March* ^b. He was met in that city by *Licinius*, and there he married to him his sister *Constantia*, whom he had betrothed to him before his war with *Maxentius* ^c. They both wrote to *Dioclesian*, inviting him to assist at that solemnity; but he begging to be excused on account of his age, they highly resented it, and sent him a second letter, filled with menaces, which hastened his death; for he died soon after, in the month of *July* of this year 313 ^d. The two emperors, in this interview, enacted an edict in favour of the christians, which is related at length by *Eusebius* ^e. *Constantine* was soon obliged to leave *Milan*, and hasten into *Gaul* to make head against the *Franks*, who, forgetful of the treaty which they had made with him a few years before, were assembling their forces with a design to invade the *Roman* dominions. The emperor arrived while they were preparing to pass the *Rhine*; but finding they withdrew, awed by his presence, he gave out, that the *Germans* too were ready to break into *Gaul*; and leaving some troops concealed among the woods at a small distance from the river, retired with the rest. The *Franks* no sooner heard of his departure, than they passed the *Rhine*; when the *Romans*, rising unexpectedly out of their ambuscade, fell upon them before they could draw up their forces, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to repass the river in the utmost confusion. *Constantine*, not allowing them time to recover themselves from their consternation, entered their country, laid waste their lands, burnt their habitations, and, having taken an incredible number of captives, exposed them all to be devoured by the wild beasts, in the shows which he exhibited on account of his victory ^f. This severity towards a perfidious and faithless enemy, whom no ties could bind, is commended by his panegyrist; but whether it answers the character of a mild, generous, and good natured prince, which all the writers of those times give him, is what we leave our readers to judge. Cruelty, even towards an enemy, however treacherous, was not, at least, countenanced by

Overcomes the Franks

^b Cod. Theodof. t. 5. p. 114. ^c LACT. perf. c. 45. p. 38. VICT. epit. p. 545. Zos. l. ii. p. 677. Anonym. p. 473. ^d VICT. epit. p. 543. ^e EUSEB. l. x. c. 5. p. 388. ^f VALES. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 23.

the religion which he professed. For this victory he took the title of *Franciscus* ^a. *Constantine* was, as appears from the date of several laws ^b, in the months of *November* and *December* of this year, at *Treves*; during which time the panegyric of the anonymous writer is thought to have been pronounced ^c, in which the orator extols the victory, which he had lately gained over *Maxentius*; and in the end of his speech addresses himself to the *great and only true God*; but at the same time plainly shews, that he had not yet wholly renounced the superstitious ceremonies of the gentiles. He observes, that certain barbarians, who inhabited a distant country, had submitted to *Constantine*; but as to this particular, there is a profound silence among historians. This year, *Constantine* granted great privileges to catholic churches in *Africa*, which province had submitted to him upon the news of the death of *Maxentius*. In a rescript addressed to *Anulinus*, whom he had appointed proconsul of *Africa*, he commands him to exempt the clergy belonging to the catholic church there, of which *Cæcilianus*, bishop of *Carthage*, was the head, from all civil employments, that they might not be diverted from the sacred functions of their office. Nothing, says he in that rescript, speaking of the clergy, will more contribute to the welfare of the state, than their applying themselves wholly to the worship of god ^d. This ordinance was notified by *Anulinus* to *Cæcilianus*, as appears from his answer to *Constantine*, dated the fifteenth of *April* of this year 313^e. As this exemption was granted only to the catholic clergy, the heretics, probably the *Donatists*, attempted to disturb them in the enjoyment of it; which obliged *Constantine* to confirm the privileges he had granted them by a new edict, dated the twenty-first of *October* of this year. His exempting the clergy thus from the public offices in the cities proved very burdensome to the other inhabitants, and many entered themselves among them on purpose to enjoy that privilege: the emperor therefore, by another edict, put a stop to the increase of the clergy, ordaining, that none should be admitted among them but to supply the places of others deceased; and that those, who were admitted, should be persons not qualified by their birth or wealth for the first and most chargeable employments. In virtue of this edict, several cities attempted to oblige such of the clergy as were qualified for those offices to discharge them, though they had been ordained before it was enacted; which

*He bestows
great pri-
vileges on
the clergy
and the
church.*

^a Idem, p. 25.

^b Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 7.

^c Paneg. 6.

^d EUSEB. l. xx. c. 6. p. 392.

^e Cod. Theod. t. 6. p. 21.

Gives sums
to the cler-
gy to be
distributed
among the
indigent
christians.

His zeal
for the uni-
ty of the
church.

Constantine prohibited by a rescript, dated the eighteenth of *July* of the year 320. But after all, his forbidding persons of rank and estates to enter themselves among the clergy, in order to ease the laymen, was afterwards looked upon by other emperors, some say by *Constantine* himself, as an affront and injury offered to the church; and therefore that edict was annulled, and persons of the highest rank were allowed to enter into holy orders, but upon condition of their resigning to others, either their whole estates, or the greatest part of them; which was deemed suitable to that disinterestedness which the church requires in her ministers^m. Some writers are of opinion, that *Constantine* at the same time exempted the church-lands from all taxes and burdens whatsoever, there being mention made of this immunity, as already established, in a law of the year 315; but others pretend this law to be of a later date, and ascribe the above-mentioned exemption to *Constantius*, the son of *Constantine*ⁿ. We have a letter written this year by *Constantine* to *Cæcilianus*, bishop of *Carthage*, acquainting him, that he designed to put into the hands of the ministers of the catholic church a considerable sum, to be distributed by them among the indigent christians in *Africa*, *Numidia*, and *Mauritania*; and that with this design he had ordered *Ursus* his receiver in *Africa*, to pay him a certain sum, to be distributed according to the tickets which he should receive from *Osus*; he adds, that if the sum he mentions was not by him thought sufficient, he might recur to *Heraclides*, another of his receivers, whom he had enjoined to supply him with what monies he wanted for so pious an use^o. *Osus*, mentioned in this letter, is, without all doubt, the great *Osus*, bishop of *Corduba*, to whose counsels *Constantine* ever paid the utmost regard in whatever related to the affairs of the church. In the same letter he acquaints *Cæcilianus*, that, by word of mouth, he had ordered *Anulinus*, proconsul of *Africa*, and *Patricius*, lieutenant in that province, to check and suppress those who disturbed the peace of the catholic church there, meaning, we suppose, the *Donatists*, who had formed a powerful party against *Cæcilianus* himself. Not satisfied with the orders he had given to his officers, in order to put an end to the disturbances raised by those obstinate schismatics, and maintain the unity of the church, he assembled, on the second of *October* of this year, a council at *Rome*; and another, far more famous, the year following, at *Arles* in *Gaul*^p.

^m Idem, t. 6. p. 23, &c.

• EUSEB. l. x. c. 6. p. 393.

ⁿ Cod. Theodos. chronol. p. 11

^p Idem ibid.

WHEN *Constantine* left *Milan*, to oppose the *Franks*, *War be-*
 threatening to invade *Gaul*, *Licinius* returned to *Illyricum*, *tween Li-*
 where he was soon after attacked by *Maximin*, who, taking *cinus and*
 umbrage at his marrying the sister of *Constantine*, and jealous *Maximin.*
 of the good understanding that passed between those two princes,
 resolved to destroy them, and to begin with *Licinius*,
 whose ruin he hoped to compass, while the other was employed
 in *Gaul* against the *Franks* and *Germans*. With this
 view, he assembled in great haste his forces; and, leaving
Syria, marched in the depth of the winter into *Bithynia*;
 and from thence passing into *Thrace*, laid siege to *Byzantium*,
 which, after having held out eleven days, was obliged to submit.
 He attacked *Heraclea* next, which made a vigorous defence,
 but was in the end taken by storm. In the mean
 time, *Licinius*, having drawn together what forces he could,
 took the field, not with a design to venture an engagement,
 (for he had with him only thirty thousand men, whereas
Maximin's army was twice that number) but to stop the
 progress of his conquests. However, the two armies meeting
 between *Heraclea* and *Adrianopolis*, *Licinius*, if we may *Licinius's*
 give credit to *Lactantius*^a, was admonished in a dream to give *dream or*
 the enemy battle, and assured of victory, provided he implor- *vision.*
 ed the assistance of the true God, by a prayer which was suggested
 to him in his sleep. *Licinius* remembered it when he
 awaked, dictated to his secretary, and caused many copies of
 it to be distributed among his soldiers, whom he took care to
 acquaint with his dream; which inspired them with new courage
 and an eager desire of engaging the enemy, over whom
 they promised themselves certain victory, since heaven had
 declared in their favour. This prayer is related at length by
Lactantius^r. *Licinius* designed to give battle on the first of
May, the day on which *Maximin* ended the eighth year of his
 reign. But *Maximin* having drawn up his army in battle-
 array on the last day of *April*, *Licinius* could no longer put
 off the engagement. When the two armies were in presence
 of one another, the officers and soldiers of *Licinius*, quitting
 their shields and helmets, with their hands lifted up to heaven,
 repeated three times the above-mentioned prayer. Afterwards
 the two princes had an interview; but *Maximin* hearkening
 to no terms, they parted, and ordered the signal for battle to
 be given^s. *Zosimus* writes, that *Licinius's* men at first gave ground
 and retired; but soon after returned to the charge and carried
 the day^t. But *Lactantius*^u and *Eusebius*^w tell us, that the
 He gains
 a complete
 victory
 over
 Maximin,

^a LACT. pers. c. 46. p. 39.
 ibid. ^t Zos. l. ii. p. 677.
 ix. c. 10. p. 363.

^r Idem ibid. p. 40.

^s Idem

^u LACT. p. 41.

^w EUSEB. l.

Licinius
becomes
master of
all Bithy-
nia.

The unac-
countable
distemper
of Maxi-
min.

army of *Maximin* was put to flight at the very first onset, and pursued with great slaughter by the conqueror. Most of his troops, especially the legions, were cut in pieces, and the rest, his guards not excepted, abandoning him, submitted to *Licinius*. *Maximin* himself, quitting his purple robes, fled in the disguise of a slave, and, crossing the *Bosporus*, reached *Nicomedia* on the first of *May* about sun-set, having in the space of twenty-four hours travelled an hundred and sixty miles. He did not stop at *Nicomedia*; but taking with him his wife and children, continued his flight into *Cappadocia*, where he halted, and resumed the purple, being met there by some troops that were marching from *Syria* to his assistance *. *Licinius*, entering *Bithynia* a few days after the battle, was received every-where with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable, especially at *Nicomedia*, where he caused solemn thanks to be returned to the Almighty for the success with which he had blessed his arms; and then ordered the edict which had been enacted by him and *Constantine* at *Milan*, in favour of the christians, to be published; which was done accordingly on the last day of *June* of this year 313, that is, about ten years and four months after the edict, which gave rise to this long and bloody persecution, had been first published in the same city, by *Dioclesian* and *Galerius* †. *Licinius* had no sooner put a stop to the persecution by this edict, than he left *Nicomedia*, and pursuing *Maximin*, arrived at the streights of mount *Taurus*, where he had resolved to make a stand; but his courage failing him at the approach of the victorious army, he retired with great precipitation to *Tarsus*, proposing to pass from thence into *Egypt*, and raise a new army there. But distrusting the troops he had with him, and apprehending they designed to deliver him up to *Licinius*, he altered his mind, and resolved, since he found no means of making his escape, to put an end to his life with poison; which, however, had not the desired effect, but brought upon him a dreadful distemper, whereof the unaccountable symptoms are described at length by *Eusebius* ‡ and *Lactantius* §, who ascribe it to divine vengeance. He was tormented night and day with inexpressible pains; his eyes and tongue putrified, a punishment justly inflicted upon him for the blasphemies he had uttered against heaven, and his causing the eyes of many christians to be put out; an invisible fire, to use the expression of *Eusebius* ¶, was kindled in his bowels, which, be-

* EUSEB. LACT. ZOS. *ibid.*

† LACT. *pers.* c. 48. p. 41.

‡ EUSEB. l. ix. c. 10. p. 361.

§ LACT. *pers.* c. 49. p. 43.

¶ EUSEB. p. 365.

ing attended with unrelenting torments, reduced him in a few days to a skeleton; his whole body was covered over with a kind of leprosy, and devoured by swarms of vermin: He could not be prevailed upon to take any nourishment, but greedily swallowed handfuls of earth, as if he had hoped by that means to assuage his pains, and allay the hunger, which tormented him without intermission^c. *Eusebius* tells us, that reflecting in this condition on his unjust conduct towards the christians, and ascribing the agonies he suffered to his cruelty towards them, he caused an edict to be published, more favourable to them than that which he had been forced by *Constantine* and *Licinius* to enact the year before. But as his repentance, says *Eusebius*, was not sincere, it obtained no ease to his torments, which at length put an end to his life at *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, about the middle of *August*, after he had reigned nine years with the title of *Cæsar*, and five years and six months with that of *Augustus*^d. He left several children behind him, whom he had created *Cæsars*, as appears from several antient coins^e; but their names are not mentioned by historians. By his death, *Licinius* became master of all the eastern provinces; so that the whole empire was now divided between him and *Constantine*. *Maximin* was declared by the edicts of the two surviving princes a public enemy, and treated as such; for his statues were pulled down, his images defaced, his name razed out of all public inscriptions, and such monuments as had been erected to his honour overturned and levelled with the ground. His children and relations were sentenced to death and publicly executed; his wife was thrown into the *Orontes* at *Antioch* and drowned; all his ministers and favourites were involved in his ruin, and among the rest *Culcianus*, who had put a great number of christians to death in *Egypt*; *Firmilianus*, who had signalized his hatred against them in *Palestine*; and *Peuceces*, whom the tyrant had favoured above the rest, and created three times consul. *Licinius* caused likewise a celebrated magician, by name *Theotechnes*, and all his associates to be publicly executed at *Antioch*, after having obliged them to discover and own the impostures, with which they had led astray the ignorant populace, and stirred them up against the christians^f. *Candidianus*, the son of *Galerius*, being introduced to *Licinius* at *Nicomedia*, was received by him with great demonstrations of kindness, and treated for some time in a manner suitable to his rank; but

His death.

All his friends, relations, and favourites, put to death by *Licinius*.

^c EUSEB. ibid. LACT. p. 44. HIER. in Zachar. xiv. ver. 12.
^d Chron. Alex. p. 456: ^e NORIS. de Licin. c. 2. p. 48.
^f EUSEB. l. ix. c. 11. p. 366, 367. & de Pall. c. 18. p. 342.

when

when he thought himself safe, he was, by the order of *Licinius*, murdered with *Severianus*, the son of *Severus*, killed, as we have related above, in the year 307. *Valeria*, the daughter of *Dioclesian* and widow of *Galerius*, who had adopted *Candidianus*, was no sooner informed of his death, than she withdrew from *Antioch* with her mother *Prisca*, and wandered about in disguise and undiscovered for the space of fifteen months; but being at last known at *Theffalonica*, she was seized there, and by *Licinius's* order publicly executed of *Valeria* with her mother, and both their bodies thrown into the sea^g. and *Prisca*. Thus were the families of these three cruel persecutors of the church, *Dioclesian*, *Galerius*, and *Maximin*, utterly cut off and exterminated. *Zosimus* tells us^h, that the secular games ought to have been celebrated at *Rome* this year, but were neglected by *Constantine*; which was no-ways pleasing to the pagans, who looked upon them as one of the chief supports of the empire, and a powerful preservative against plagues, wars, earthquakes, and other calamities, though the last, celebrated by *Severus* an hundred and ten years before, in the consulate of *Chilo* and *Libo*, had not, as we have seen, kept off these evils.

War between
Constantine and
Licinius.

THE next consuls were *Rufius Volusianus*, the second time, and *Annianus*. *Constantine* passed the first months of this year at *Treves*, as appears from the dates of several lawsⁱ. By one, which was published at *Rome* on the twenty fourth of *April*, he declared all those free, who had been condemned to slavery by *Maxentius*, commanding, under the severest penalties, such as held them in captivity to restore them forthwith to their antient liberty^k. From *Treves* the emperor passed to *Arles*, where he ordered a general council to meet of all the bishops of the west, in order to suppress the *Donatists*, who raised great disturbances in the church. The letter he wrote to the council is a manifest proof of his piety, of his respect for the clergy, and his zeal for the unity of the church^l. He was obliged to leave *Gaul* before the bishops met, a war breaking out this year between him and *Licinius*, of which historians give us but a confused account, some blaming *Licinius* as the author of it, and others *Constantine*. The anonymous writer, whom we have often quoted, lays the whole blame on *Licinius*. According to him, *Constantine* had married his sister *Anastasia* to *Bassianus*, whom he designed to create *Cæsar*, and appoint governor of *Italy*; but not caring

^g Idem, c. 50, 51. p. 44, 45.

^h Zos. l. ii. p. 671.

ⁱ Cod. Theodof. chronol. p. 8, 9.

^k Cod. Just. 7. t. 22. leg.

3. p. 665 ^l Concil. tom. i. p. 1431.

to take this step without the approbation of *Licinius*, he dispatched one *Constantius* to acquaint him with his design, and obtain his consent. But having discovered at the same time, that *Licinius* attempted to stir up *Bassianus* against him by means of *Senecio*, the brother of *Bassianus*, he wrote a letter to *Licinius*, upbraiding him with treachery, and insisting upon his delivering up to him *Senecio*, who had taken refuge in his court. *Licinius* was so far from complying with his request, that resenting the letter he had written to him, he caused his statues to be pulled down in *Æmona*, a city of *Upper Pannonia*. Hereupon *Constantine*, having drawn together in great haste a body of twenty thousand men, marched into *Illyricum*, hoping to surprise *Licinius*. But he found him already in the field, with an army far more numerous than his own. However, he advanced into *Pannonia*; and the two armies meeting in the neighbourhood of *Cibalæ*, an engagement ensued, in which *Licinius* was utterly defeated, with the loss of twenty thousand of his best troops. It appears from *Zosimus*, who relates the most minute particulars of this battle, that it was fought on the eighth of *October* of this year, 314^m. *Licinius* fled to *Sirmium*, and from thence, with his wife, his children, and treasures, into *Dacia*, where he raised to the dignity of *Cæsar* one of his officers, by name *Valens*. From *Dacia* he passed into *Thrace*, and there assembled a second army, far more numerous and powerful than the former. In the mean time, *Constantine* made himself master of *Cibalæ* and *Sirmium*; and having caused the bridge over the *Save* to be repaired, which *Licinius* had ordered to be broken down, he pursued the enemy into *Thrace*. Upon his arrival at *Philippopolis*, he was met by a deputation from *Licinius*, with proposals for an accommodation; but *Constantine* insisting upon his deposing *Valens*, and *Licinius* obstinately refusing to comply with that article, a second battle was fought in the plains of *Mardia* in *Thrace*, which lasted from morning to night, when both armies retired, according to *Zosimus*, without any considerable advantage on either sideⁿ. *Aurelius Victor*^o and the anonymous author of *Constantine's* life^p write, that *Constantine* would have gained a complete victory, had not night intervening saved *Licinius's* army from utter destruction. The next day, *Licinius* sent one *Mestrianus*, who is styled *comes* or *count*, to *Constantine*, to negotiate a peace, which was in the end concluded upon the following

^m Anonym. p. 473. Zos. l. i. p. 678. EUTROP. p. 588. EUSEB. p. 210. VICT. epit. p. 543. ⁿ Zos. p. 679. ^o AUR. VICT. p.

526. ^p Anonym. p. 474.

The articles
of their a-
greement.

Several
laws en-
acted by
Constantine.

terms: 1. That *Valens* should be forthwith deposed, and reduced to his former condition. 2. That *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Asia*, *Thrace*, *Mæsia*, and the lesser *Scythia*, should remain in the possession of *Licinius*; but that *Illyricum*, *Dardania*, *Macedon*, *Greece*, and *Mæsia*, should be yielded to *Constantine*. *Mæsia* is named in both divisions, there being then two provinces of that name, the one, known at present by the name of *Servia*, belonging to *Illyricum*, and the other, now *Bulgaria*, to *Thrace*. Peace being thus concluded, the two emperors entered the following year, 315, on their fourth consulship. *Constantine*, as appears from the dates of several laws, passed the best part of this year in *Illyricum* and *Greece*, which had been yielded to him by the late treaty. By one of these laws, dated the first of *August*, he forbids the crucifying of criminals, and intirely abolishes that sort of punishment, though common among the *Romans* till his time, especially with respect to slaves. This prohibition is generally looked upon by the fathers as an instance of his respect for the cross and passion of our Saviour^r. By another law, enacted at *Naißus* on the thirteenth of *May*, he commands the officers of the revenue to receive, and educate, at his expence, such children as shall be brought to them by their parents, as not being in a condition to provide for them by their own labour and industry^s. He ordered this law to be engraved on brass, and to be publicly hung up in all the cities of *Italy*. In the year 322, he extended it to *Africa*, injoining the proconsuls, governors, and receivers of the revenue there, to supply with corn out of the public granaries such parents as they shall find incapable of maintaining their children. By a third law published this year at *Sirmium*, and dated the second of *June*, he forbids, on pain of death, the attaching for debt either slaves or cattle employed in tilling the ground^t. From *Illyricum* *Constantine* went to *Aquileia*, and from thence to *Rome*, where he was on the twenty-fifth of *August* and the thirteenth of *September*, as appears from a law addressed to *Probinus*, or rather, *Probianus*, proconsul of *Africa*, and from an edict addressed to the people of *Rome*^u. On the eighteenth of *October* he was at *Naißus* in *Dacia*; for the law bears that date, which he published there, forbidding, under pain of being burnt alive, the *Jews* and their patriarchs, to molest such as should abandon their sect to embrace the true religion, and inflicting severe punish-

^r Idem ibid. Sozom. l. i. c. 2. p. 403. Zos. p. 779. ^s Vid. August. serm. 88. c. 9. p. 473. ^t Cod. Theod. 11. t. 27. l. i. p. 188. ^u Cod. Theodos. l. i. p. 224, 225. ^v Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 10.

ments on those who should embrace the Jewish religion w. *Constantine* passed almost the whole year ensuing, when *Sabinus* and *Rufinus* were consuls, in *Gaul*; for on the eleventh of *January* he was at *Treves*, on the fourteenth of *May* at *Vienne* in *Dauphiny*, and on the thirteenth of *August* at *Arles*, where his wife *Fausta* was delivered of a son, whom some take to be *Constantine's* eldest son, and others, to be his youngest son *Constans*. This year the emperor enacted a law, dated the eighth of *June*, and addressed to a bishop, by name *Protogenes*, probably the celebrated bishop of *Sardica*, by which he gave leave to all masters to enfranchise their slaves in the presence of the christian people assembled with their bishops or pastors in the church, without recurring, as was prescribed by the *Roman* laws, to the prætors and consuls. Thus the manumitting of slaves, which before was attended with great difficulties, and no small expence, became easy, and no-ways chargeable, the masters being no longer obliged to recur to the prætors and consuls at *Rome*, but only to their own bishops and clergy *. In the month of *October* of this year the emperor was at *Milan*, and there heard the complaints of the *Donatists* against *Cæcilianus* bishop of *Carthage* †; and on the fourth of *December* at *Sardica*, where he enacted a law, commanding persons even of the greatest distinction, when guilty of rapes, extortions, or other crimes of that nature, to be tried by the governors of the provinces, and executed, without being allowed to appeal to the governor of *Rome*, or the emperor ‡. This severity was judged necessary to check the insolence of the nobility, who began to oppress the people in a most tyrannical manner, especially in the remote provinces. The following year, 317, when *Crispus*, *Gallicanus* and *Bassus* were consuls, *Constantine* and *Licinius* agreed to create three *Cæsars*, viz. *Crispus* and *Constantine*, and the sons of the emperor *Constantine*, and *Licinius*, or *Licinianus*, the son of *Licinius* by *Constantia*, the sister of *Constantine*. This promotion was made, according to the best chronologers, on the first of *March*, and was afterwards notified to the armies, and published in all the cities of the empire §. The son of *Licinius* is styled on the ancient coins *Valerius Licinianus Licinius*, and also *Licinius the younger* ¶,

Fausta delivered of a son at Arles.

Constantine, and young Licinius, created Cæsars.

w Cod. Theodof. l. xvi. tit. 8. leg. 1. p. 214. * Cod. Jus r. l. i. tit. 13. leg. 1. p. 111. Sozom. l. i. c. 9. p. 414. † Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 13. ‡ Cod. Theodof. l. ix. tit. 1. leg. 1. p. 3. 4. § Anonym. p. 474. Zos. l. ii. p. 679. Hier. chron. Liban. orat. 3. p. 111. ¶ GOLTZ. p. 130. NORIS. de LICIN. c. 1. p. 39. 40.

Constantius born.

Laws against the aruspices.

and was but an infant, about twenty months old, when raised to the dignity of *Cæsar* ^c. *Crispus*, *Constantine's* son by his first wife, was born, according to some, in the year 300, according to others, in 296, so that he was at this time in the seventeenth or twenty-first year of his age ^d. *Constantine* had committed the care of his education to the celebrated *Lactantius*, a person equally capable of instructing him in the sciences, and inspiring him with sentiments of piety. *Eusebius* styles him an excellent prince, a prince beloved of heaven, a son in no respect inferior to his father ^e. He is called in the ancient inscriptions *Flavius Valerius Julius Crispus* ^f. This year was born, according to the common opinion, on the seventh, or, as others will have it, on the thirteenth, of *August*, in *Illyricum*, and, according to some, in the city of *Sirmium*, *Constantius*, *Constantine's* second son by *Fausta* the sister of *Maxentius* ^g. *Constantine* passed the following year, when *Licinius* was consul, the fifth time, with *Crispus*, partly in *Illyricum*, and partly in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and revived the antient *Roman* law against parricides, which had been abrogated by *Pompey the Great*, comprehending under the name of parricide, the murderer not only of a father and mother, but likewise of a son ^h. The next consuls were *Constantine*, the fifth time, and *Licinius Cæsar*. *Constantine* passed this and the three following years in *Illyricum*; and by several laws enacted there, and addressed to the governors of *Rome*, and to the *Roman* people, endeavoured to reform the many abuses which had long prevailed in the metropolis of the empire. By one of these laws, published at *Rome* on the first of *February*, he gives the pagans leave to consult the aruspices, that is, those who pretended to foretel events from the entrails of victims; but forbids the aruspices, as well as the other pagan priests, to enter the houses of private persons, though their friends or relations, upon pain of being burnt alive: such as received them were by this law to forfeit their estates, and be banished for life; the informers were not to be punished in this, as in other cases, but amply rewarded for their zeal ⁱ. The end of this law was to prevent all private sacrifices and consultations. By another law, dated the seventeenth of *December*, he commands those, who shall consult the aruspices, or other di-

^c VICT. epit. p. 543.

^d Zos. p. 679. Panegy. 7. p. 177.

^e EUSEB. l. x. c. 9. p. 398.

^f GOLTZ. p. 129.

^g Cod.

Theodof. chronol. p. 13. Du CANGE Byzant. famil. p. 47.

^h Cod. Theodof. l. ix. tit. 15. p. 112, 113.

ⁱ Cod. Theodof.

l. ix. tit. 16. leg. 1, 2, p. 114, 115.

viners, to send their answers to him ^k. The emperor continued this year at *Sirmium* till the twenty-second of *June*, as appears from the dates of his laws; was at *Naiſſus* on the fifteenth of *July*, at *Milan* on the seventeenth of *September*, at *Aquileia* on the twelfth of *October*, at *Sardica* on the twenty-sixth of *November*, and again at *Sirmium* on the first of *December* ^l. The following year *Constantine* entered upon his sixth consulship, having his son *Constantine* for his colleague. *Constantine* This year he abrogated the *Papian* and all other laws against celibacy; but suffered those who had children to enjoy the privileges granted them by those laws ^m. He annulled another law, empowering the creditors to seize on the estates and effects of their debtors; and at the same time declared, that such as had forfeited their estates by that law might redeem them by paying the sums they owed ⁿ. By a law dated the first of *February*, he forbids the officers of the revenue to punish with rods, or confine to the public prisons, such as were backward in paying the common taxes; but orders them to be secured in places where every one might see and visit them ^o. This law must have been unknown to *Zosimus*, who tells us, that rods and all sorts of torments were used by the officers of *Constantine* in exacting what was due to the exchequer ^p. Two other laws were enacted by *Constantine* this year, the one forbidding married men to keep concubines ^q, and the other commanding all judges to dispatch the causes of criminals, and the goalers to treat them, however guilty, with humanity, to keep them in open and wholesome places, and not to confine them, at least in the day-time, to dungeons: he declares such as shall by ill usage extort money from their prisoners guilty of death; and threatens with his indignation the magistrates who shall wink at such disorders ^r. This year *Crispus* gained a victory over the *Franks*, the particulars of which are not mentioned in history: *Nazarius* in his panegyric only tells us, that he overcame the *Franks*, granted them a peace, and then returned to his father ^s.

THE following year, when *Crispus* and *Constantine*, And for the emperor's two sons, were consuls, *Constantine* published an edict on the seventh of *March*, forbidding all man- keeping ho- ly sundays.

^k Idem, l. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 1. p. 257. ^l Cod. Theodof. chronol. p. 16—27. ^m Sozom. l. i. c. 9. p. 413. ⁿ EUSEB. vit. Const. l. iv. c. 26. Cod Theod. p. 643, 644. ^o Idem, p. 251, 252. ^p Idem, p. 68, 69. ^q Zos. l. ii. p. 691. ^r Cod. Theodof, p. 70, 71. ^s Idem, p. 33. ^t Panegyr. 7. p. 177.

Constantine defeats the Sarmatians.

And the Goths.

ner of work on fundays ^c. *Sozomen* writes, that, out of respect to the cross, he likewise ordered fridays to be kept holy ^d. But of this edict no mention is made either by *Eusebius*, or any other historian. However, the authority of *Sozomen*, who, lived at *Constantinople*, was by profession a pleader, and shews himself every-where thoroughly acquainted with the laws, is of great weight with us. The following year 322, *Petronius Probianus* and *Anicius Julianus* being consuls, *Constantine* gained a great victory over the *Sarmatians* ^e. *Optatianus* writes, that they were overcome in several battles with the *Carpi* and the *Geta*, that is, the *Goths* ^f. These battles were fought, according to that writer, at *Campona*, *Marga*, and *Bononia*, all three cities of *Illyricum* on the *Danube*, the first in *Pannonia* or *Valeria*, near the present city of *Buda*, and the other two in *Upper Mæsia* ^g. *Rausmodes*, king of the *Sarmatians*, had, as we read in *Zosimus* ^h, besieged a city, which he does not name; but *Constantine*, hastening to the relief of the place, put the enemy to flight, and having obliged those who had made their escape to repass the *Danube*, pursued them cross that river, defeated them a second time with great slaughter, their king being killed among the rest, and returned with an incredible number of captives. *Eusebius* does not speak of this victory in particular; but tells us in general terms, that heaven rewarded with many victories over the different clans of barbarians the emperor's zeal for the propagation of the gospel ⁱ. The *Sarmatian* games, which were yearly celebrated about the latter end of *November*, probably took their rise from this victory ^j. The next consuls were *Severus* and *Rufinus*. *Constantine*, after his victory over the barbarians, marched with his army to *Theffalonica*; but while he was busied there in making a port, the *Goths*, notwithstanding their late defeat, entered *Thrace* and *Mæsia*, committing every-where dreadful ravages. *Constantine* marched against them with incredible expedition; and, having gained a complete victory over them, pursued them with great slaughter into the dominions of *Licinius*; which that prince highly resenting, complained of it as an open breach of the treaties subsisting between them. *Constantine* endeavoured to appease him; but as *Licinius*, dissatisfied with the late partition of

^c EUSEB. vit. Const. l. iv. c. 18. p. 534. Cod. Just. l. iii. tit. 12. leg. 3. p. 250. ^d SOZOM. l. i. c. 8. p. 412. ^e Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 22. Zos. l. ii. p. 680. ^f OPTAT. c. 23. ^g BAUD. ^h Zos. l. ii. p. 860. ⁱ EUSEB. vit. Constant. p. 431. ^j Cod. Theod. Chronol. p. 22.

the

the empire, waited only a plausible pretence to break with *Constantine*, after several embassies and unsuccessful negotiations, both princes began to prepare for war. *Constantine* War be- dispatched expresses into all the provinces, ordering his troops ^{to} hasten into *Illyricum* and join him ^c. *Zosimus* writes, *Constantine* that his army was an hundred and thirty-thousand men ^{strong}, and that he assembled at the port of *Athens* a fleet ^{and} *Licinius*. consisting of two thousand two hundred vessels of different rates and sizes; whereas *Licinius* had with him but an hundred and fifteen thousand men, and three hundred and fifty gallies ^d. *Constantine* was still at *Sirmium* on the twenty-fifth of *May* ^e, and a few days after at *Theffalonica*, whence he marched into *Thrace*, and found *Licinius* encamped there on the banks of the *Hebrus*, in the neighbourhood of *Adrianople*. The two armies continued some days encamped over-against each other, being parted by the river. *Constantine* was for laying a bridge cross the *Hebrus*; but, in the mean time, having discovered a ford at some distance, he passed it at first with twelve horsemen, who being followed by a few more, kept the enemy in play, till the whole army crossed the river. Both princes drew up their forces in battle-array, and prepared for the ensuing engagement, which was likely to prove decisive. *Eusebius* writes, that the author of the war, that is, *Licinius*, gave the signal for the onset, and that *Constantine*, having first with a fervent prayer invoked the Almighty, and given for the parole *God our Saviour*, ordered the cross, in which he confided more than in the number and bravery of his soldiers, to be displayed at the head of his army. His confidence, says the same writer, was not ill-grounded; for victory attended the royal banner where-ever it appeared ^f. *Constantine's* men behaved with incredible bravery, animated by the example of their leader, who, though he exposed himself to the greatest dangers, escaped only with a slight wound in the thigh. But of the enemy thirty-three thousand were killed upon the spot, and the rest, though advantageously posted upon a rising ground, obliged to betake themselves to a precipitous and disorderly flight. *Licinius* ^{Licinius} escaped in the night, with what forces he could rally, ^{intirely de-} to *Byzantium*; and the next morning such of his men as ^{feated at} had remained in the neighbourhood of *Adrianople*, submitted ^{Adrianople.} to *Constantine*, who, transported with joy for so signal a victory, granted a discharge to many of his veterans ^g. This

^c Anonym. p. 474. ^d Zos. l. ii. p. 681. ^e Cod. Theod. p. 23. ^f EUSEB. vit. Const. l. ii. c. 3. & 6. p. 445. 447. ^g EUSEB. ibid. Anonym. p. 475. Zos. l. ii. p. 681.

memorable battle was fought on the third of *July* of this year 323. *Eusebius* tells us, that *Licinius*, before the battle, retired to a neighbouring wood to sacrifice to his gods; and, when the ceremony was over, told those who attended him, that he had offered victims to the gods, whom both his and their ancestors had ever adored, but the enemy had forsaken, to embrace a religion unknown to the *Romans*, whose standards he dishonoured with the ignominious sign of a cross. He added, that as *Constantine*, transported with a blind zeal for his new religion, had declared himself an enemy rather to his gods than to him, it was incumbent upon them to defend and protect him, that the world might conclude from the success of the approaching engagement, how powerful were the gods of the *Roman* empire, how weak the unknown God adored by *Constantine*. “If we are overcome,” continued he, we must despise those deities whom we now adore, and adore that deity whom we now despise. But if our gods bless our endeavours with success, as I am confident they will, we must with an eternal war pursue their enemies, and utterly extirpate the christian name.” *Eusebius* tells us, that he learnt this speech, soon after the battle, of those who were with *Licinius* when he made it^b. *Sozomen* likewise writes, that *Licinius* had resolved, if his gods had granted him the victory, to pursue with fire and sword their enemies the christians; and therefore that writer looks upon his defeat as a glaring instance to prove, that the christians were, in a special manner, favoured by heaven, and that their religion was not a human contrivance, but the work of the Almighty¹. As *Licinius* had fled to *Byzantium*, *Constantine* pursued him thither without loss of time, ordering his fleet, commanded by his son *Crispus*, to repair to the same place. *Crispus* immediately put to sea, and sailing along the coasts of *Macedon* and *Thrace*, entered the streights of *Gallipoli*, where the enemy’s fleet, consisting of two hundred vessels, under the command of *Abantus*, or, as others call him, *Amandus*, waited for him. As the place was very narrow, *Crispus* thought it advisable to engage him only with eighty of his best ships. Victory was long doubtful, both fleets fighting with great obstinacy and resolution: but in the end the enemy, being encumbered by the great number of their ships running foul of one another in so narrow a place, were utterly defeated,

And his
fleet by
Crispus in
the streights
of *Galli-
poli*.

^b EUSEB. vit. Const. l. ii. c. 5. p. 445, 446.
i. c. 7. p. 409.

¹ SOZOM. l.

with

with the loss of five thousand men, and one hundred and thirty ships. *Amandus*, the enemy's admiral, with the utmost difficulty saved himself ashore ^k. *Zosimus*, who describes all the particulars of this battle, tells us, that even the winds fought for *Constantine*, in order to render the victory of the son by sea no less glorious than that of the father had been by land ^l. *Crispus* himself hastened to his father with the joyful tidings of the total defeat of the enemy's fleet, and was by him received with the most tender expressions of paternal affection and esteem. *Constantine* had already laid siege to *Byzantium*, after having gained some new advantages over the enemy; but, before his fleet arrived, *Licinius* made his escape by sea, and taking with him the flower of his troops, and his treasures, passed the straits, and shut himself up in *Chalcedon*, with a design to raise a new army in *Asia*. In that city he preferred to the dignity of *Cæsar* one *M. Licinius Martinianus*, the chief officer of his household, and dispatched him with a considerable force to *Lampsacus*, to make head against *Constantine*, in case he attempted to enter the *Hellespont* ^m. But *Constantine*, leaving *Byzantium*, embarked his troops, and, crossing over into *Asia*, landed in the neighbourhood of *Chalcedon*; and finding *Licinius* encamped on a rising ground not far from that city with a numerous army, which he had drawn together with incredible expedition, he began to prepare for a second engagement. But, in the mean time, deputies arriving from *Licinius*, with proposals for an accommodation, *Constantine* hearkened to them with great joy, and complied with the terms they proposed, which were, says *Eusebius* ⁿ, no less advantageous to *Licinius*, than to the whole empire. But this agreement was short-lived; for *Constantine* being soon after informed that *Licinius* was drawing together forces from all parts, and had even invited the barbarians to join him, advanced to *Chalcedon*, with a design to invest the place, and oblige *Licinius* to comply with the terms of their agreement. But as he approached *Chrysopolis*, the port of *Chalcedon*, he was there, to his great surprise, met by *Licinius* at the head of a very numerous army. *Zosimus* writes, that he had with him above an hundred and thirty thousand men, counting the troops commanded by *Martinianus*, whom he had ordered to leave *Lampsacus* and join him ^o. *Constantine* drew up his

Licinius creates M. Martinianus Cæsar.

An agreement between Licinius and Constantine which is broken by the former.

^k Zos. l. ii. p. 681, 682. Anonym. p. 475.

^l Idem ibid.

^m Zos. p. 683. Anonym. p. 475.

ⁿ EUSEB. ibid. l. ii. c.

15. p. 451.

^o Zos. l. ii. p. 683.

Licinius
utterly de-
feated.

He submits
to Con-
stantine.

He is by
his order
put to
death.

men in battle-array ; but, scrupling to break the treaty, waited till the signal was given by the enemy ; which was no sooner done, than he fell upon them with such resolution and intrepidity, that, not able to withstand him, they immediately gave way and fled in the utmost confusion. In this battle *Licinius* lost, according to the anonymous writer of *Constantine's* life, twenty-five thousand men ^p ; but, according to *Zosimus*, above an hundred thousand ^q. It was fought on the eighteenth of *September* ; and a few days after the cities of *Byzantium* and *Chalcedon* opened their gates to the conqueror. *Licinius* fled, with what forces he could rally, to *Nicomedia*, whither *Constantine* pursued him, and immediately invested the place ; but, on the second day of the siege, his sister *Constantia* intreating him with many tears, by the tenderness he had ever shewn to her, to forgive her husband, and grant him at least his life, he was prevailed upon to comply with her request ; and the next day *Licinius*, finding no means of making his escape, presented himself before the conqueror, and, throwing himself at his feet, yielded to him the purple and the other ensigns of sovereignty. *Constantine* received him with great demonstrations of kindness, entertained him at his table, and afterwards sent him to *Thessalonica*, assuring him, that he should live unmolested, so long as he raised no new disturbances ^r. However, he was soon after strangled by *Constantine's* orders, who, on that account, is highly blamed by *Zosimus* and *Aurelius Victor*. *St. Jerom* has copied the very words of the latter in his chronicle. The anonymous writer, whom we have often quoted, tells us, that the soldiers having demanded the death of *Licinius*, *Constantine* complied with their request, fearing he might, in imitation of *Maximian*, one day resume the empire. *Zonaras* writes, that upon the complaints brought against *Licinius* by the soldiery, *Constantine* referred the whole affair to the senate, who sentenced him to death ^s. *Socrates* says in express terms, that *Licinius* began privately to make new preparations for war, and to invite the barbarians to his assistance ; which *Constantine* no sooner knew, than he ordered him to be put to death, and by that means prevented a new civil war ^t. *Constantine* caused all his statues to be pulled down, and by two laws, the one dated the sixteenth of *May* 324, the other the twelfth of *February* 325, annulled all his acts, and repealed the laws

^p Anonym. p. 475.
^q Zos. l. ii. p. 683.
^r Idem, p. 684. *Vict. epit.* p. 543.
^s *SOCRAT.* l. i. c. 4. p. 8.

^t *ZONAR.* vit. *Const.* p. 4.

which

which had been published by him, or his officers in his name ^u. As for *Martinianus*, *Zosimus* writes, that *Constantine* abandoned him to the fury of the soldiery ^w, as soon as he fell into his power. But the anonymous writer and *Victor* the younger assure us, that *Constantine* at first granted him his life; but afterwards ordered him to be put to death, as having been privy to the designs of *Licinius* ^x. All those, who had prompted him to persecute the christians, underwent the same fate ^y, and among the rest his son *Licinius*, who was this year degraded from the dignity of *Cæsar*, and two years after, that is, in 325, according to St. *Jerom*, sentenced to death. *Licinius* had been created emperor on the eleventh of *November* 307, and consequently had reigned near sixteen years. We have not thought it necessary to take notice of the miracles, which *Zonaras* and *Nicephorus* have inserted in their account of the defeat of *Licinius*, as things not vouched by any ancient writer. For this victory *Constantine*, and after him his son and several of his successors, assumed the title of *Victorious*, which we find still prefixed to some of his letters ^z. Not long after the defeat of *Licinius*, he preferred *Constans*, at that time his third son and six years old, to the dignity of *Cæsar*.

Constantine, now master of all the eastern provinces, made it his chief study to establish there the worship of the true God, as he had already done in the west, and to abolish all remains of idolatry, which had been no less countenanced by *Licinius*, than the christian religion persecuted and oppressed. He began with two edicts, whereof both *Greek* and *Latin* copies were sent into all the provinces of the empire, signed with the emperor's own hand, and addressed the one, *To the churches of God*, the other, *To the people of each province*. By these edicts he reinstates in their former condition all, *Constantine orders* who, on account of their religion, had been condemned to exile, to the mines, or any other punishment; orders their *whatever* goods and estates to be forthwith restored to them or to their *had been* heirs; gives leave to such as had been deprived of their mili- *taken from* tary employments to resume them, if they please; and com- *the church-* mands the officers of the revenue, as well as private persons, *es, &c.* of what rank or condition soever, to deliver up to the church- *to be re-* es, upon the publication of the edict, without waiting the *stored to* sentence of the magistrates, what houses, tenements, gardens, *them.*

^u Cod. Theodof. l. xv. tit. 14. leg. 1. p. 404, 405. ^w Zos. p. 685. ^x Anonym. p. 475. *VICT.* epit. p. 543. ^y EUSEB. vit. Const. p. 452. ^z EUSEB. ibid. p. 452. OPTAT. p. 284.

He enacts
several
edicts a-
gainst the
worship-
ping of
idols.

Orders the
temples to
be shut.

orchards, &c. had ever belonged to them, but more especially the places where the holy martyrs had been interred. He threatens with his indignation such as shall not yield immediate obedience to this ordinance, which, he says, comprises those too who may have purchased such lands, houses, &c. of the emperor, or received them as a present, or by way of reward for their past services. These, however, he encourages to depend upon his generosity; but requires of them, as well as of the rest, an immediate compliance with his edict *. These ordinances were followed by others, forbidding the offering of sacrifices to idols, the consecrating of any new idol, and the consulting, either in public or in private, the aruspices, soothsayers, oracles, &c. He had no sooner caused these laws to be published, than he enacted another, ordering the churches, which had been pulled down during the persecution, to be rebuilt at his own expence, injoining his receivers in the different provinces to furnish the necessary sums for that purpose; and those whom he appointed to oversee such buildings, to take care that they were capable of containing all the inhabitants; for we hope, added the pious emperor, that they will all embrace the faith of the true God. He wrote upon the same subject to all the metropolitan bishops, styling them his *beloved brethren*, and among the rest to *Eusebius of Cæsarea*, who relates his letter at length, and tells us, it was the first he had received from him †. Not long after, he published an edict drawn up by himself, and addressed to all the people of the empire; wherein he exhorts them to renounce their antient superstition, to adore but one God, the Creator of the universe, and to place all their hopes in Jesus Christ. This edict is related at length by *Eusebius*, who translated it out of the original *Latin* into *Greek* ‡. *Constantine*, not thinking it yet adviseable to pull down the temples of the idols, ordered them to be shut up in all the places where that might be done without tumults and bloodshed; to be stripped of their riches and ornaments, and even of their idols; and all the lands, houses, and revenues belonging to them to be applied to pious uses. In virtue of this ordinance, the *Pythian* and *Smynthian Apollo*, the tripod of *Delphos*, the muses of *Helicon*, the famous *Pan*, whom all the cities of *Greece* had consecrated after the *Persian* war, and whatever mislaid antiquity had for many ages revered and adored, were publicly dragged through the streets, and either

* EUSEB. vii. Const. l. ii. c. 19—28. p. 453. 458. † Idem
ibid. c. 44, 45. p. 464, 465. ‡ Idem ibid. c. 47, 48. p. 465,
466.

dashed in pieces, or made use of as master-pieces of art to adorn the squares, villas, palaces, public galleries, &c. ^b From the several laws enacted this and the following year 324, when the emperor's two sons, *Crispus* and *Constantine*, were consuls, it appears, that *Constantine* continued in the east, residing for the most part at *Nicomedia*. The next year, *Paulinus* and *Julianus* being consuls, the emperor, to put a stop to the disturbances and divisions that rent the church, assembled the famous council of *Nice*, at which he assisted in person, and afterwards condemned to banishment the refractory heresiarch *Arius*, with *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, *Theognis* of *Nice*, and several others, who could not be prevailed upon to renounce his impious tenets. On the twenty-fifth of *July* of this year, the emperor solemnized with extraordinary pomp and magnificence the twentieth year of his reign, and on that occasion made a great entertainment in his palace, to which he invited all the bishops of the council, treated them with the utmost respect, made them several presents, and caused large sums to be distributed among the poor, dispatching at the same time orders to all the governors of provinces to supply yearly the sacred virgins, widows, and ecclesiastics in each city of their respective districts with a certain quantity of corn ^c. *Constantine* passed this year partly at *Nice*, partly at *Nicomedia*, as appears from the dates of several laws. By one published at *Nicomedia* on the seventeenth of *October*, and addressed to all the subjects of the empire, he encourages such as had been, or should be, oppressed, or any-ways injured by his ministers, counsellors, governors of provinces or cities, &c. to apply to him for redress, assuring them, that they should be well received, and amply rewarded, for undeceiving him, since he had employed none but such as he believed to be men of integrity. But the best princes, adds he, are liable to be deceived and imposed upon by wicked ministers; if therefore those in whom I reposed an intire confidence, have deceived me by a false appearance of integrity, and injured the meanest of my subjects, let the person thus injured lay his complaints before me, and accuse me as the author of the injuries he has suffered, if I do not revenge them ^d. In the beginning of *November* he enacted another law, forbidding throughout the whole empire the combats of gladiators, and ordering, that criminals, instead of being obliged to fight in the arena, should, for the

*Assembles
a council
at Nice.*

*He encourages all
his subjects
to recur to
him.*

^b Idem p. 10. 511. Sozom. p. 449. ^c Euseb. p. 491. Soz. p. 438. ^d Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 25.

future,

He is in-
sulted by
the Roman
people.

future, be condemned to work in the mines^a. The following year, *Constantine* entered upon his seventh consulship, having his third son *Constans* for his colleague. The emperor passed the winter in *Thrace* and *Illyricum*; for he was on the third of *February* at *Heraclea*, and on the fifteenth of *March* at *Sirmium*. From thence he went to *Milan*, and from *Milan* to *Rome*, where he was on the eighth of *July*; but he did not stay long there, being, as appears from the dates of several laws, in the beginning of *October* at *Spoletum*, on the twenty-third of the same month at *Milan*, and on the last day of *December* at *Sirmium*^c. *Zosimus*, a declared enemy to *Constantine*, writes, that the whole *Roman* people loaded him with injuries and curses, for having abandoned the religion of his ancestors, and promoted with great zeal the worship of an unknown God; and adds, that the disrespect and aversion which the *Romans* shewed him prompted him to transfer the seat of the empire to *Byzantium*^d. *Libanius* tells us, that he bore with great patience the satires and lampoons that were daily published against him during his stay at *Rome*. He left the city, highly dissatisfied with the disrespectful behaviour of the *Roman* people, and was never after prevailed upon to return to it^e. But the most remarkable event of this year was the death of *Crispus*, *Constantine's* eldest son. The empress *Fausta*, jealous of the great reputation he had acquired, and piqued to see him preferred to her own children, falsely accused him of having solicited her to incest. Some say, that she charged him with aspiring at the sovereignty. Be that as it will, *Constantine*, hearkening to the accusation, and not only forgetting on this occasion his usual clemency, but acting contrary to all laws of justice and equity, without examining an accusation of such importance, without giving the accused prince room to clear himself, ordered him to be put to death. Some write, that he was dispatched with poison; others, that by the emperor's orders his head was struck off. He was, according to the most probable opinion, executed at *Pola* in *Istria*, on the first of *March*, being then in the thirtieth, or, as others will have it, only in the twenty-fifth year of his age. He was a prince of extraordinary endowments, had signalized himself in a very eminent manner against the *Franks* and in the war with *Licinius*, and was universally beloved by the people and soldiery, on account of his bravery, his obliging behaviour to persons of all ranks, his generosity, and other princely qualities. He had in all

He puts his
son *Crispus*
to death.

^a Cod. Theodof. tit. 5 p. 397. ^c Cod. Theodof. chronol. p. 28.
^d Zos. l. ii. p. 686. ^e Liban. orat. xv. p. 412.

likelihood embraced the christian religion, nay, and been baptized, according to *Baronius*; but the authority of *Nicephorus*, whom that writer quotes, is of no great weight with us. The death of *Crispus* was followed by that of young *Licinius*, *Constantine's* nephew, at that time in the twelfth year of his age^l. *St. Jerom* styles these executions the effect of an unheard-of cruelty^k. *Fausta* did not long outlive her son-in-law; for, being this very year convicted of having accused him falsely, and moreover of having prostituted her honour to persons of the meanest rank, *Constantine* caused her to be suffocated with the steam of a hot bath^l. With *Fausta* many persons of distinction, supposed to have been accessory to her crimes, were condemned, and either privately dispatched with poison, or publicly executed^m. *Evagrius*, to excuse *Constantine*, denies all these factsⁿ; but they are too well attested, both by the *Greek* and *Latin* historians, to be denied, or even called in question. *Eusebius*, in his ecclesiastical history, which he published before the death of *Crispus*, bestows the highest encomiums upon that prince, and tells us, that he had great share in the victory gained over *Licinius*^o; but, in the life of *Constantine*, he suppresses those encomiums, and though he describes at length that memorable victory, yet he does not so much as mention the name of *Crispus*. This silence is, in our opinion, a strong argument against *Evagrius*, who pretends the above-mentioned facts to have been feigned by the enemies of *Constantine*, because he does not find them in *Eusebius*; but as they are sufficiently attested by several other credible writers, we ought rather to infer from the silence of *Eusebius*, that he was well apprised nothing could be alledged to excuse *Constantine*, and therefore took no notice of those executions, chusing rather to incur the censure of having transgressed the known laws of history, than to take upon him the justifying of facts, which all the world but too justly condemned. This inexcusable cruelty and injustice in *Constantine* drew down upon his family divine vengeance; for his brothers, his nephews, and his favourite ministers were, soon after his death, all massacred by *Constantius*, his second son by *Fausta*, whom he loved and cherished above the rest. *Constantine* his eldest son was killed by *Constans* the youngest, *Constans* by *Magnentius*, *Gallus* their

And likewise his nephew *Licinius*, and his wife *Fausta*.

His cruelty and injustice punished by heaven.

^l Zos. l. ii. p. 685. AUR. VICT. p. 527. AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 29. EUTROP. p. 588. ^k HIER. chron. ^l Zos. p. 685. VICT. epit. PHILOSTORG. hist. eccles. 470. AMMIAN. p. 56. HIER. chron. ^m EUTROP. p. 588. ⁿ EVAG. l. iii. c. 41. p. 371. ^o EUSEB. l. x. c. 9. p. 398, 399.

cousin

Makes
Drepanum a ci-
ty.

The empress
Helena
dies.

cousin by *Constantius*, and *Constantius* by *Julian*, the brother of *Gallus*. *Julian* perished in a most miserable manner, and in him ended the numerous family of *Constantine*, which every one expected, would have furnished the empire with princes for many ages, the emperor having three brothers, four sons, several sisters and daughters, and nine nephews^p. *Constantine* seems to have passed the following year 327, when *Constantius* and *Maximus* were consuls, in *Illyricum* and *Thrace*; for on the twenty-seventh of *February* he was at *Theffalonica*, on the eighteenth of *May* at *Sardica*, and at *Heraclea* on the fifth of *August*. He probably passed the following winter at *Nicomedia*; for he was in that city on the first of *March*^q. This year, *Constantine* granted the privileges of a city to the village of *Drepanum* in *Bithynia*, styling it, from the name of his mother, *Helenopolis*. This honour he bestowed upon the place out of respect to the holy martyr *Lucianus*, who had suffered under *Maximin* in the year 312, and was interred there^r. About this time the empress *Helena* is said to have discovered the sepulchre and cross of our Saviour, which induced *Constantine* to build at *Jerusalem* the famous church of the resurrection, which was consecrated in the year 335^s. The pious princess died soon after in the arms of her son, who caused her body to be conveyed with great pomp to *Rome*, and to be interred in the burying-place of the emperors^t. To honour her memory, he gave the name of *Helenopolis* to a city of *Palestine*^u, and that of *Helenopontus* to a part of the *Euxine* sea^w, and caused a statue to be erected to her honour at *Daphne* near *Antioch*. From this statue the street in which it stood took the name of *Augustal*^x. The following year, *Januarius* and *Iustus* being consuls, *Constantine* was, as we have hinted above, on the first of *March* at *Nicomedia*, and on the thirteenth of *July* at a place in *Mæsia* called *Oiscos* and *Escos*^y; whence some conjecture, that he was waging war with the barbarians in those parts: and indeed we read in the chronicle of *Alexandria*^z, that this year the emperor passed the *Danube* several times, and that he even laid a bridge over that river. Both the *Victors* mention this bridge amongst his other great works; and on several ancient coins of this and the following years, notice

^p JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 497, 498. ^q Cod. Theod. p. 29.

^r HIER. chron. p. 662. SOCRAT. l. i. c. 18. p. 49.

^s PHILOSTORG. hist. eccles. l. ii. c. 12. p. 474.

^t THEODORET. l. i. c. 17. p. 564. EUSEB. vit. Const. l. iii. c. 47. p. 506.

^u SOZOM. l. ii. c. 1. p. 443.

^w Cod. Just. p. 235.

^x Suid. p.

443.

^y Cod. Theod. p. 30.

^z Chron. Alexand. p. 662.

is taken of a bridge, of his passing the *Danube*, and his defeating the *Goths*^a. According to the chronicle of *Alexandria* ^b, he began this year the city of *Constantinople*; but, according to others, on the twenty-sixth of *September* of the following year 329. Notwithstanding his zeal for the catholic faith, he recalled this year from banishment the two bishops *Eusebius* and *Theognis*, great sticklers for the doctrine of *Arius*, and suffered them to gain a great ascendant over him. The next year, *Constantine* took upon him his eighth consulship, having his eldest son, the fourth time consul, for his colleague. He passed this whole year in the neighbourhood of the *Danube*; for on the nineteenth of *June* he was at *Sardica* in *Dacia*; on the twenty-second of *July* at *Sirmium* in *Paannonia*; on the twenty-fifth of the same month at *Naissus* in *Dardania*; on the third of *August* at *Heraclea* in *Thrace*; on the eighteenth of the same month, and twenty-ninth of *September*, at *Sardica*; and on the twenty-fifth of *October* at *Heraclea* ^c.

The emperor recalls from banishment two Arian bishops.

THE following year 330, when *Gallicanus* and *Symmachus* were consuls, is remarkable for the dedication of the city of *Constantinople*, the greatest of all *Constantine's* works. Authors are divided in their opinions with respect to the motives that prompted *Constantine* to undertake the building of that city. *Zosimus* writes, that he did it out of hatred to the *Romans*, seeing himself scorned and insulted by them for having embraced and introduced a new religion ^d. He had, according to *Eutropius*, nothing else in view but to display his power, and shew, that, in a few years, he could build a city equal to *Rome*, which, for so many ages, had been not undeservedly looked upon as the wonder of the universe ^e. Others only tell us, that *Constantine*, disliking *Rome* for motives unknown to them, resolved to build a city else-where, and reside there. That he disliked *Rome*, whatever his motives were, is very plain; for though he had been master of that metropolis near twenty years, yet he had never made any long stay in it, but passed most of his time in *Gaul*, and, after his victory over *Licinius*, in *Thrace*. *Sozomen* writes, that *Constantine*, seeing himself absolute master of the whole empire, and not being disturbed by any domestic tumults or foreign wars, undertook the building of a new city, as a work worthy of a great prince, and resolved, as he did not care to reside at *Rome*, to

Constantine undertakes the building of a new city.

^a BIRAG. p. 467. ^b Chron. Alex. p. 602. ^c Cod. Theodof. chronol. p. 30, 31. & l. xi. tit. 30. leg. 15. p. 236, 237.

^d Zos. l. ii. p. 686.

^e EUTROP. p. 488.

settle the imperial seat there ^f. The first place he chose for executing his design was between *Troas* and ancient *Ilium*, on the coast of *Asia*; but afterwards changing his mind upon a vision which he had, or imagined to have had, he resolved to enlarge the ancient city of *Byzantium*, and make it the second, or, if he could, the first, of the empire. This pretended vision is much spoken of by the modern *Greek* and *Latin* writers ^g; and *Constantine* himself, in one of his laws, declares, that, in the choice of the place, he followed the directions of heaven ^h. He began with extending the walls of the ancient city from sea to sea; and while some of the workmen were busied in rearing them, others were employed in raising within them a great number of stately buildings, and among the rest a palace no-ways inferior in magnificence and extent to that of *Rome*. As he designed to fix his own court there, and was desirous that the succeeding emperors should follow his example, and honour his new city with their ordinary residence, he spared no cost or labour to render it both beautiful and convenient. With this view he built a capitol and amphitheatre, made a circus maximus, several forums, porticoes, and public baths, and divided the whole city into fourteen regions, securing the inhabitants with many wholesome laws, and granting them great privileges and immunities. By this means *Byzantium*, became in a short time one of the most flourishing and populous cities of the empire, whole families flocking thither from all parts, especially from *Pontus*, *Thrace*, and *Asia*, *Constantine* having appointed, by a law enacted this year, that such as had lands in those countries, should not be able to dispose of them, nor even leave them at their death to their heirs, unless they had a house in his new city. The common people were inticed thither from the different and most distant provinces, and even from *Rome* itself, by the emperor's largesses, and the great quantities of corn, oil, and meat, which were daily distributed among them ⁱ. But however desirous the emperor was to see his new city filled with people, yet he did not care it should be inhabited by any but christians; and therefore caused all the idols to be pulled down, and their temples to be consecrated to the true God. He built besides an incredible number of churches, and caused crosses to be erected in all the squares and public places. When most of the buildings were finished, the

*He enlarges
the city of
Byzan-
tium.*

*Adorns it
with many
new build-
ings.*

^f Soz. l. ii. c. 3. p. 444. ^g Vide DU CANGE urb. Constantinop. descript. l. i. p. 23, &c. ^h Cod. Theod. tit. 5. p. 64. ⁱ Zos. l. ii. p. 687. Soz. p. 444. SOCRAT. l. ii. c. 13. p. 90.

emperor, on the eleventh of *May* of the year 330, the twenty fifth of his reign, caused his new city, by a very solemn dedication, to be consecrated, according to *Cedrenus*,^k to the virgin *Mary* ^{And so-} ^{lemnly con-} ^{secrates it,} ^{and equals} ^{it to Rome} ^{to the} ^{God of} ^{martyrs.} Some modern *Greek* writers tell us, that this ceremony was performed by the fathers of the council of *Nice*, that the solemnity lasted forty days, and that *Constantine*, during the whole time, caused an immense quantity of all sorts of provisions to be daily distributed among the populace^m. It was on this occasion that *Constantine* styled the new city from his own name *Constantinople*, or the city of *Constantine*, and likewise *Second*, or, as others will have it, *New, Rome*ⁿ. At the same time he equalled it to ancient *Rome*, granting it the same rights, immunities, and privileges enjoyed by that metropolis^o. He established a senate and other magistrates, with a power and authority equal to that of the *Roman* senate^p, and declared *New Rome* the metropolis of the east, as *Old Rome* was of the west. *Constantine*, having accomplished this great work, according to some in five, according to others in two, years, fixed his residence in the new city, and never more returned to *Rome*. The removal of the imperial seat from *Rome* to *Constantinople*, happened in the year of the christian æra 330, the twenty-fifth of *Constantine*'s reign, and 1078, after the foundation of *Rome*. By this removal the *Roman* empire received a fatal stroke, and shrunk by degrees into nothing, as the reader will find in the sequel of this history.

^k Vide DU CANGE de Constantinop. l. i. p. 27. ^l EUSEB. vit. Const. l. iii. c. 48. p. 507. ^m Vide GEORG. cod. in antiq. Constantinop. p. 25. ⁿ SOCRAT. p. 45. ^o SOZOM. l. ii. c. 3. p. 444. ^p Cod. Theod. l. xiv. tit. 13. leg. 1. p. 220, 223.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Roman history, from the removal of the imperial seat to Constantinople, to the death of the emperor Julian.

CONSTANTINE having fixed his court at *Constantinople*, continued there, as appears from the dates of several laws^q, great part of the ensuing year 331, when *Bassus* and *Ablavius* were consuls, being chiefly em-

^q Cod. Theod. p. 353, & seq.

Constantine gains a complete victory over the Goths.

And the Sarmatians.

The emperor's generosity during a famine.

ployed in building new churches, and adorning with other stately monuments the city he desired might be honoured with the residence of the succeeding emperors. The next year, *Pacatianus* and *Hilarius* being consuls, the *Sarmatians* having implored the assistance of *Constantine* against the *Goths*, who had made an irruption into their country, and committed every-where unheard-of cruelties, the emperor, either in person, or, as some write, by his son *Constantine*, gained a memorable victory over them on the twentieth of *April*. Near a hundred thousand of the enemy were either cut in pieces, or perished after the battle with hunger and cold; insomuch, that the barbarians were obliged to sue for peace, and deliver up hostages to the emperor, among whom was the son of their king, *Ariaric* or *Araric*^t. *Sozomen* and *Socrates* write, that the *Goths* acknowledging the power of the God adored by *Constantine*, who had miraculously assisted him in this war, great numbers of them embraced the christian religion, which had been first preached among them about seventy years before^t. The *Sarmatians*, unmindful of the assistance they had received from *Constantine*, as soon as he withdrew with his victorious army, began to ravage the provinces of *Mæsia* and *Thrace*; but the emperor, returning with incredible expedition, fell upon them unexpectedly, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and forced the rest to submit to what terms he was pleased to impose upon them^t. The next consuls were *Dalmatius*, either the brother or nephew of *Constantine*, and *Xenophilus*, or *Zenophylus*. This year *Constantine* created *Constans*, his youngest son, *Cæsar*, who was born in 320, and is styled in all the antient inscriptions *Flavius Julius Constantinus*^u. The same year, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and *Thrace*, were grievously afflicted with a pestilence and famine, which swept off incredible numbers of people. *Theophanes* tells us, that at *Antioch* the wheat was sold at four hundred pieces of silver the bushel^w. During this calamity, *Constantine* sent to the bishop of *Antioch* thirty thousand bushels, and an incredible quantity of corn, oil, and all sorts of provisions to the other churches, to be divided among the widows, orphans, ecclesiastics, &c.^x Towards the close of this year, ambassadors arrived at *Constantinople* from the *Blemyes*, the *Indians*, the *Ethiopians*, and *Persians*, with rich presents for

^t AMMIAN. p. 476. JUL. orat. i. p. 16. EUSEB. vit. Constant. l. iv. p. 529. ^t Soz. p. 48. SOCRAT. p. 411. ^t Anonym.

p. 476.

^u EUSEB. ibid. p. 533.

^w THEOPH. p. 23.

^x Idem ibid.

the emperor, whose friendship they courted, acknowledging him, says *Eusebius* ¹, for their sovereign, and declaring, that they coveted nothing so much as to live in peace and amity with so great a prince, so renowned a warrior. The *Persian* ambassadors, in the name of *Sapor* their king, renewed the ancient treaties between the two empires. *Constantine* received them with extraordinary marks of honour; and being informed that the christians were very numerous in *Persia*, he was transported with joy; and looking upon himself as their general protector, he wrote a letter in their behalf to *Sapor*, which is related at length by *Eusebius* ² and *Theodoret* ³. The letters from *Constantine* to the bishops, begging their prayers, and those both from him and his children to the great *Antony* for the same purpose, which we read in *Eusebius* ⁴, *Athanasius* ⁵, *Sozomen* ⁶, and *Prosper* ⁷, are supposed to have been written this year. The following year, when *Optatus* and *Anicius Paulinus Junior* were consuls, the *Goths*, under the command of *Geberic* their king, who had succeeded *Araric*, made new irruptions into the country of the *Sarmatians*, whom they defeated in a great battle fought on the banks of the *Marisus*, in which their king, by name *Wisimar*, and most of their chiefs, were cut in pieces. The *Sarmatians* in this extremity armed their slaves, and by their means gained a complete victory over the *Goths*; but the victorious slaves, sensible of their strength, threw off the yoke, and turning their arms against their masters, for whose defence they had been intrusted with them, drove them out of the country, and seized their houses, lands, and effects for themselves. St. *Jerom* ⁸ and *Ammianus Marcellinus* ⁹ call these slaves *Limigantes*; and the former tells us, that, in his time, the free-born among the *Sarmatians* were styled *Aracaragantes*. The *Sarmatians*, thus driven from their habitations, fled for refuge to *Constantine*, who received them, to the number of three hundred thousand, incorporated in his legions such of them as were fit for service, and gave settlements to the rest in *Thrace*, *Scythia*, *Macedon*, and *Italy* ¹⁰. Another party of the fugitive *Sarmatians* had recourse to certain barbarians, called by *Ammianus* *Victobales*, and supposed to be the same

Embassadors sent to him from the most distant nations.

He allots the Sarmatians settlements in the dominions of Rome.

¹ EUSEB. *ibid.* l. i. c. 8. p. 409, 410.

² Idem *ibid.* c.

9—13. p. 350—355.

³ THEOD. l. i. c. 24. p. 573—575.

⁴ EUSEB. *ibid.* l. iv. c. 14. p. 533.

⁵ ATHEN. *vit.* Anton.

p. 497.

⁶ SOZ. p. 47.

⁷ PROSP. *chron.*

⁸ Hier.

⁹ AMMIAN. l. xvii. p. 107.

¹⁰ EUSEB. p. 529.

AMMIAN. p. 478. JORNAND. *rer. Goth.* p. 641.

people

people with the *Quadi Ultramontani*. These were re-established in their antient possessions by the *Romans* in the year 358, after they had driven out the *Limigantes*¹. This year *Eusebius*, bishop of *Cæsarea*, pronounced before *Constantine* his speech on the holy sepulchre; and returning afterwards to his diocese, wrote and inscribed to *Constantine* a book on the *fast of Easter*; for which the emperor returned him thanks by a very kind and respectful letter, desiring him at the same time to cause fifty copies of the holy scriptures to be transcribed, and sent him for the use of the churches of *Constantinople*. *Eusebius* immediately complied with his request, and, in his answer to him, acquainted him with the conversion of *Maïuma*, the port of *Gaza* in *Palestine*, of the city of *Constantina* in *Phœnicia*, and of several others; which gave *Constantine* an inexpressible pleasure^k. The learned cardinal *Noris* takes *Constantina* to be the city and island of *Aradus*; for a bishop of that place, by name *Atticus*, styled himself *bishop of Arcadia Constantia*; which the above-mentioned writer supposes to have been, through mistake, put instead of *Aradus Constantina*^l. *Constantine* was this year, on the seventeenth of *June*, at *Constantinople*, on the fifth of *July* at *Singidunum* in *Mœsia*, and on the twenty-fifth of *August* at *Naißus* in *Dacia*^m. The next consuls were *Flavius Julius Constantius*, the emperor's brother, and *Rufius Albinus*. As *Constantine*, on the twenty-fifth of *July* of this year 335, entered the thirtieth year of his reign, which had happened to no emperor ever since the time of *Augustus*, he celebrated that day at *Constantinople* with extraordinary pomp and magnificence; and soon after assembled two councils, the one at *Tyre*, hoping by that means to appease the disturbances raised in the church by the followers of *Arius*; the other a few weeks after at *Jerusalem*, to consecrate the magnificent church which he had built there. But the council of *Tyre* condemned, for several pretended crimes, and deposed, the great *Athanasius*, bishop of *Alexandria*; and that of *Jerusalem* admitted *Arius* and his followers to the communion of the church. The emperor misled by the *Arians*, especially by *Eusebius* bishop of *Nicomedia*, and by a priest, whom his sister *Constantia*, the widow of *Licinius*, had earnestly recommended to him on her death-bed, conformed to the decisions of both councils; and though the crimes laid to the charge of *Athanasius* were evidently false, yet he was so far prepossessed

The councils of
Tyre and
Jerusalem.

Constantine favours the
Arians.

¹ AMMIAN. l. vii. p. 106. & l. xvii. p. 105—111.
ibid. p. 542—545.
tom. 4. p. 921.

^k EUSEB.
^l NORIS. epoch. p. 363. CONCIL.
^m Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 34.

against

against him, that instead of examining the accusations, when he appealed to his tribunal, he banished him into *Gaul*, and at the same time deposed and sent into exile three other bishops; viz. *Eustathius* of *Antioch*, *Asclepas* of *Gaza*, and *Lucas* of *Adrianople*, for zealously opposing the wicked and impious tenets of *Arius* ⁿ. The emperor, not satisfied with having created his three sons, *Constantine*, *Constantius*, and *Constans*, *Cæsars*, raised this year, on the eighteenth or twenty-fourth of *September*, to the same dignity his nephew *Dalmatius*, son to his brother of the same name, and appointed *Annibalianus*, brother to young *Dalmatius*, king of *Pontus* ^o. Soon after their promotion, the emperor, to prevent any misunderstanding, jealousy, or quarrels between his nephews and children, divided the government of the empire among them in the following manner: *Constantine*, the eldest, had *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*; *Constantius*, the second son, all the *Orient*, that is, *Asia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*; and *Constans*, the youngest, *Illyricum*, *Italy*, and *Africa*. To his nephew *Dalmatius* he gave *Thrace* and part of *Illyricum*; that is, *Macedon* and *Achaia*; and to king *Annibalianus*, his other nephew, *Armenia Minor* and the neighbouring provinces; that is, *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*, with the city of *Cæsarea*, which he desired might be the capital of his kingdom ^p. About this time one *Calocerus*, a man of great interest and authority in the island of *Cyprus*, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor there, and made himself master of the whole island. But *Dalmatius*, who was sent with an army against him, defeated the rebel, took him prisoner, and, carrying him to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, condemned him to be burnt alive in that city ^q. On an antient medal quoted by *Spanheimius* ^r, mention is made of one *Tiberius*, who usurped the sovereignty in the time of *Constantine*; but of him we find nothing in history. As for one *Azotus*, who was overcome by *Constantine*, as we read in *Suidas* and *Codinus*, it appears from several epigrams in the *anthology*, that both he and that *Constantine*, by whom he was overcome, were but drivers of chariots in the circus. *Athanasius* was accused of having supplied with money a rebel, by name *Philumenes* ^s; but of him not the least mention is made in history. The emperor was

Dividesthe
empire a-
mongst his
children
and ne-
phews.

ⁿ EUSEB. *ibid.* p. 545, & 510. ^o EUTROP. p. 588. AUR. VICT. p. 227. Chron. Alex. p. 668. Zos. l. ii. p. 692. ^p EUSEB. *orat.* in tricennal. Const. p. 609. VICT. *epit.* p. 544. Anonym. p. 476. ^q THEOPH. p. 23. AUR. VICT. p. 296. ^r SPANH. l. vi. p. 601. ^s ATHAN. *apol.* 2. p. 779.

this year at *Constantinople* on the thirtieth of *March*, at *Viminacum* in *Mæsia* on the twelfth of *August*, and again at *Arius dies. Constantinople* on the twenty-second of *October* ^t. The following year, *Nepotianus* and *Facundus* being consuls, died the famous heresiarch *Arius*, and soon after him *Alexander* bishop of *Constantinople*, who *Constantine* had solicited in vain to re-admit the anathematized heretic to the communion of the church. The holy bishop *Paul* was raised to the see of *Constantinople* in the room of *Alexander*; but the emperor was persuaded by *Eusebius*, bishop of *Nicomedia*, to banish him into *Pontus* ^u. Towards the close of this year *Constantine* married his second son *Constantius* to the daughter of *Julius Constantius* and *Galla*. *Julius Constantius* was brother to the emperor, and his wife *Galla* sister to *Rufinus* and *Cerealis*, of whom hereafter. He had by *Galla* *Gallus Cæsar*, born in *Hebruria* in the year 325 or 326, another son who was killed in 337, and one daughter, married this year to *Constantius*, whose name has not been transmitted to us. The emperor *Julian*, speaking of this and other marriages between the nephews and nieces of *Constantine*, says, that a strange confusion reigned in the imperial family; that marriages were celebrated which were no marriages; and that the laws, both human and divine, were profaned and trodden under foot ^w. But there were yet no laws forbidding marriages between cousin-germans. On occasion of this marriage, *Constantine* caused large sums, and great quantities of provisions, to be distributed among the people of all the cities and provinces of the empire ^x. He had long before married his eldest son *Constantine*; but to whom, we are no-where told. The year ensuing, when *Felicianus* and *Titianus* were consuls, the *Persians*, after having lived in peace with the *Romans* for the space of forty years, that is, ever since the year 297, began to commit hostilities in *Mesopotamia*, because the emperor refused to restore to them the five provinces which they had been obliged to yield to *Galerius*. Hereupon *Constantine*, having drawn together a very numerous and powerful army, and made the other necessary preparations for a vigorous war, began his march, with a design to invade the *Persian* dominions. But in the mean time the enemy, terrified at his approach, dispatched ambassadors to him, with proposals of an accommodation; which seeming very reasona-

The Persians
awed
by the ter-
ror of Con-
stantine's
arms.

^t Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 35.

c. 49. p. 551.

ibid. p. 551.

^u EUSEB. vit. Const. l. iv.

^w JULIAN. orat. vii. p. 425.

^x EUSEB.

ble to the emperor, a peace was concluded, and both armies withdrew. Thus *Eusebius* ^y. But *Festus* and most other historians tell us, that *Constantine*, desirous of triumphing over the *Persians*, would not grant them a peace upon any terms, and that by death alone he was prevented from invading their dominions^z. Be that as it will, *Constantine*, having celebrated this year with extraordinary solemnity the feast of *Easter*, which fell on the third of *April*, was soon after taken ill, being then in the sixty-fourth year of his age. He had recourse to the warm baths of *Constantinople*; but his distemper increasing, he removed, for change of air, to *He-*
lenopolis in *Bithynia*, and from thence to a castle at a small distance from *Nicomedia*, called *Achyrona*, or *Aguyrona*. Being there apprised that his end approached, he declared in a speech, which he made to the bishops who attended him, his eager desire of being baptized, adding, that he designed to have received that seal of salvation in the waters of the *Jor-*
dan; but since God, in his infinite wisdom, had otherwise disposed of him, he acquiesced to his will. When the ceremony was over, he was clad in white, and would not afterwards so much as touch or see his purple robes, passing most of his time in pious meditations, and edifying discourses with the bishops on the immortality of the soul, and the rewards and punishments of another life. Some of the officers of the army, who were admitted into his room, expressing with a flood of tears their concern for the loss of so good a prince, he told them, That they ought rather to rejoice than mourn, since he was going to exchange a short and miserable, for an eternal, life, happy beyond conception or expression^a. *St. Jerom* writes, that he was baptized by *Eusebius* bishop of *Nicomedia*; and that, by receiving baptism at his hands, he fell into the heresy of *Arius* ^b. But *Athanasius* and all other ecclesiastic writers, *Lucifer* alone excepted, assure us, that he held always inviolate the faith of the council at *Nice*, tho', deceived and misled by the *Arians*, he persecuted those who defended it against the tenets of that heresiarch. As for *Eusebius*, though he held, yet he did not openly profess, the doctrine of *Arius*; nor was he cut off from the communion of the church. As he was therefore bishop of the place, *Constantine* could not decline being baptized by him, without openly affronting him, and likewise transgressing the laws of the church. Before he died, he ordered the great *Athanasius*

Constan-
tine taken
ill.

He is bap-
tized.

^y EUSEB. *ibid.* p. 554, 555.
 iii. p. 120. EUTROP. p. 117.
 SOCRAT. l. i. c. 29. p. 75.

^z FEST. p. 57. LIBAN. *orat.*

^a EUSEB. c. 62. p. 557, 558.

^b HIER. *chron.*

He orders
Athanasius to be
recalled
from banishment.

He dies,
and is uni-
versally
lamented.

to be recalled from banishment, notwithstanding the warm remonstrances of *Eusebius of Nicomedia*, who did all that lay in his power to prevent the return of that zealous champion of the true faith^c. He probably ordered at the same time the other catholic bishops to be recalled; for *Athanasius* tells us, that they were all restored with him to their respective sees by the children of *Constantine*^d. By his last will he bequeathed some revenues to the city of *Rome*, and others to that of *Constantinople*. He likewise confirmed the above-mentioned division of the empire among his three sons and two nephews^e. The emperor *Julian* writes, that he committed to *Constantius* his second son the care of all things, appointing him in a manner his executor, either because he loved him above the rest, or because *Constantius*, who was nearer, arrived before the rest, at least before *Constantine*, the eldest, who was then in *Gaul*^f. But it is certain, that the emperor died before any of his children arrived, though he had dispatched expresses to them all as soon as he found himself past recovery. Not long therefore before he expired he privately put his will into the hands of an ecclesiastic, in whom he reposed an intire confidence, not knowing him to be a follower of *Arius*, and obliged him to promise upon oath not to deliver it to any but *Constantius*. This commission proved very prejudicial to the church, on account of the credit which it procured to the ecclesiastic and his sect, with the new emperor^g. *Constantine*, having settled matters in the manner he judged best both for the church and state, after various pious ejaculations, expired about noon on the twenty-second of *May*, that year 337, *Whitsunday*, after having lived, according to the most probable opinion, sixty-three years, two months, and twenty-five days, and reigned thirty years, nine months, and twenty-seven days. His death was bewailed by persons of all ranks, as the greatest misfortune that could befall the empire. The soldiers no sooner heard of it, than they tore their cloaths, fell prostrate on the ground, and gave other public testimonies of their deep concern, calling him *their deliverer, their beloved leader, their common parent*. The people of *Constantinople*, overwhelmed with sorrow, and drowned in tears, for the loss of their great benefactor, of their magnificent and generous founder, expressed their grief in a manner suitable

^c SOZOM. l. iii. c. 2. p. 498. ATHAN. apol. 2. p. 806. ^d ATHAN. folit. p. 814. ^e SOCRAT. l. i. c. 39. p. 75. SOZ. l. ii. c. 34. p. 495. ^f JULIAN, orat. i. ii. p. 83. & 175. ^g SOCRAT. p. 75. ZOZ. p. 496. THEODOR. p. 585. RUFIN. p. 167.

to so general a calamity ^h. Messengers were immediately dispatched with the dismal tidings to his children, and in the mean time the body of the deceased prince, with the purple and diadem, was put into a golden coffin, and conveyed to *Constantinople*, being attended by all the troops in that neighbourhood, who had assembled upon the first notice of his death. It was exposed to public view in the chief hall of the palace, with an infinite number of tapers burning round it in golden candlesticks. All the great officers both civil and military, the senate, and other persons of distinction, came to pay their devoirs to the corpse, kneeling before it, as if the emperor had been still alive. Court was kept in the same manner as when he was living, and those who attended his person came at the usual hours, as if he had still wanted their attendance. This empty honour, formerly paid to the deceased emperors, as appears from *Herodian* and other writers, seems to have been long before laid aside, and to have been revived now in honour of *Constantine*. His children were daily expected to pay him the last duty; but *Constantius* alone came, the other two being probably at a great distance; and, soon after his arrival, caused the corpse to be conveyed with the utmost pomp and magnificence to the famous church of the *Apostles*, which the emperor had built close to the palace, desiring to be interred in it, that he might, after his death, say *Eusebius* ^k, *His obsequies*.
 partake of the prayers offered there by the faithful in honour of the holy apostles. That magnificent structure was built in the form of a cross, and covered, not with tiles, but gilt brass. *Constantine* and the succeeding emperors were buried, not in the church itself, but in the porch, where mausoleums were erected for them, and a burying-place allotted for the bishops of the city; the priesthood, says *Sozomen* ^l, claiming equal honour and respect with the imperial dignity, especially in holy places, where it holds the first rank. This church had been finished and consecrated a little before *Constantine's* death. *Constantius* attended the body to the church, but withdrew with the soldiers, as he had not yet been baptized, when the ministers of the church began the holy ceremonies ^m. As soon as they were over, the body was deposited in the porch, where *Constantius* caused a magnificent mausoleum to be raised over it ⁿ. Not many years after, that is, in 358 or 359, the porch being ready to fall, the body of the emperor was

^h EUSEB. c. 65 p. 559.^k EUSEB. p. 555. 556.^l So-

ZOM l. ii. c. 34. p. 469.

^m EUSEB. c. 71. p. 502.ⁿ Idem

ibid. & JULIAN. orat. i. p. 29.

Y y 2

conveyed

conveyed from thence to the church of St. *Aacius*, a native of *Constantinople*, and martyr, built likewise by *Constantine* °; but it was afterwards carried back to the church of the *Apostles* †, where it was to be seen, with the bodies of other princes of the same family, many ages after. Though *Constantine* had never made any considerable stay at *Rome*, and had in the end intirely abandoned that metropolis, yet the people expressed an uncommon concern for his death; for they no sooner heard of it then they shut up their shops and public baths, and intermitted all kinds of sports and diversions, as was usual in time of some great and general calamity. They all demanded with one voice, that his body might be brought to *Rome*; and expressed the greatest concern imaginable, when they understood, that it was, by his will, to remain at *Constantinople* ‡. It appears from some antient coins, that the senate of *Rome* conferred divine honours upon him †. He was by most churches, especially in the east, honoured as a saint, as he is still by the christians in *Egypt*, and the *Greek* church, which solemnizes his festival on the twenty-first of *May* with a very solemn office. The *Muscovites* celebrate his anniversary on the same day, though they can give no reason for their preferring that day to the twenty-second of the same month, on which he died, as is agreed on by all writers, both antient and modern. About the middle of the fifth century, extraordinary honours were paid to his tomb, and to his statue, which was set up upon a column of porphyry †. The modern *Greeks* equal him to the apostles, as one to whom we owe all our being christians: the apostles, say they, preached the gospel in all parts of the world; but it never prevailed over paganism, till it was countenanced and established by the great *Constantine*; which in reality is preferring the emperor to all the apostles. But of those high flights, intirely suitable to the temper of the *Greeks*, we leave our readers to judge. All authors allow him to have been a prince endowed with extraordinary accomplishments both of body and mind, an excellent commander, an able statesman, a great encourager of learning, and himself much addicted to read, write, and meditate. But, as to his character in general, there is a great disagreement among authors, some of the heathen writers painting him as a perfect tyrant, and the christians extolling him as the best prince that ever swayed a sceptre. The emperor *Julian* speaks of him as a

He is honoured by the eastern churches as a saint.*

Encomiums bestowed upon him by the modern Greeks.

Authors disagree as to his character.

* SOCRAT. l. ii. c. 38. p. 145.

† CHRYSOST. 2. Cor.

‡ AUR. VICT. p. 527. EUSEB. c. 69. p. 561.

§ GOLTZ.

p. 128.

¶ THEODORET. vit. Constant. l. i. c. 34. p. 66.

prince

prince extremely ambitious of military glory, and one who had nothing so much at heart as the aggrandizing of himself and his family; and adds, that the bad example he set therein to his children armed them against each other ^u. He is charged by some with having enriched the imperial robes with pearls not used before his time, and with constantly wearing the diadem. But this charge is quite groundless, it being certain, that *Dioclesian* was the first who added pearls to the imperial robes, and *Constantius Chlorus* the first who wore constantly the diadem, even when he was only *Cæsar*, as we read in *Aurelius Victor* ^w and *Eutropius* ^x, and is evident from his medals ^y. The emperor *Julian* ^z and *Zozimus* ^a represent him as a voluptuous prince, intirely abandoned to all manner of diversions and pleasures, to banquets and revellings, to public shows, &c. insomuch, that he could spare no time from sports and entertainments, to regulate the affairs of the state. On the other hand, *Victor* ^b, *Eusebius* ^c, and *Libanius* ^d, tell us, that he was constantly employed in reading, writing, meditating, composing speeches, (some of which, of an extraordinary length, have reached our times) hearing embassies, giving audience to his ministers and subjects; in short, that he was never idle, but ever busied, either in forming or executing some great design or other for the good of the empire. Most of his laws were dictated by himself; he never continued long in any place, but was, as we have often observed, continually moving from one city or province to another; so that we cannot help thinking this charge as groundless as the former. *Julian* and *Zosimus*, zealous sticklers for idolatry, were evidently prejudiced against a prince, who had enacted so many severe laws against all manner of idolatrous worship. We are told, that he kept with him for the space of thirty years one *Samacus*, who, pretending to be a fool, diverted the emperor when tired out with business. This was not a diversion worthy of so great a prince. It proves, however, that *Constantine* applied himself seriously to business. *Victor* the younger, after having told us that he was addicted to raillery, gives us the following idea of his reign: *Constantine*, says he, reigned thirty years, and behaved the ten first like an excellent prince, the ten following like a robber, and the ten last like a prodigal ^e. The same charge is brought a-

^u JUL. orat. vii. p. 423, 424.^w AUR. VICT. p. 523.^x EUTROP. p. 586.^y SPANH. p. 683.^z JUL. CÆS. p. 23.

42, 52.

^a ZOS. l. ii. p. 687.^b VICT. epit. p. 543.^c EUSEB. p. 539.^d LIBAN. orat. iii. p. 107.^e VICT.

epit. p. 543.

gainst

gainst him by *Zosimus*, who writes, that, when he became master of the whole empire, he abandoned himself without controul to his rapacious temper, loading the people with heavy taxes, and at the same time squandering away the money thus raised upon undeserving favourites, or useless buildings ^f. Amongst the other imposts with which that virulent writer pretends that *Constantine* oppressed the people, he mentions one called the *chrysargyrum*, and will have *Constantine* to have been the first who enacted it. But this *Evagrius* maintains to be a mere calumny, owing to the implacable hatred which that pagan bore to the deliverer of the church ^g. And truly long before *Constantine's* time a tax was laid upon the public prostitutes, which most writers take to be meant by the *chrysargyrum*. *Constantine*, to save charges in raising it, ordered it to be paid only every fourth year. *Zosimus* ascribes to him another tax called *folles*, which was levied upon all persons of quality, and occasioned, according to that writer, the ruin of all the cities of the empire ^h. But he is the only author who says, that it was introduced by *Constantine*. *Aurelius Victor* writes in express terms, that it was first raised by *Maxentius* ⁱ. In our opinion, it is not at all probable, that *Constantine* laid any new burdens upon the people, seeing he generously remitted to all his subjects the fourth part of the land-tax, and discharged several cities of contributions, which they had paid for the space of an hundred and fifty years; among the rest *Tripolis* in *Libya*, and *Nice* in *Bithynia* ^k. From an antient inscription we learn, that one year he remitted all taxes throughout the empire ^l. *Zosimus* writes, that, during his reign, rods, prisons, and all kinds of severe treatment, were made use of by him in levying the common taxes ^m; whereas the laws he enacted, forbidding these violences under the severest penalties, are still extant, as we have observed above. Whence we leave the reader to judge what credit that implacable enemy to *Constantine* and the christian religion deserves. *Zosimus* and *Julian* are rather accusers than historians; and an accuser is not to be believed, unless witnesses can be produced to vouch what he says. Hence the accusations brought against *Constantine* by these two writers are of no weight with us, unless confirmed by the authority of other historians. *Aurelius Victor*, ⁿ, *Ammi-*

^f Zos. l. ii. p. 687. ^g EVAGR. l. iii. c. 40. p. 370. ^h Zos. p. 691. ⁱ AUR. VICT. p. 526. ^k EUSEB. p. 528. AUR. VICT. p. 527. ^l Vide BARON. ad ann. 312. ^m Zos. p. 691. ⁿ AUR. VICT. p. 527.

anus Marcellinus^o; and even his panegyrist Eusebius^p, complain of his employing in the administration of affairs, persons altogether unworthy of the confidence he had reposed in them, and suffering them to enrich themselves at the expence of the people committed to their care. This fault, altogether inexcusable in a prince, Eusebius ascribes to his excessive goodness, which induced him to pardon, or only to inflict slight punishments on, such of his ministers as were found guilty of the most enormous extortions. He could not, says Eusebius, prevail upon himself to condemn those whom he had once judged worthy of his favour; and hence his ministers, presuming upon his indulgence and good-nature, often committed great disorders in the provinces, and oppressed the people in a most tyrannical manner. His thus neglecting to punish the crimes of his ministers, rendered him, without all doubt, no less guilty than if he had committed them himself.

WE shall now proceed to several regulations in the government, both civil and military, thought to have been first introduced by Constantine. Before his time there were, according to Zosimus^a, two captains of the guards, known by the name of *præfecti prætorio*, who had an equal authority over all the troops dispersed in the several provinces of the empire. But Constantine, jealous of their too great power, lessened it by creating two more, and allotting to each of them a certain number of provinces. By this means the whole empire was divided into four parts, which were the Orient, Illyricum, Italy, and Gaul, governed by the four *præfecti prætorio*, each of whom had several dioceses or districts under his jurisdiction. To the *præfectus prætorio orientis*, were subjected the five following dioceses; viz. Thrace, Asia, Pontus, Egypt, and the Orient. Each of these dioceses comprised several provinces, as is manifest from the Theodosian code, and the acts of several antient councils. The diocese of Thrace, whereof Heraclea, and afterwards Constantinople, was the metropolis, consisted of five provinces, viz. Europe, Thrace, Hemimuntum, Rhodope, Mæsia Secunda, or Lower Mæsia, and Scythia. The diocese of Asia, which had Ephesus for its metropolis, comprised ten provinces, viz. Pamphylia, the Hellespont, Lydia, Pysidia, Lycaonia, Phrygia Pacatiana, Phrygia Salutaris, Lycia, Caria, and the islands of Rhodes, Lesbos, and the Cyclades. In the diocese of Pontus, the metropolis of which was Cæsarea in Cappadocia, were

Several regulations introduced by Constantine.

The præfecti prætorio, and division of the empire into four prefectures.

^o AMMIAN. l. xvi p. 68.
ii. p. 687.

^p EUSEB. p. 540.

^a ZOS. l.

eleven provinces, viz. *Paphlagonia*, *Galatia*, *Bithynia*, *Honoriatedes*, *Cappadocia Prima*, *Cappadocia Secunda*, *Pontus Polemoniatus*, *Helenopontus*, *Armenia Prima*, *Armenia Secunda*, *Galatia Salutaris*. The diocese of *Egypt* which had *Alexandria* for its metropolis, consisted of six provinces, viz. *Upper Libya*, or *Libya Pentapolitana*, *Lower Libya*, *Thebais*, *Egypt*, *Arcadia*, and *Augustamnica*. The *Orient* comprised fifteen provinces, the metropolis of which was *Antioch*: the provinces were, *Palæstina Prima*, *Palæstina Secunda*, *Phœnicia Prima*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, *Cyprus*, *Arabia*, *Isauria*, *Palæstina Salutaris*, *Phœnicia Libanensis* or *Phœnicia Secunda*, *Euphratensis*, *Syria Salutaris*, *Osrhoene*, *Mesopotamia*, *Cilicia Secunda*. The *præfectus prætorio Illyrici* had but two dioceses under his jurisdiction, viz. *Macedon*, and *Dacia*; of which the former consisted of six provinces, viz. *Achaia*, *Macedon*, the island of *Crete*, *Thessaly*, *New and Old Epirus*, and part of *Macedonia Salutaris*: the metropolis of this diocese was *Thessalonica*. The diocese of *Dacia* comprised five provinces, viz. *Dacia Mediterranea*, *Dacia Ripensis*, *Mœsia Prima*, *Dardania Prævalitana*, and part of *Macedonia Salutaris*. The *præfectus prætorio Galliarum* had three dioceses under his jurisdiction, viz. *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*. In the diocese of *Gaul* were seventeen provinces, viz. *Viennensis*, *Lugdunensis Prima*, *Germania Prima*, *Germania Secunda*, *Belgica Prima*, *Belgica Secunda*, *Alpes Maritimæ*, *Alpes Penninæ*, *Maxima Sequana*, *Aquitania Prima*, *Aquitania Secunda*, *Novempopulana*, *Narbonensis Prima*, *Narbonensis Secunda*, *Lugdunensis Secunda*, *Lugdunensis Turonica*, *Lugdunensis Senonica*. In the diocese of *Spain* were seven provinces, viz. *Bætica*, *Lusitania*, *Galicia*, *Tarraconensis*, *Carthaginensis*, *Tingitana*, and the *Balearic* islands. The diocese of *Britain* consisted of five provinces, viz. *Maxima Cæsariensis*, *Valentia*, *Britannia Prima*, *Britannia Secunda*, and *Flavia Cæsariensis*. The *præfectus prætorio* of *Italy* had three dioceses under his jurisdiction, viz. *Italy*, *Illyricum Occidentale*, and *Africa*. *Illyricum* consisted of six provinces, viz. *Pannonia Secunda*, *Savia*, *Dalmatia*, *Pannonia Prima*, *Noricum Mediterraneum*, *Noricum Ripense*: *Sirmium* was the metropolis of this diocese. *Africa* comprised five provinces, viz. *Africa Carthaginensis*, *Byzacene*, *Mauritania Sitifensis*, *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, and *Tripolitana*. *Italy* was divided into seventeen provinces, which were *Venetia*, *Æmia*, *Liguria*, *Flaminia* and *Picenum*, *Annonarium*, *Hetruria*, and *Umbria*, *Picenum Suburbicarium*, *Campania*, *Sicilia*, *Apulia* and *Calabria*, *Lucania* and *Brutium*, *Alpes Cottinæ*, *Rhætia Prima*, *Rhætia Secunda*, *Samnium*, *Valeria*, *Sardinia* and *Corfica*.
The

Italy divided into
seventeen
provinces.

The prefects were the first officers of the empire, and generally looked upon, to use the expression of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, as emperors of an inferior rank. They had several other officers under them, viz. *proconsuls*, *vicars*, *rectors*, *consulars*, *correctors*, and *presidents*. In the east were two *proconsuls*; one in *Achaia*, and another in *Asia*, and sometimes, but very seldom, a third in *Palestine*: in the west there was but one, viz. the *proconsul of Africa*. The vicars represented the prefects, and were their lieutenants; whence, in the antient inscriptions, they are styled *pro-prefecti*, or *vice-prefects*. There were vicars in the provinces of *Asia*, *Pontus*, *Thrace*, the *Orient*, *Macedon*, *Africa*, *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Britain*, and two in *Italy*, viz. the vicar of the city of *Rome*, and the vicar of *Italy*: under the former were the ten following provinces, *Campania*, *Hetruria*, *Umbria*, *Picenum Suburbicarium*, *Sicilia*, *Apulia*, *Calabria*, *Lucania*, *Brutium*, *Samnium*, *Sardinia*, *Corfica*, and *Valeria*: under the vicar of *Italy* were five provinces, *Liguria*, *Æmilia*, *Flaminia*, *Picenum Annonarium*, and *Venetia*; to which were afterwards added *Istria*, the *Alpes Cottia*, and both the *Rhætias*. The provinces under the vicar of *Rome* were called *provinciae suburbicariae*; and those under the vicar of *Italy* *provinces of Italy*. The vicar of *Italy* resided at *Milan*, which by that means became the metropolis of all the *Italian* provinces. Next in dignity to the vicars were the *rectors*, who governed whole provinces under the prefect or his vicars, as did likewise the *consulars*, the *correctors*, and the *presidents*: *Phœnicia* was governed by a *consular*, who resided sometimes at *Tyre*, sometimes at *Berytus*, and sometimes at *Damascus*: several provinces of *Italy* had likewise a *consular* for their governor, viz. *Æmilia*, *Liguria*, *Venetia*, *Picenum*, *Sicilia*, *Flaminia*, and *Campania*: *Hetruria*, *Apulia*, *Calabria*, *Lucania*, and *Brutium*, were governed by *correctors*; and *Samnium*, *Valeria*, the *Alpes Cottia*, both *Rhætias*, *Sardinia*, and *Corfica*, by *presidents*. We find several laws in the *Theodosian* code addressed to the prefects, *proconsuls*, *vicars*, *rectors*, *consulars*, and *correctors*, but very few to the *presidents*. The prefects under *Constantine* and his son *Constantius* had only the title of *clarissimi*, which was common to all senators, but were soon after distinguished with that of *illustres*. Most writers, upon the authority of *Zosimus*, ascribe the institution of these four prefects to *Constantine*; but that author was perhaps therein mistaken, it being certain, that the empire was by *Dioclesian* divided into four parts, and governed by two emperors, and two *Cæsars*, each of whom had an army, and a *præfectus prætorio*; nay,

The several officers under the præfecti prætorio.

The magistri militiæ.

even before *Dioclesian's* time, we find one *Clarus* styled *prefect of Illyricum and Gaul*^r. The prefects were originally military; but after this division of the empire, became altogether civil officers, the command of the troops being given to two *magistri militiæ*, the institution of which office is likewise ascribed by *Zosimus* to *Constantine*^r. In *Dioclesian's* time, each province had its peculiar general, styled *dux* or *duke*; but *Constantine* in their room created the two above-mentioned *magistri militiæ*, one for the foot, and another for the horse, with a full power of making what regulations in the army they thought proper; of punishing the soldiers when guilty of breach of duty, or any other crime; of discharging and admitting into the army whom they pleased, &c. Sometimes both commands were vested in one person; for in a law, dated the seventeenth of *June*, 315, mention is made of one *Eusebius* commander in chief both of the horse and foot; and one *Sylvanus*, in two laws addressed to him in 349, is styled *magister utriusque militiæ*^r. But their number was soon increased; for in the time of *Theodosius I.* they were at least five, viz. one for the court, called *præsentalis*; one for *Thrace*, one for the *Orient*, one for *Illyricum*, and one for *Gaul*^v. These *magistri militiæ* were afterwards distinguished with the title of *comites* or *counts*, and raised to the rank of the first officers of the empire. The *patricii* or *patricians* were superior in rank both to the *magistri militiæ*, and the prefects. This was a new dignity instituted by *Constantine*, but had no power or authority annexed to it, being only a title of honour. The patricians, though raised above all the other subjects of the empire, were nevertheless obliged to give the precedence to the consuls^w. *Constantine* conferred this dignity on *Julius Constantius*, his brother; and *Optatus*, his brother-in-law^x. The patricians are seldom mentioned by the writers of the fourth century; but frequently by those of the fifth. The title of *comes* or *count* seems likewise to owe its origin to *Constantine*. Before *Constantine's* time, those who attended the emperors out of *Rome* in quality of counsellors, styled themselves *comites*; but to that word added the name of the prince whom they attended. In *Constantine's* time, the name of the prince was omitted, and those who accompanied him were styled simply *comites*, *companions*, and in the modern languages *counts*: one *Dionysius* is the first

The patricians.

The comites or counts.

^r Trig. tyrann. vit. c. 17. p. 193. ^r Zos. p. 688. ^r Cod. Theodof. l. xi. tit. 1. leg. 1. p. 6. & chronol. p. 48. ^u Notit. c. 5, 8, 34, 38. ^w Zos. p. 692. Cod. Theodof. p. 74, 75. ^x Idem ibid.

to whom we find that title to have been given : afterwards it became a title of honour, and was bestowed upon all officers of any rank, though they neither followed the court, nor accompanied the emperor. These *comites* or *counts* were divided, according to their employments, into three orders or ranks ; and hence the expressions which we frequently meet with in the writers, who flourished under *Constantine* and his successors, *comes domesticus primi ordinis, secundi ordinis, &c.* ¹. We find no mention made of the title of *nobilissimus*, or *most noble*, before *Constantine's* time, who gave it to two of his brothers, viz. *Julius Constantius* and *Annibalianus* ². It was, under the succeeding princes, bestowed upon their sons, before they were raised to the dignity of *Cæsar*. Of the writers who flourished under *Constantine*, we shall speak in our note (F).

THE

¹ Vide DU CANGE. gloss. p. 1074. ² Zos. l. ii. p. 692.

(F) We shall begin with those who have written the history of *Constantine*. *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea* published his life in four books ; but declares, in the beginning of his work, that he designs to insert in his history such accounts only as serve to shew his piety and religion, and may prove edifying to his readers. However, he relates great part of his wars ; and we may depend upon the truth of what he writes relating thereunto, since the emperor honoured him with his intimacy and friendship, and informed him himself of many transactions. He composed this work soon after the emperor's death ; for he tells us, that he began it when *Constantine's* children reigned ; and, on the other hand, it is certain, that he did not survive the emperor two full years. Besides the life of *Constantine*, he wrote two panegyrics on that prince, one in 325, which has been long since lost ; and another, of an extraordinary length, in 335, which has reached our times, but gives us no great insight into the transactions of those times (1). Several other panegyrics on *Constantine*, composed in the beginning of his reign, are still extant, and have been of great use to us, as the reader must have observed, in writing the history of his life. Among these there are two, the authors of which are not known ; one of them was pronounced in the year 308, on occasion of the marriage of *Constantine* and *Fausta* ; and the other in 313, after the defeat of *Maxentius* (2). Two other panegyrics were composed by *Eumenius*, of whom we have spoken in the text, the one about the year 309, and the other in 311, to return thanks to the emperor for the favours and privileges granted to the city of *Autun* : that

(1) *Euseb. or. habit. in tricennal. Constantin. p. 605.*
eggr. 5. p. 124. & 7. p. 152.

(2) *Panegyric*
 written

The armies
acknow-
ledge Con-
stantine's
three chil-
dren.

THE news of *Constantine's* death no sooner reached the armies, than they all agreed to acknowledge no other emperors

written by *Nazarius* was pronounced on the first of *March* 321. *Eumenius* was professor of eloquence in the city of *Autun*, and esteemed one of the best orators of his time. *St. Jerom* speaks of *Nazarius* as a celebrated orator in 324, and adds, that he had a daughter no less esteemed for her eloquence than himself. *Vinctus*, in his comments upon *Ausonius*, calls her *Eunomia*; and styles her, upon what authority we know not, a christian virgin (3). *Praxagoras*, by birth an *Athenian*, wrote, when only nineteen years old, two books on the kings of *Athens*; and, three years after, two others, comprising the life of *Constantine*. At the age of thirty-one he published the life of *Alexander the Great* in six books (4). An abridgment of his life of *Constantine* is to be found in *Photius* (5). His style is clear, but unequal. He was a pagan, but bestows great encomiums on *Constantine*. He is supposed to have flourished under *Constantius*, and to have been contemporary with the sophist *Bemarchus*, who was a native of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, wrote several declamations and speeches, and published the life of *Constantine* in ten books (6). But none of his works have reached our times. *Libanius* mentions one *Bemarchus*, a pagan sophist, but greatly favoured by *Constantius* (7). *Eunapius* likewise wrote the history of *Constantine*, but comprised without all doubt in the general history, which he published of all the emperors from the death of *Alexander Severus* (8). We may well rank *Constantine* himself amongst the writers and men of learning who flourished in his time; for many monuments of his application and study have reached our times, and are to be found in *Eusebius*, who has transmitted them to us. Of these, the chief, or at least the most diffuse and extensive, is his oration *ad sanctorum cœtum*, or his discourse addressed to the assembly of saints. *Eusebius* assures us, that this speech, as well as his many laws and letters, were all composed by himself. His speech, and several letters, he wrote in *Latin*, and caused them to be afterwards translated into *Greek*, though he must have been well acquainted with the *Greek* tongue too, having passed most of his time in the east. Of his letters or edicts the following are still extant in *Eusebius*: the edict of *Milan* in 313, in favour of the christians; his letters to *Anulinus*, proconsul of *Africa*, for the ecclesiastic immunity, and ordering whatever had been taken from the churches to be restored; his letter to *Cæcilianus*, bishop of *Carthage*, concerning the alms, which were, by his orders, to be distributed among the indigent christians in *Africa*;

(3) *Vinct. in Auson. p. 158.* (4) *Phot. c. 62. p. 64.* (5) *Idem, p. 64.* (6) *Voss. hist. Græc. l. ii. c. 17. Suidas. β. p. 551.* (7) *Liban. vit. p. 15.* (8) *Eunap. p. 40. Voss. ibid. c. 18.*

rors but the sons of *Constantine*, whom they accordingly proclaimed emperors, as did, soon after, the senate of *Rome*, without

his letter to *Melchisedes*, bishop of *Rome*, in 313, touching the council of that city against the *Donatists*; that which he wrote in 314, to *Cyrestus*, bishop of *Syracuse*, concerning the council of *Arles*; his edict addressed to the inhabitants of *Palestine*, and the people of the east, in 323, for the re-establishing of the confessors; his letter to *Eusebius* the historian, concerning the building of churches; his edict to the people of the east, exhorting them to embrace the christian religion; his letter to *Alexander* and *Arius*, touching their disputes in point of religion; his letter to the churches concerning what had been decided in the council of *Nice* in 325, with respect to the celebration of *Easter*; the letter he wrote to *Macarius* for the building of the church of the *Resurrection* at *Jerusalem*, and that to the bishops of *Palestine* for the building of another at *Mambre*; three touching the promotion of *Eusebius* to the see of *Antioch* about the year 331, part of the edict which he addressed to the heretics; his letter to *Sapor*, king of *Persia*, in behalf of the christians; two to *Eusebius*, the one touching his treatise on *Easter*, the other requiring him to send him fifty copies of the scripture; his letter to the bishops of the council of *Tyre* in 335, for the quieting of the troubles in the church. Besides these letters or edicts in *Eusebius* (9), others have been transmitted to us by different authors, viz. five touching the *Donatists*, written about the year 314 (10); one to *Arius* and his disciples about the year 324, complaining of their obstinacy (11); one to the church of *Alexandria*, upon the condemnation of *Arius* by the council of *Nice*; one to the whole church, commanding his books, and those of his followers, to be burnt (12); one to the church of *Nicomedia*, on the banishment of the two *Arian* bishops, *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, and *Theognis* of *Nice* (13); another, on the same subject, to *Theodatus*, bishop of *Laodicea* (14); one to *Arius*, inviting him to court (15); some lines of which he wrote to *Athanasius*, injoining him to admit *Arius* to the communion of the faithful (16); one to the church of *Alexandria*, wherein he commends the conduct of *Athanasius* (17); one to *Athanasius* himself, condemning those who had slandered him (18); one to *Johannes Meletianus*, congratulating him upon his being reconciled to the church (19); one to the *Eusebians* of the council of *Tyre*, inviting them to *Constantinople*

(9) *Euseb. hist. l. x. c. 5, 7. & vit. Const. l. ii. c. 24, 25, 46, 48, 64. l. iii. c. 17, 20, 30, 32, 52, 60, 64. l. iv. c. 9, 13, 35, 42.* (10) *Cæcil. Optat. p. 280, 283, 285, 287.* (11) *Vide Baron. ad ann. 319.* (12) *Socrat. l. i. c. 9. p. 30, 32.* (13) *Gelas. Cyzicen. acta Nic. concil. p. 217.* (14) *Idem, p. 224.* (15) *Socrat. l. i. c. 25. p. 61.* (16) *Ath. apol. p. 778, 779.* (17) *Idem, p. 785.* (18) *Idem, p. 787.* (19) *Idem, p. 803.*

(20).

without taking the least notice of their two cousins, *Dalmatius Caesar*, and *Annibalianus* king of *Pontus*, the two sons of their uncle

(20). To these we may add the letter which he wrote to the poet *Opatianus*, thanking him for a poem which he had published in his commendation; and assuring him, that he had nothing more at heart than the encouraging of learned men. Besides the authors of the *Augustine* history, of whom we have spoken already, several other authors flourished under *Constantine*. *St. Jerom* extols, among the rest, the orator *Attius Patera* or *Paterius*, a native of *Bayeux*, and sprung, according to *Ausonius* (21), from the antient *Druids*. He taught rhetoric at *Rome* with great applause, about the end of *Constantine's* reign, and afterwards at *Bordeaux* (22), since *Ausonius* ranks him among the professors of that city. He was the father of the orator *Delphidius* (23), of whom hereafter; and *Hedibias*, to whom *St. Jerom* wrote his hundred and fiftieth letter, was descended from him. He was a pagan, as *St. Jerom* tells us in express terms (24). The reader will find in *Ausonius* (25) several things relating to him, which it would be too tedious to insert here. *Suidas* ascribes several rhetorical pieces to one *Onasimus*, a native of *Cyprus* or *Sparta*, who lived in the time of *Constantine*, and is styled by *Suidas* both an historian and sophist (26). At the same time flourished *Palladius*, a native of *Methone* in *Peloponnesus*, who published a treatise on the feasts of the *Romans*, and some other philological pieces (27). And this is all we know of these two writers, whom *Vossius* ranks among the *Greek* historians (28). The reader will find in *Photius* (29) several grammatical observations copied by him from four books written in *Iambic* verse written by one *Helladius*, a native of *Antinopolis*, or *Bisantinopolis*, as he styled it, in *Egypt*. This work was intitled *Chestomachia*: he published several other pieces, was a pagan, and lived under *Licinius* and *Galerius* (30). *Photius* speaks elsewhere of one *Helladius*, author of a very copious lexicon (31). In the time of *Constantine* flourished the celebrated *Platonic* philosopher *Iamblichus*: he was a native of *Chalcis* in *Lower Syria*, sprung from a rich and noble family, and very famous among the pagans, as appears from *Eunapius*, who wrote his life (32). He studied philosophy first under one *Anatolus* or *Anatolius*, and afterwards under the celebrated *Porphyrius*. He had an incredible number of disciples, taken with his probity, says *Eunapius*, and not with his eloquence; for he both spoke and

(20) *Vide Baron. ann. 325.* (21) *Auson. de profess. Burdigal. car. 4. p. 145.* (22) *Idem, car. 6. p. 150. Hier. epist. 150. p. 410.* (23) *Auson. ibid. p. 145.* (24) *Hier. p. 140.* (25) *Auson. ibid. p. 149.* (26) *Suid. o, v. p. 311.* (27) *Idem, w. p. 405.* (28) *Voss. hist. Græc. l. iv. c. 18. p. 486.* (29) *Phot. c. 279.* (30) *Idem, p. 1592.* (31) *Idem, c. 145. p. 317.* (32) *Eunap. c. 2. p. 23.*

uncle *Constantius Dalmatius*; though *Constantine* had, in the above-mentioned division of the empire, allotted to each of them

wrote very improperly. From what *Eunapius* says of him, it is manifest, that he studied magic with no less application than philosophy (33). He died at *Alexandria* before the year 331, some time after he had put the last hand to the life of a philosopher of that place, named *Alypius*, who was his contemporary. This work has not reached our times, nor ought we to regret the loss of it; for *Eunapius* speaks of it as a very mean performance (34). Several works of a philosopher, named *Iamblichus*, are still extant, and highly esteemed by the best judges, but commonly ascribed, not to the disciple of *Porphyrius*, but to another *Iamblichus*, who lived at *pamea* in *Syria*, forty or fifty years after the former, and was one of the emperor *Julian's* chief favourites, as appears from the several letters he wrote to him (35). These two philosophers bore the same name, lived in the same country, and had each of them a disciple named *Sopater*; no wonder, therefore, that most writers have confounded them. A third philosopher, of the same name, lived under the emperor *M. Aurelius*. Several works have reached our times, under the name of *Iamblichus*; but which of these three was the true author of them, we will not take upon us to determine: the works are, the history of the life and sect of *Pythagoras*, with an exhortation to the study of philosophy, containing an explication of the proverbs and maxims of that philosopher (36); an explication of the arithmetic of *Nicomachus*; a treatise on mathematics in general; an answer to the letter of *Porphyrius* to *Anebo*, on the mysteries of the *Egyptians*; a collection of the tenets of the *Pythagoreans*; and a short treatise on the sun. The first of these works was translated into *Latin*, and published in 1598, by one *Johannes Arcerius*, a native of *Frisia*; but he is thought not to have taken the true meaning of the author in several passages, and, besides, his style is both obscure and improper. *Samuel Tennulius* published in 1668, *Iamblichus's* explication of the arithmetic of *Nicomachus*, promising at the same time to publish soon after his treatise on mathematics; but whether or no he was as good as his word, we cannot tell, not having ever heard of that work's being published. *Iamblichus*, in his answer to the letter of *Porphyrius*, endeavours, under the name of *Abammon*, to confute his arguments against the power of magic. *Holstenius* designed to publish all the works of *Iamblichus*, together with observations; but he was prevented by death from executing his design. *Iamblichus's* life of *Pythagoras* was in great part copied from that of the same philosopher, written by *Porphyrius* (37).

(33) *Idem, ibid.* (34) *Idem, c. 3. p. 28.* (35) *Julian. epist.*
40. & p. 186, &c. (36) *Iam. vit. Pyth. p. 25.* (37)
Jen. l. iii. c. 16. p. 293; 294.

them their share. However, the three brothers did not, for what reason we are no-where told, take upon them the title of

St. *Jerom* tells us, that the philosopher *Iamblichus* wrote copious comments on the precepts of *Pythagoras*, commonly called the *golden maxims* (38). The emperor *Julian* equals *Iamblichus* of *Chalcis* to *Plato* himself. *Gothofredus* is of opinion, that *Gregorius* and *Hermogenes*, or rather *Hermogenianus*, the authors of the two different, but like, codes, flourished under *Constantine* and his children. They both begin with the laws of *Adrian*, and seem to end with those of *Dioclesian*, not caring, as is conjectured, to meddle with the laws of *Constantine*, by reason of the many changes that prince had introduced into the *Roman* jurisprudence (39). Tho' they were both pagans, yet they might have inserted such laws of *Constantine* as no-ways related to religion. In compiling their respective works, they followed the order of time; which was afterwards observed in the codes of *Theodosius* and *Justinian*. The codes of *Gregorius* and *Hermogenianus* are thought to be the most ancient of all; and were both abridged by those who abridged the *Theodosian* code (40). Only some fragments of them now remain to be found in different books of jurisprudence. *Gregorius* is commonly believed to have been the most ancient of the two. The style of *Hermogenianus* is very uncouth, and often obscure. *Publius Optatianus Porphyrius* flourished under *Constantine*, and is thought to have published the poem, which has reached us, about the middle of the year 326, on occasion of the solemnity of the emperor's twentieth year, and the tenth of the two *Cæsars*, *Crispus* and *Constantine*, his children. He had before that time inscribed another poem to *Constantine*: which being well received by the prince, *Optatianus* returned him thanks by a letter, which is still extant, for the kind reception he had given it; adding to the letter a second poem, addressed likewise to *Constantine*. These two poems have been long since lost; but the letter, which the emperor wrote to him, thanking him for one of them, has reached our times. *Constantine* calls him in his letter *his dearly beloved*, and *Optatianus* styles *Constantine* emperor of the whole earth; whence we may conclude it to have been written after the year 323. Not long after, *Optatianus* was, upon several charges brought against him, banished. He owns some of them to have been true; but pretends not to have been guilty of the crime for which chiefly he was sent into exile. He wrote the poem, which is still extant, to beg of *Constantine*, that he would recal him from banishment, and allow him to see again his son and family. The poem is a panegyric on *Constantine*, filled with acrostics, and other trifling conceits of that nature, which betray want of judgment and true taste in the writer (41).

(38) *Hier. in Ruf. l. iii. c. 10. p. 246.*
chronol. p. 185.

(40) *Idem, p. 184.*

(39) *Cod. Theod.*

of *Augustus*, till the ninth of *September* of this year 337, that is, near four months after the decease of their father.

(41). *St. Jerom* assures us, that the emperor, pleased with this poem, recalled the author (42). Several epigrams in the *antology* are ascribed to the same author; and *Fulgentius*, the grammarian, quotes some of his verses (43): *Robanus Maurus* and venerable *Bede* speak of his poem as an elegant performance (44); but the modern critics, with a great deal of reason, despise all compositions, and *difficiles nugæ*, as *Martial* styles them, of that nature, agreeing therein with the ancient *Latin* poets, whose writings ought to be our standard. Some authors are of opinion, that several of the pieces, which pass under the name of *Petronius Arbiter*, were written by *Optatianus*. *Sopater*, the disciple of *Iamblichus*, flourished under *Constantine*, and, after the death of that philosopher, became the head of the *Platonic* sect that followed *Plotinus*. He was a native of *Apamea* in *Syria*, and both spoke and wrote with great elegance and propriety; whence he was styled a sophist, as well as a philosopher (45). After the death of *Iamblichus*, not deigning to converse with other philosophers, says *Eunapius* his admirer, he repaired to the court of *Constantine*, to try whether he could prevent the downfall and utter ruin of the ancient religion of the *Romans*. He gained, adds the same writer, a great ascendant over the emperor, who frequently conferred with him, and yielded to him in public the most honourable place. But this we can hardly believe, upon the bare word of his panegyrist *Eunapius*; for no other writer takes the least notice of *Sopater's* great credit with *Constantine*. *Sozomen* tells us, that *Constantine* had recourse to him to know in what manner he might atone for the death of his son *Crispus*; and that both the philosopher, and the pagan pontiffs, answered, that, in the religion of the *Greeks*, there was no atonement for so heinous a crime (46). Hereupon he began to hearken to the christians, says *Zosimus* (47), who assured him, that the virtue of their baptism was capable of washing off any wickedness, however enormous. We can scarce believe, that the pagans owned there was no atonement in their religion for an emperor. Besides, it is certain, that *Constantine* had hearkened to the christians, and embraced their religion, before the death of *Crispus*. While *Sopater* was with the emperor at *Constantinople*, there being great scarcity of provisions in that city, by reason the vessels that brought corn were detained by contrary winds, the people assembled in the theatre broke one day on a sudden into bitter invectives against *Sopater*, as a magician, who stopt the favourable winds, and pre-

(41) *P. Opt. prol. c. 11. apud Vales.*

(42) *Hier. ann. 329.*

(43) *Jonf. l. iii. c. 15. p. 290.*

(44) *Optat. prol. p. 2.*

(45) *Eunap. p. 23. Sozom. l. i. c. 5. p. 406. Suid. p. 781.*

(46) *Sozom. l. i. c. 5. p. 406. (47) Zof. l. ii. p. 685.*

father ^a. Soon after the soldiery, under colour of preventing disturbances in the empire, flew to arms, and cut in pieces
Julius

^a EUSEB. vit. Const. l. iv. c. 68. p. 560.

vented the arrival of the so long-expected vessels. Hereupon *Constantine* abandoned him to the fury of the enraged populace, who being underhand stirred up by the prefect *Ablavius*, and other courtiers, jealous of his too great credit with the emperor, tore him in pieces. Thus is his death related by *Eunapius* (48); and from him *Zosimus* copied what he wrote on this subject (49). It is surprising, that *Constantine* should have treated in this manner, without the least provocation, so great a favourite as *Eunapius*, and after him *Zosimus*, pretend *Sopater* to have been. *Suidas* writes, that *Constantine* put him to death, to give the world a signal instance of his hatred and aversion to paganism (50). *Sopater* left a treatise on providence, and on those who had been undeservedly happy or miserable (51). *Vassius* seems to confound *Sopater* of *Apamea* with another philosopher of the same name, who was a native of *Alexandria*, and abridged the works of several historians and other authors. These abridgments are greatly esteemed by *Photius*, though interwoven with several fables. They were divided into twelve books (52). *Julian* speaks of one *Sopater* of *Apamea*, who lived in his time (53), and consequently must be distinguished from the disciple of *Iamblichus*. To the other writers, who flourished under *Constantine*, we may add the two christian poets *Commodianus* and *Juvencus*. The former wrote, according to *Rigault*, who published his work with those of St. *Cyprian* in 1666, in the time of *Sylvestre*, bishop of *Rome*; was a native of *Gaza*, or at least bore the name of *Gazeus*; he was descended of pagan parents, but in reading the holy scripture, discovered and embraced the truth. He wrote a kind of poem, in hexameter verse, commonly stiled *instructions*, but without any regard to quantities. It is divided into several articles, and the initial letters of each article make up its title. In this poem, if we may bestow upon it that name, he impugns the errors of the pagans, but seems not to have been yet well instructed himself in the truths of the christian religion (54). *Juvencus*, frequently mentioned by St. *Jerom*, flourished under *Constantine*: he was by birth a *Spaniard*, sprung from an illustrious family, and not only a christian, but in holy orders. However, he applied himself to the study of poetry, and wrote a poem, comprising the four gospels in as many books. He keeps close to the text, chusing rather to preserve the truth of the history, than to display his genius. This

(48) *Eunap.* c. 4. p. 34, 37. (49) *Zos. l. ii.* p. 692.
 (50) *Suid.* c. p. 782. (51) *Idem ibid.* (52) *Phot.* c. 161.
 p. 344. (53) *Julian. epist.* 40, 53, p. 185, 186. (54) *Comm.*
 p. 23. c. 33. *Gennad.* c. 15.

Julius Constantius, the deceased emperor's brother, *Dalmatius Caesar*, *Annibalianus* king of *Pontus*, the patrician *Optatus*, who had, as is commonly supposed, married *Anastatia*, and *Annibalianus* the late emperor's sister, five of his nephews, among whom was the eldest son of *Julius Constantius*, the præfect *Ablavius*, and most of the great *Constantine's* ministers, supposing them attached to the interest of his nephews ^b. Thus was the numerous family of *Constantine* reduced at once to his three sons, and two nephews *Gallus* and *Julian*, the sons of *Julius Constantius*; of whom the former owed his life to a malady, from which no one believed he could recover; and the other to his infancy, he being then at most but seven years old^c, *Gregory of Nazianzus* writes, that *Julian* was privately conveyed away, and concealed by one *Marcus* of *Arethusa*, whom he afterwards put to a cruel death^d. All authors agree, that neither young *Constantine*, nor *Constans*, had any hand in the massacre of the imperial family: as for *Constantius*, *Eutropius*^e, and *Socrates*^f write, that he rather permitted than commanded it. *Julian*^g, *St. Jerom*^h, and *Zosimus*ⁱ, tell us in plain terms, that he was the author of that cruel massacre; and *St. Athanasius* openly reproaches him as the murderer of his uncles and cousins^k. The three brothers met in *Pannonia* in the beginning of the ensuing year 338, when *Ursus* and *Polemius* were consuls, to divide among them the dominions of the two deceased princes, *Dalmatius* and *Annibalianus*; but all we know of this division is, that *Constantine* had *Thrace* (for he is said to have reigned amongst the

^b EUSEB. *ibid.* p. 541. ZOS. l. 2. p. 692. JULIAN. *epist.* ad Atheniens. p. 497, 498. ^c SOCRAT. l. iii. c. 1, p. 164. AMMIAN. p. 298. ^d NAZIAN. *orat.* 3. p. 90. ^e EUTROP. p. 558. ^f SOCRAT. p. 115. ^g JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 497. ^h HIER. *chron.* ⁱ ZOS. p. 692. ^k ATHAN. *solit.* p. 856.

poem was composed when *Constantine* had settled both the church and empire in peace (55), that is, after the defeat of *Licinius*. Some of his verses are quoted by the venerable *Bede* (56). The council of *Rome* held in the time of *Gelasius*, bishop of that city, approved of this work, styling it a laborious and excellent performance (57). He wrote another poem on the order of the sacraments, of which the abbot *Tritenham* (58) assures us he had seen and perused two books; but they have not reached our times. *Crinitus* ascribes to him some hymns (59), of which no mention is made by any other writer.

(55) *Juven. l. iv. p. 657. ver. 1, 2.* (56) *Vide Labb de script. ecclesiast.* (57) *Concil tom. iv. p. 1264.* (58) *Trit. de script. eccles. p. 14.* (59) *Bib. pat. t. viii. p. 657.*

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ed at *Constantinople*)¹; and *Constans*, *Greece* and *Macedon*; for *Corinth* and some places in *Macedon* are said to have belonged to him^m. Each of them kept the dominions allotted to them by *Constantine* in his life-time, that partition being confirmed by his last will, viz. *Constantine*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*; *Constantius*, *Asia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*; and *Constans*, *Illyricum*, *Italy*, and *Africa*. *Constantine* seems to have yielded this very year *Thrace* to *Constantius*, and *Constans* *Africa* to *Constantine*. While *Constantius* was absent in *Pannonia*, the *Persians*, finding the frontiers unguarded, entered *Mesopotamia*, committing every-where dreadful ravages. At the same time the *Armenians* revolted, drove out their king, who was a friend to the *Romans*, and joined the *Persians*, who being thus strengthened, laid siege to *Nisibis*: but, after having continued before it sixty-three days, they were obliged to drop that enterprize, and retire. The preservation of that important place is ascribed by *Theodoret* to the prayers of the holy bishop *James*, during whose life and residence there, all the attempts of the enemy against it proved ineffectualⁿ. *Constantius*, in the mean time, taking leave of his brothers, left *Pannonia*, and returned into the east, where he assembled all his forces, with a design to relieve *Nisibis*; but finding the *Persians* had retired of their own accord, he turned his arms against the *Armenians*, obliged them to receive again the king whom they had driven out, and drew over to his party the robbers of *Arabia*, no doubt the *Saracens*, who, by frequent inroads into the *Persian* dominions, made a powerful diversion, and greatly annoyed the enemy^o. The war, however, continued during the whole time of his reign: many battles were fought, some gained by the *Romans*, and some by the *Persians*: the cities of *Mesopotamia* were often taken and retaken; and that of *Nisibis* three times besieged by the enemy, without their ever being able to reduce it. *Ammianus Marcellinus* observes, that the *Romans* gained great advantages when commanded by the emperor's lieutenants, but were constantly defeated when headed by the emperor in person^p. The following year, three hundred thirty nine, when *Constantius* was consul, the second time, with his brother *Constans*, several laws were enacted in the name of the three emperors; and among the rest one forbidding, under no less a penalty than that of death, marriages between uncles and nieces, which

The Persians invade the Roman dominions.

Raise the siege of Nisibis, and retire.

¹ Chron. Alex. p. 670.

^m LIBAN. orat. 9. p. 212.

ⁿ THE-

ODOR. in vit. patrum. c. 1. p. 770.

^o LIBAN. p. 122. JULI-

AN. orat. 1. p. 37.

AMMIAN. l. xx. p. 177.

had been allowed by a decree of the senate, issued in favour of the marriage of *Claudius* and the celebrated *Agrippina*. Notwithstanding this decree, such marriages were ever looked upon by the *Romans* as incestuous, but frequently practised by other nations, especially the *Phœnicians*, to whom the law forbidding them, dated the thirty-first of *March* of this year, is addressed^a. The next consuls were *Acyndinus* and *Proculus*. This year *Constantine*, dissatisfied with the late partition of the provinces, after having solicited in vain his brother *Constans* to yield to him *Italy*, or at least part of that country, raised a considerable army, and, under pretence of marching to the assistance of *Constantius*, who was at war with the *Persians*, left *Gaul*, and, entering the dominions of *Constans*, made himself master of several places. Hereupon *Constans*, who was then in *Dacia*, detached part of his forces against him, who, having drawn him into an ambuscade near *Aquileia*, cut both him and his army in pieces. His body was thrown into the river *Ansa*, at a small distance from *Aquileia*; but being afterwards discovered, it was sent to *Constantinople*, and interred there near the tomb of his father^c. Such was the end of the great *Constantine's* eldest son. He was born at *Arles*, as is commonly believed, on the seventh of *August*, 316, created *Cæsar* the first of *March*, 317, and saluted *Augustus* on the ninth of *September*, 337, so that he did not enjoy the imperial dignity three whole years. His panegyrist paints him as a prince endowed with great accomplishments both of body and mind; and adds, that he studied the scriptures, and, to the utmost of his power, practised what they required^c. But his invading his brother's dominions, without the least provocation, can by no means be justified. He received and treated with great kindness the great *Athanasius*, when he was banished by his father into *Gaul*; which province he then governed^c. By his death, *Constans* remained sole master of the western provinces, *Constantius* voluntarily yielding to him the whole share of the deceased prince^d. *Constans*, soon after the death of his brother, arrived at *Aquileia*, where he was on the ninth of *April*, and on the twenty-fifth of *June* at *Milan*^w. All we find of *Constantius* this year is, that on the fifth of *August* he was at *Bessus* in *Thrace*, and on the ninth of *September* at *Antioch*^x. The next year, when

Constantine invades the dominions of Constans, and is killed.

^a Cod. Theod. l. iii. tit. 12. leg. 11. p. 294. ^c ZONAR. p. 11. VICT. epit. p. 544. EUTROP. p. 588. ^c Monodia. seu orat. in Constantin. junior. mort. p. 7—8—14. ^c Idem ibid. ^d Soz. l. iii. p. 499. JUL. orat. 2. p. 175. ^w Cod. Theodof. p. 97. chronol. p. 41. ^x Cod. Theodof. chronol. p. 42. Marcellinus

The
Franks in-
vade Gaul

But are
quieted by
Constans.

Marcellinus and *Probinus* were consuls, many cities in the east were overturned by a violent and dreadful earthquake^y; and the *Franks* in the west, having crossed the *Rhine*, made an irruption into *Gaul*, committing every-where great ravages. *Constans* marched against them, gave them battle; but as he gained no great advantage over them, the war was not ended till the ensuing year^z. On occasion of this war, *Libanius* speaks much at length of the turbulent and restless temper of the *Franks*^a. This year a law was enacted in the name of the two emperors, forbidding, under the severest penalties, all manner of idolatrous worship^b. *Firmicus Maternus* writes, that *Constans* ordered several temples to be demolished, and likewise the celebrated altar of *Victory* in the senate at *Rome*^c. *Constantius* built this year, and fortified, the city of *Amida* upon the *Tigris* in *Mesopotamia*. *Stephanus* the geographer takes no notice of this city; however, it is certain, that it sustained a long siege in the latter end of the present reign, and became afterwards the metropolis of *Mesopotamia*, properly so called, as *Edeffa* was the metropolis of that part, which was known by the name of *Osrhoene*. The *Arabians*, the present inhabitants, call it *Hemit* or *Ameth*, and the *Turks* *Caramit*^d. The following year, *Constantius* entered upon his third, and *Constans* upon his second, consulship. The latter either conquered or appeased the *Franks*, to use the expression of *Idatius*; and that warlike people submitted to the princes of their own nation, whom he was pleased to appoint over them^e. *Constans* being thus disengaged, passed over into *Britain* the following year 343, when *Placidus* and *Romulus* were consuls, to oppose the *Scots*, who made frequent inroads into the *Roman* dominions; but the silence of *Libanius* with respect to this expedition, is a manifest proof, that he performed no great exploits against that brave and gallant nation. He was at *Boulogne* on the twenty-fifth of *January* on his way to *Britain*, and returned to *Treves* on the thirtieth of *June*^f. As for *Constantius*, he was, on the fifth of *April*, and the eleventh of *May* of the preceding year, at *Antioch*^g; and this year, on the eighteenth of *February*, at *Antioch*, and on the twenty-seventh of *June*, and fourth of *July*, at *Hierapolis* in *Euphratesiana*^h. By a law enacted

^y SOCRAT. p. 88. SOZ. p. 504. THOPHAN. p. 30. ^z SOCRAT. p. 88. SOZ. p. 504. ^a LIBAN. orat. 3. p. 138.
^b Cod. Theodos. l. xi. tit. 3. leg. 1. p. 2. ^c FIRM. MAT. p. 57. ^d Vide BAUDR. p. 35. ^e IDAT. p. 85. SOCRAT. l. ii. c. 13. p. 90. ^f Cod. Theodos. chronol. p. 44. ^g Idem, p. 43. ^h Idem ibid.

this

this year on the twenty-seventh of *August*, and commonly ascribed to him, the ecclesiastics and their domestics are exempted from all new impositions, and an intire immunity from all customs granted to such of them as were by their poverty obliged to earn a livelihood by trading^l. When the church acquired sufficient wealth to support her ministers, they were forbidden by the canons to merchandise, or follow any trade. *Theophanes* tells us, that *Constantius* triumphed this year over the *Persians*; for, as we observed above, he was at war with them during the whole time of his reign^k; but he often triumphed, when he had been overcome, to conceal the shame of his defeat^l. The following year, when *Leontius* and *Salustius* were consuls, is remarkable for a dreadful earthquake, which intirely ruined the city of *Neocæsarea* in *Pontus*, no one edifice having withstood the violence of the shock, except the church, and the habitation of the bishop who was saved, with the clergy and some other pious persons, while the other inhabitants were all buried in the ruins^m. *Theophanes* speaks of a battle this year between the *Romans* and *Persians*, in which the latter were defeated with great lossⁿ. The year ensuing, when *Amentius* and *Albinus* were consuls, the city of *Duras* on the coast of *Greece* was swallowed up with all its inhabitants in an earthquake, and twelve cities in *Campania* overturned. The above-mentioned consuls were succeeded by *Constantius* the fourth time, and *Constans* the third time, consuls. The latter was at *Cesena* in *Italy* on the twenty-third of *May*, at *Milan* on the twenty-first of *June*, from whence he passed into *Macedon*, and was at *Theſsalonica* on the sixth of *December*; from *Macedon* he seems to have returned to *Gaul*; for he sent from thence *Athanasius* and *Osius* to the council of *Sardica*, held the following year 347^o. As for *Constantius*, he was, on the seventh and twenty-sixth of *May*, and the twenty-third of *August* at *Constantinople*^p. The law dated the twenty-sixth of *May*, and addressed to the bishops, confirms to them and the inferior clergy, to their wives, children and domestics, several immunities and exemptions^q. This year *Constantius* caused an harbour to be made at *Seleucia*, at an immense charge, for the convenience of the city of *Antioch*, which stood on the *Orontes*, at a small distance from thence. This work cost him, according to

Neocæsarea ruined by an earthquake

The port of Antioch at Seleucia.

^l Cod. Theodof. l. xvi. tit. 2. li. viii. p. 32. ^k THEOPH. p. 30. ^l LIBAN. orat. 12. p. 309. ^m GREG. NYSS. in vit. Greg. Thaum. ⁿ THEOPH. p. 31. ^o Cod. Theodof. chron. p. 46. Ath. apol. 1. p. 676. ^p Cod. Theodof. chron. p. 46. ^q Cod. Theodof. l. xvi. tit. 2. leg. 10. p. 34.

Libanius and the emperor *Julian*^r, incredible sums, the mouth of the *Orontes*, where the port was made, being full of rocks and sands. He likewise rebuilt the cities of *Seleucia* in *Syria*, and *Antaradus* in *Phœnicia*; whence the latter, in the acts of some councils, is called from him *Constantia*^r. The same year, *Sapor*, king of *Persia*, besieged *Nisibis* a second time; but was obliged to retire with disgrace, after having continued before it three months, as we read in *St. Jerom*, or seventy-eight days, as *Theophanes* will have it. The following year, when *Rufinus* and *Eusebius* were consuls, the emperor *Constantius* pretended to have gained a considerable victory over the *Persians*^a: he was at *Ancyra* on the eighth of *March*, and at *Hierapolis* on the eleventh of *May*^o. The next consuls, were *Flavius Philippus*, a great stickler for the doctrine of *Arius*, and *Flavius Salla* or *Salia*, a zealous defender of the faith of the council of *Nice*. This year, *Constans* filled with indignation against the *Arians*; and ashamed of the weakness of his brother, who suffered himself to be imposed upon and deluded by those subtle heretics; threatened to restore by force of arms the orthodox bishops, whom he had banished at their instigation; unless he recalled them of his own accord. *Constantius* was, either by fear, or the reasons alledged by *Constans* in behalf of the exiled bishops, prevailed upon to give his consent to their return^p. The same year, *Constans* sent *Macarius* and *Paulus*, two officers of distinction, into *Africa*, with large sums to be distributed among the poor of that province. They were likewise enjoined by that most religious prince, as he is styled by a council^q, to use their utmost endeavours in reclaiming the *Donatists*, and reuniting them to the church. Their endeavours were crowned with success; for the most obstinate and stubborn among these sectaries being driven out of the province, the rest yielded to reason, and were received again into the church; so that the christians there enjoyed a profound tranquillity; till those who had been banished were recalled by the emperor *Julian*^r. But this year is chiefly remarkable for a great battle between the *Persians* and *Romans*, fought in the neighbourhood of *Singarus*, a city of *Mesopotamia*. The *Persians* had posted themselves there, and fortified their camp with a deep ditch and ramparts; on which, as well as on the neighbouring hills, they had

The Donatists suppressed in Africa.

The battle of Singarus

^r LIBAN. orat. 13. p. 386. JULIAN. orat. 1. p. 74. ^r THEOPH. p. 31. BAUDR. p. 45. ^a ATHAN. solit p. 819. ^o Cod. Theodos. chron p. 46. 47. ^p THEODERET. vit. patrum. l. ii. c. 8. p. 13. ^q Concil. tom. ii. p. 713. ^r PHILOSTORG. l. iii. c. 12. p. 45. SORAT. l. ii. c. 23. p. 107.

placed

placed an incredible number of archers; their army was very numerous, and composed almost of all the nations of the east, *Sapor* their king being determined to put the whole to the issue of a general engagement, and end, if possible, by a single victory, so tedious and expensive a war. He did not doubt but the *Romans* would attack him in his camp, and therefore had fortified it with extraordinary care, and placed bodies of archers on all the eminences which commanded the avenues leading to it. Accordingly the *Romans*, finding they could by no means intice the enemy into the open field, forced *Constantius* to lead them up to the very ramparts of their camp, which they attacked with a fury hardly to be expressed, and forced, in spite of the showers of arrows that were discharged upon them from the eminences, and the vigorous resistance they met with from those in the camp. Great numbers of the *Persians* were cut in pieces, and the rest either put to flight, or taken prisoners: amongst the latter was the king's son, whom the *Romans* are said to have put to death, after having caused him to be publicly beaten with rods^c. Thus the *Romans* made themselves masters of the enemy's camp, baggage, and treasures: but while they were, without the least apprehension of danger, quenching their drought with the fresh water, of which they found great plenty in the camp, the *Persian* archers rallying, fell upon them unexpectedly, and snatched the victory, to use the expression of *Libanius*^d, out of their hands. In this attack, which happened in the night-time, great havock was made of the *Romans*; but nevertheless the *Persians*, as soon as day began to appear, withdrew beyond the *Tigris*, and broke down the bridges, which they had laid over that river, that the *Romans* might not pursue them^e. The loss was great on both sides; but the *Romans*, by remaining masters of the field, claimed the victory^w. The following year, when *Ulpius Limenius* and *Annianus Catulinus* were consuls, the city of *Berytus* was in great part overturned by an earthquake; which so frightened the inhabitants, that such of them as had not yet embraced the christian religion, crowded to the churches to be baptized: but the lives of such converts, not instructed in the holy mysteries, and the duties of their profession, did no great honour to the religion they pretended to embrace^x. *Constans* in the beginning of this

The Romans force the Persian camp.

But sustain a great loss

A dreadful earthquake at Berytus

^c LIB. p. 13. EUTROP. p. 588. JULIAN, p. 43. ^d LIB. p. 133.

^e LIB. ibid. JULIAN. ORAT. I. p. 45. ^w AMMIAN. p. 122.

^x THEOPH. p. 32. CEDREN. p. 299.

year was in *Gaul*¹: there *Athanasius* took leave of him, upon his setting out for his see in *Egypt*. From *Gaul* he passed into *Illyricum*, and was on the twenty-seventh of *May* at *Sirmium*²; whence he returned to *Gaul* before winter. As for *Constantius*, he was on the first of *April* at *Antioch*, and some time after at *Edeffa* in *Mesopotamia*; whence he wrote to *Athanasius*, pressing him to hasten his return to the east. He was at *Constantinople* on the third of *October*³. The law enacted this year on the eleventh of *April*, exempting the ecclesiastics from all civil functions and employments, is commonly ascribed to him.

*Nisibis be-
sieged a
third time.*

*All the
efforts of
Sapor
against it
rendered
ineffectual.*

THE following year 350, when *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus* were consuls, is remarkable for many great events. The *Persians*, notwithstanding the loss they had sustained in 348, returned this year with a mighty army, an incredible number of elephants, and warlike engines of all kinds, and, after ravaging *Mesopotamia*, and taking several strong-holds there, sat down before *Nisibis* the third time, and left nothing unattempted to reduce that important place. *Constantius* was then at a great distance, the disturbances which happened this year in the west requiring his presence there. But the city was defended by *Lucilianus*, father-in-law to *Jovian*, afterwards emperor, an officer of great courage and experience, and by the holy bishop *James*, in whose prayers the garison and inhabitants confided more than in their own valour and arms^b. The *Persians* battered the walls for several days together with the many engines which they had brought with them for that purpose, and at the same time endeavoured to undermine them; but all their efforts proving ineffectual, *Sapor* caused the river *Mygdonus*, flowing through the city, to be turned into a new chanel, hoping by that means to distress the inhabitants for want of water; but finding them sufficiently supplied with wells and springs within the walls, he caused the course of the river to be stopped, and by that means laid the whole country round the town under water; inso-much, that it seemed an island in the midst of the sea. His design was to overflow the town; but as it stood on a rising ground, the waters did not quite reach the top of the walls. He therefore ordered them to be battered with all kinds of warlike engines from ships and boats, of which he assembled an incredible number for that purpose. This attack lasted several days; but proving in the end ineffectual, *Sapor* caused the river to be stopped above the city by a wall or mole of an

¹ ATHAN. apol. 2. p. 774.

² Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 48.

³ Idem ibid.

^b PHILOSTORGE, l. iii, c. 23. THEODOR. extraordinary

extraordinary breadth and height ; which being suddenly broken down, the waters rushed with such violence against the wall of the city, that it was overturned, and laid level with the ground for the space of an hundred cubits. Hereupon the enemy, believing themselves now masters of the place, advanced with loud shouts to the attack ; but, to their great surprize, met with so vigorous a resistance, the garison and inhabitants being encouraged and animated by their holy bishop, that they were obliged to retire, after having lost a great many men, horses, and elephants, as the reader will find related at length by the emperor *Julian* ^c. Heaven itself seemed to espouse the cause of the inhabitants of *Nisibis* ; for the *Persians*, during the attack, were so terrified with dreadful flashes of lightning, winds, and rain, that they were not in a condition either of defending themselves, or offending the enemy ^d. They are said to have lost in this one attack above ten thousand men ^e. *Sapor* did all that lay in his power to prevent the inhabitants from repairing the breach, annoying them with incessant showers of arrows, but to no effect ; for the very next morning he saw, to his great surprize, a new wall raised, and the garison ready to receive him. He continued, however, the siege, but was, as often as he attacked the place, repulsed with great loss. Besides, his army was annoyed with swarms of small flies ; which entering the nostrils of the horses, and the trunks of the elephants, rendered them quite wild and ungovernable ; insomuch, that great numbers of the *Persians* were by them trodden under foot, and crushed to pieces. To these evils was added a dreadful famine, and soon after a plague, which made a terrible havock in the *Persian* camp, and in the end obliged *Sapor*, despairing of success, to raise the siege, after it had lasted near four months, and retire with the loss of twenty thousand men and upwards ^f. The many evils and calamities which afflicted the *Persians* during this memorable siege, are ascribed by *Theodoret* and *Sozomen* to the prayers of *James*, bishop of the place. Be that as it will, *Sapor* was forced to abandon the enterprize, after having, in the transports of his rage, put some of his chief commanders to death, and all those who had advised him to this war. He gave no farther trouble to the *Romans* till the year 359, when the war was rekindled, as we shall relate in a more proper place. The history of the siege of *Nisibis* was written by *Vologeses* bishop of the place ^g.

^c JUL. orat. ii. p. 116.
 ibid. & chron. Alexand.
 BOR. p. 633.

^d THEOPH. p. 33.
^e JULIAN. THEOPHAN. ibid. THEO-
^f Chron. Alex. p. 674.

who probably succeeded *James* in that see; but that work has not reached our times:

Magnen-
tius re-
volts.

WE shall now give a succinct account of the disturbances in the west, which encouraged the *Persians* to invade the *Roman* dominions, and lay siege to *Nisibis*. *Magnentius*, the son of one *Magnus*, a native of *Germany*, and commander of some troops appointed to guard the banks of the *Rhine*, finding *Constans* universally despised by the army, on account of his indolence and inactivity, resolved to dispatch him, and set up for himself. Accordingly, having imparted his design to *Marcellinus*, receiver of the revenues in *Gaul*, to *Chrestus*, and some other officers, and gained them over to his interest, on the day appointed for the execution of the plot, *Marcellinus*, under pretence of celebrating his son's birth-day, invited *Magnentius*, and the chief officers of the army, to an entertainment, which lasted till the night was far spent, when *Magnentius* withdrew, and soon after returned in the imperial robes, and with all the ensigns of sovereignty. Such of the company as were privy to the design, immediately saluted him with the title of *Augustus*. The rest, who looked upon it at first as a jest, (and for such it had passed, had the plot miscarried), were easily prevailed upon, as they were heated with wine, to follow the example of the conspirators; so that *Magnentius* was, by all who were present, acknowledged emperor. This happened in the city of *Autun*, on the eighteenth of *January*, while *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus* were consuls, four years after the council of *Sardica*, and ten after the death of young *Constantine* ^h. The usurper immediately seized on the imperial palace at *Autun*, and distributed among the populace what sums he found there; which induced, not only the city, but the neighbouring country, to espouse his cause. Their example was followed by a body of cavalry detached from the army in *Illyricum*, to reinforce that in *Gaul*. *Magnentius*, upon his first assuming the title of emperor, dispatched one *Gaiso*, a principal commander in the army, with orders to put *Constans* to death. The unhappy prince, being informed of what had passed, notwithstanding *Magnentius* had ordered the gates of *Autun* to be kept shut a whole day, and placed guards on all the roads, had thrown off the imperial robes, and fled towards *Spain*. But *Gaiso*, informed of the rout he had taken, followed him close with a chosen body of troops, and overtaking him at *Helena*, a small village at the foot of the *Pyrenees*, dispatched him there

^h Zos. p. 692. ZONAR. p. 12. JUL. ORAT. II. p. 196, 197. HIER. CHRON.

with many wounds ^l. St. *Chrysostom* writes, that the unfortunate prince, finding it impossible to make his escape, first *murdered*.
 slew his children, and then himself ^k. But this is not vouch-
 ed by any antient historian; nay, we are no-where told,
 that he had any children. Such was the end of *Constans*, the
 great *Constantine's* youngest son, in the thirtieth year of his
 age, and thirteenth of his reign. He was created *Cæsar* on
 the twenty-fifth of *December* 333, and assumed the title of
 emperor on the ninth of *September* 337. He was a zealous de-
 fender of the christian religion, and the orthodox faith, a de-
 clared enemy to the *Arians*, *Donatists*, and all sectaries. He
 filled the churches with gifts and offerings, and had nothing
 so much at heart as the propagation of the gospel, the abo-
 lishing of idolatry, and the unity of the church ^l. Thus *A-*
thanasius, who never speaks of him but with the greatest re-
 spect and veneration, giving him constantly the title of *Ble-*
ssed. The same writer assures us, that he had received the
 sacrament of baptism, and seems to rank him among the
 martyrs ^m. On the other hand, the pagan writers lay several
 things to his charge. *Aurelius Victor* writes, that after he
 had reigned some years with great applause, he abandoned
 himself to cruelty and avarice ⁿ. *Libanius* charges him with
 suffering one *Eugenius*, and his other favourites, to oppress
 the people, and fill their own coffers at their expence ^o. *Vic-*
tor the younger complains of his preferring to the most pro-
 fitable employments such as were able to lay down most mo-
 ney for them, without any regard to merit ^p. *Eutropius*
 likewise finds fault with his ministers, and adds, that the ma-
 ny vices which began to appear in the prince, joined to the ra-
 paciousness of his ministers, rendered him odious to the soldiery,
 and insupportable to the people ^q. *Zosimus*, an avowed enemy
 to all princes who professed the christian religion, speaks of him
 as the most cruel and inhuman tyrant that ever wore and dis-
 graced a diadem, and paints him as one addicted to all manner
 of lewdness, and guilty of such crimes as are most repugnant
 to nature ^r. *Aurelius Victor* ^s and *Zonaras* ^t seem to confirm this
 charge. But had it been true, we cannot think the great
Athanasius, who could not be unacquainted with it, would
 have commended him on account of his piety, as he frequently
 does. *Libanius*, in an oration which he pronounced not long

His cha-
racter.

^l ZONAR. p. 12. ZOS. p. 693. ^k CHRYS. in Phil. hom. 15. p. 143. ^l ATHAN. apol. i. p. 678, 679. ^m Idem ibid. ⁿ AUR. VICT. p. 527. ^o LIBAN. orat. iii. p. 212. ^p VICT. epit. p. 544. ^q EUTROP. p. 588. ^r ZOS. l. ii. p. 692. ^s AUR. VICT. p. 527. ^t ZONAR. p. 11.

before

before his death, extols his continence, and aversion to unlawful pleasures; which would have been rather deriding than commending him, had he been guilty of the above-mentioned crimes.

The cruelty of Magnentius.

Zonaras writes, that, before the death of *Constans* was publicly known, *Magnentius* sent in his name for all the officers, whom he thought attached to the deceased prince's interest, and capable of defeating his own designs, and caused them to be murdered on the road ^u. But whether the death of *Constans*, and the usurpation of *Magnentius*, could be so long kept concealed, we leave the reader to judge. Be that as it will, *Magnentius*, by the death of *Constans*, became master of all the countries beyond the *Alps*, and soon after of *Italy*, *Sicily*, and *Africa* ^w. To strengthen his interest, he declared his brother *Desiderius*, and *Decentius*, according to some, his other brother, according to others only his cousin, *Cæsars*.

He declares Desiderius and Decentius Cæsars.

Vateranio assumes the title of Augustus.

The latter took also the names of *Magnentius* and *Magnus*, and is distinguished on his medals with the uncommon title of *Fortissimus*, or *Most valiant* ^x. The news of the death of *Constans*, and the revolt of *Gaul*, no sooner reached *Illyricum*, than *Veteranio*, general of the foot in *Pannonia*, assumed the imperial robes, and caused himself to be saluted with the title of *Augustus* by the legions under his command. This happened at *Sirmium*, on the first of *May*, according to *Idatius*, or on the first of *March*, as we read in the chronicle of *Alexandria*. He was a native of *Upper Mæsia*, and stricken in years when he usurped the sovereignty; but so illiterate, that he then first learnt to read ^y. *Aurelius Victor* speaks of him as a man of no parts ^z. But the emperor *Julian* writes, that he was no despicable man ^a; and *Eutropius* commends him on account of his probity and affability, and adds, that as he had served in the army from his infancy, and had been always attended with success, he was universally beloved by the soldiery ^b. It appears, both from the chronicle of *Alexandria* ^c and from his medals ^d, that he was a christian ^e. *Philostorgius* ^f and *Theophanes* ^g write, that he was invested with the purple by *Constantia*, the eldest sister of *Constantius*, and widow of *Annibalianus*, who claimed that right, as having been declared empress by her brother *Con-*

^u ZONAR. p. 13. ^w JULIAN. orat. i. p. 47. ZOS. l. ii. p. 693. ^x BIRAG. p. 483, 485. ^y ZOS. p. 693. ^z AUR. VICT. p. 527. ^a JULIAN. p. 59. ^b EUTROP. p. 388. ^c Chron. Alexand. p. 678. ^d SPANH. l. ii. p. 91. BIRAG. p. 486. ^e Chron. Alex. 676. ^f PHILOSTORG. p. 22. ^g THEOPH. p. 37.

stantine. The emperor *Julian* does not speak of him as an usurper ; and *Zonaras* tells us, that, in assuming the imperial dignity, he wrote to *Constantius*, assuring him, that he had nothing in view but to oppose the usurper *Magnentius* ; and that he should always look upon himself rather as his lieutenant, than an emperor or sovereign ^h. *Philostorgius* adds, that *Constantius* confirmed to him the title of emperor, and sent him the diadem ⁱ. Besides *Magnentius* and *Veterano*, a third pretender to the empire started up, viz. *Flavius Nepotianus*, the son of *Eutropia*, sister to *Constantine* ^{nus assumes the title of} the Great ; who, having assembled a company of gladiators ^{the title of} and several others of desperate fortunes, assumed the pur- ^{emperor,} ple on the third of *June*, and in that attire presented himself ^{and seizes} before the gates of *Rome*. The prefect *Anicetus*, who com- ^{Rome:} manded there for *Magnentius*, sallied out against him with a body of *Romans*, who were soon repulsed, and driven back into the city ; which *Nepotianus* took not long after, and filled with blood and slaughter, putting to death among the rest the prefect *Anicetus*. *Magnentius* was no sooner informed of what had happened, than he sent *Marcellinus*, his chief favourite and prime minister, against this new competitor. *Nepotianus* received him with great resolution ; whereupon a bloody battle ensued between the soldiers of *Magnentius* and the *Romans* who had espoused the cause of *Nepotianus* ; but the latter being betrayed by a senator, named *Heraclitus*, his men were put to flight, and he himself killed, after having ^{He is slain.} enjoyed the sovereignty twenty-eight days ^k. *Marcellinus* ordered his head to be carried on the point of a lance through the chief streets of the city, put all those to death who had declared for him, and, under pretence of preventing future disturbances, commanded a general massacre of such as were any-ways related to *Constantine*. On this occasion many persons of great distinction were inhumanly murdered, and among the rest *Eutropia*, the mother of *Nepotianus* ^l. Soon after, *Magnentius* himself came to *Rome*, to raise the necessary supplies for carrying on the war against *Constantius*, who was making great preparations to attack him, and revenge the murder of his brother. The tyrant, during his stay at *Rome*, put many ^{Rome ty-} persons of distinction to death, whom *Marcellinus* had spar- ^{rannically} red, in order to seize their estates, and oppressed the rest in a ^{oppressed by} most tyrannical manner, obliging them, under pain of death, ^{Magnen-} ^{tius.}

^h ZONAR. p. 14. ⁱ PHILOSTORG. p. 55. ^k ZOS.
I. ii. p. 693. EUTROP. p. 588. AUR. VICT. p. 527. AM-
MIAN. p. 316, 319. ^l THEMIST. orat. iii. p. 43. JULIAN.
orat. iii. p. 106, 107.

to contribute half what they were worth towards the expences of the approaching war. Having by this means raised great sums, he assembled a mighty army, consisting of *Romans, Germans, Gauls, Franks, Britons, Spaniards &c.* but at the same time dreading the uncertain issues of war, he dispatched ambassadors to *Constantius*, with offers of an accommodation ^l. That prince was then at *Antioch*, where, upon the first advice of his brother's death, he had caused himself to be acknowledged emperor of the west, and, to support that title, had assembled all the troops dispersed in the several provinces of the east, and a more powerful fleet, if the emperor *Julian* is to be credited, than that with which *Xerxes* formerly invaded *Greece* ^m. *Theodoret* writes, that *Constantius*, before he set out on his march to *Europe*, exhorted all his soldiers to receive the sacrament of baptism, and dismissed such as refused to be baptized, declaring, that he could not prevail upon himself to expose to the dangers of a war persons not initiated in the holy mysteries ⁿ. This seems to us some-what strange, since *Constantius* himself was not yet baptized. Be that as it will, *Constantius* set out from *Antioch* about the beginning of the autumn, and passing through *Constantinople*, arrived at *Heraclea*, where he was met by deputies from *Magnentius* and *Veteranio*, who had agreed to support each other, in case *Constantius* would not hearken to an accommodation. The terms proposed by their deputies were, that they were ready to assist him with all their forces against the *Persians* and other barbarians, and to acknowledge him as the first emperor, provided he suffered them to enjoy the same title. The deputies of *Magnentius* proposed in his name a match between him and *Constantia*, or rather *Constantina*, the sister of *Constantius*, and widow of *Annibalianus*, offering at the same time to *Constantius* the sister of *Magnentius* ^o. We are told, that while *Constantius* was deliberating with himself whether or no he should yield to these terms, and come to an agreement with the two pretended emperors, his father *Constantine* appeared to him in a dream the night following, and presenting *Constans* to him, commanded him to revenge his death, and assured him of success in so commendable an undertaking. Hereupon *Constantius*, resolved to hearken to no terms, ordered the deputies both of *Magnentius* and *Veteranio*, to be committed to custody; and pursuing his march

Constantius marches about the beginning of the autumn, and passing through Constantinople, arrived at Heraclea, where he was met by deputies from Magnentius and Veteranio, who had agreed to support each other, in case Constantius would not hearken to an accommodation.

Constantius rejects the terms of an accommodation proposed by Magnentius.

^l AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 64. SOCRAT. l. i. c. 32. p. 127.
^m JUL. ORAT. i. p. 77, 78. ⁿ THEODORET. l. iii. c. 1. p. 638.
^o ZONAR. p. 14. THEMIST. ORAT. iii. iv. p. 42, 56. JUL. ORAT. ii. p. 55.

with incredible expedition, arrived at *Sardica*, before *Veteranio* knew of his departure from *Heraclea*. However, he assembled in haste what troops he could, resolved to put the whole to the issue of a battle ; which *Constantius* wisely declined, offering to conclude a separate treaty with *Veteranio*, that he might not have two enemies to contend with at once. *Veteranio* hearkened to the proposal, and, being acknowledged emperor by *Constantius*, joined him with all his forces. The two princes, after the conjunction of their forces, mounted the tribunal together to harangue their troops. *Constantius*, who spoke the first, reminded the soldiers, in a very elegant and artful speech, of their obligations to his father ; of the bounties they had received at his hands ; of the oaths of allegiance which they had taken to his sons, &c. and concluded with exhorting them not to suffer the inhuman murder of his brother, the son of so great a prince, to pass unrevenge : and declaring, that he only demanded what was in justice due to him, it being agreeable to the laws of equity, that to a brother should succeed a brother, and not a stranger, much less an open enemy to the whole imperial family ^p. Tho' this speech was levelled against *Magnentius* alone, yet the soldiers, applying it to *Veteranio*, cried out aloud, That they acknowledged no other emperor but *Constantius*, pulled *Veteranio* down from the tribunal, and obliged him to quit the purple ^{deposed by} and diadem ; who thereupon threw himself at *Constantius's* ^{the soldiery} feet, and implored his mercy. The emperor received him with great kindness, embraced him, styled him *father*, entertained him at his table, and afterwards sent him to *Prusia* in *Bithynia*, where he allowed him a maintenance suitable to his quality. This happened, according to some, at *Sirmium*, according to others, at *Naissus*, on the twenty-fifth of *December* 350. *Veteranio* spent the residue of his life, which was six years, in works of piety, in assisting daily at the holy mysteries, in relieving the distressed, &c. without ever intermeddling with affairs of state ; nay, he is said to have written frequently to *Constantius*, returning him thanks for having delivered him from the anxiety and cares attending the sovereignty, and by that means procured him the happiness he enjoyed ^q.

THE following year, *Magnentius* entered upon his first consulship, and took *Gaiso* for his colleague, rewarding him with that dignity for the murder of *Constans* ; but as neither

^p JUL. orat. ii. p. 143. ZOS. p. 694. ATHAN. solit. p. 844.

^q ZONAR. p. 14. SOCRAT. l. ii. c. 28. p. 120. ZOS. p. 695.

Gallus
marries
Constantina, and
is created
Cæsar.

The
Franks
and Saxons
invade
Gaul.

of them was acknowledged in the countries subject to *Constantius*, the present year is in all the *fasti* dated thus, *the year after the consulate of Sergius and Nigrinianus*^r. *Constantius*, now master of all *Illyricum*, which was held by *Veteranio*, and of the army he commanded, consisting of an incredible number of foot and twenty thousand horse, resolved to march against *Magnentius*, as soon as the season would allow him to take the field, and attack the tyrant in his own dominions. In the mean time, upon advice that the *Persians* were preparing to invade the eastern provinces, he married his sister *Constantina*, the widow of *Annibalianus*, to *Gallus* his cousin-german, the son of his uncle *Julius Constantius*; created him *Cæsar* on the fifteenth of *March*; allotted him for his share not only the east, but *Thrace* too and *Constantinople*; and sent him to *Antioch* to oppose the *Persians*, in case of an invasion^r. *Philostorgius* writes, that before the two princes parted, they took a solemn oath, in the presence of *Theophilus*, and the other bishops then at court, to maintain an inviolable fidelity to each other^r. The *Persians* contented themselves with only making some inroads into the *Roman* dominions; but were constantly repulsed by *Gallus*^u. These inroads and incursions are the war mentioned by *Philostorgius*^w, and *Theophanes*^x, and said to have been finished with great glory by *Gallus Cæsar*. About the same time that *Gallus* was created *Cæsar* by *Constantius*, *Magnentius* who was then at *Milan*, gave the same title, according to *Zonaras*, to his brother *Decentius*, whom he dispatched into *Gaul*, to defend that country against the barbarians, who had invaded it; for *Constantius* had not only stirred up the *Franks* and *Saxons* to break into that province, by promising to relinquish to them all the places they should reduce, but had sent them large supplies of money and arms for that purpose^y. The barbarians, upon this encouragement, invaded *Gaul* with a mighty army, overthrew *Decentius* in a pitched battle, committed every-where dreadful ravages, and reduced the country to the deplorable condition in which *Julian* found it, as he himself relates at length, in the year 356^z. In the mean time, *Magnentius* having assembled a numerous and formidable army, consisting chiefly of *Gauls*, *Franks*, and *Saxons*,

^r BUCH. cycl. 240. SOCRAT. l. ii. c. 29. p. 120. ^r AUR. VICT. p. 427. ZOS. l. ii. p. 695. AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 1, 3.
^u PHILOSTORG. l. iv. c. 1. p. 63. ^u AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 7, 8.
^w PHILOSTORG. p. 60. ^x THEOPH. p. 34. ^y LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 269. ^z JUL. epist. ad Athen. p. 511, 512.

left *Italy*, and crossing the *Alps* that part it from *Noricum*, advanced into the plains of *Pannonia*, where *Constantius*, whose main strength consisted in cavalry, was waiting for him. *Magnentius*, hearing that his competitor was encamped at a small distance, dispatched a messenger to him, inviting him into the extensive plains of *Sciscia* on the *Save*, to decide there which of them had the best title to the empire. *Constantius* accepted the challenge with great joy, and ordered his troops to file off towards *Sciscia*; but as they marched in disorder, they fell into an ambuscade, and were put to flight with great slaughter ^a. *Magnentius*, puffed up with this success, quickened his march towards *Sciscia*, without hearkening to the terms proposed to him by *Philip* in *Constantine's* name, who, dreading the evil consequences of a civil war, offered to yield to him the prefecture of *Gaul*; that is, *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, and to acknowledge him emperor, upon condition that he relinquished *Italy*. *Philip* being dismissed, *Magnentius* attempted to pass the *Save* in the neighbourhood of *Sciscia*; but the garison sallying out, and *Constantius*, who was at a small distance, hastening with a strong detachment to support them, *Magnentius's* men were put to flight; and great numbers of them cut in pieces. But the usurper, notwithstanding this defeat, sent a few days after one *Titianus*, a Roman senator, with the character of ambassador, to *Constantius*, advising him, if he tendered his life, to relinquish the empire, and pass the residue of his days in retirement. To this haughty message, and the bitter invectives uttered by *Titianus* against the great *Constantine* and his children, which *Zosimus* himself styles outrageous insults ^b, *Constantius* answered with great temper, That he did not doubt, but heaven would espouse his cause, and revenge the blood of his brother on the author of his death ^c. While the two armies lay at a small distance from each other, *Sylvanus*, of whom hereafter, abandoning *Magnentius*, fled over to *Constantius*, with a considerable body of cavalry under his command. *Magnentius*, no-ways disheartened at his defection, attacked *Sciscia*; and having taken it by assault, and levelled it with the ground, he laid waste the whole country lying on the *Save*, and then sat down before *Sirmium*, the metropolis of *Illyricum*; but not being able to reduce it, he removed from thence, and laid close siege to *Mursa*; which obliged *Constantius* to quit his camp at *Cibale*, where his father had formerly defeated *Licinius*, and hasten to the relief of the place.

^a Zos. p. p. 695. JUL. orat. i. & ii. p. 64, 181.

p. 698.

^c Idem. ibid. & JUL. orat. i. ii. p. 88, 181.

^b Zos.

Sciscia
taken by
Magnen-
tius and
levelled
with the
ground.

The battle
of Murfa.

Magnen-
tius over-
thrown.

Magnentius, informed of his approach, placed four thousand *Gauls* in a neighbouring wood, with orders to fall upon the enemy's rear, when they found both armies engaged. But *Constantius*, receiving timely notice of the ambuscade, seized all the avenues leading to the wood, by which means the party was cut off ^d. After this, *Constantius* approached *Murfa*, and drew up his army in the adjoining plain along the *Drave* or *Draw*, on which *Murfa* stood, the river being on his right, and *Magnentius's* left. Both armies, thus ranged in battle-array, continued in the presence of each other till the close of the day, during which time *Magnentius*, though he professed the christian religion, is said to have sacrificed, by the advice of a magician, a virgin, and to have obliged his men to drink of her blood mixed with wine ^e. At length the signal was given, and the two armies advanced against each other with a fury hardly to be expressed. *Magnentius's* centre, according to the account of the emperor *Julian* ^f, was, at the first onset, put in disorder by *Constantius's* left wing and cavalry; which *Magnentius*, who had drawn them up unskilfully, as being altogether ignorant of the art of war, no sooner observed, than he abandoned them, and betook himself to a shameful flight. His men, especially the *Gauls* and barbarians, ashamed to follow the example of their leader, though broken and in the utmost confusion, often rallied in platoons, and, in spite of the utmost efforts of the victorious army, stood their ground till the night was far spent, having no resource but in victory, and being animated by their commanders, who were men of great valour and experience. Thus the emperor *Julian*. But *Zozimus* ^g and *Zonaras* ^h write, that *Magnentius* did not retire till his army was intirely routed; and *Eutropius*, that he narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands. *Zonaras* adds, that, to avoid being taken, he turned his horse loose, adorned as he was with the imperial ornaments, that the enemy, imagining the rider to have been slain, might not pursue him ⁱ. As for the battle, *Zonaras* tells us, that fortune favoured sometimes one side, and sometimes the other ^k; and *Zosimus*, that the victory was long doubtful; and that *Constantius*, grieved to see so much blood shed for a few provinces, sent, even in the heat of the combat, deputies to *Magnentius*, with terms for an accommodation; but that the soldiers and offi-

^d JUL. *ibid.* AMMIAN. l. xv. p. 44. ZONAR. p. 15. ZOS. l. ii. p. 698. ^e ZONAR. p. 15. ^f JUL. *orat.* l. ii. p. 65, 106.

^g ZOS. l. ii. p. 700.

^h ZONAR. p. 15.

ⁱ *Idem ibid.*

^k *Idem ibid.*

cers of the tyrant, rejecting them with the utmost indignation, fought like men in despair, till the night was far spent, when they were at length put to flight by *Constantius's* cavalry, armed cap-à-pé, and pursued to their camp, which was taken and pillaged ¹. Some, favoured by the darkness of the night, made their escape; but the far greater part were either cut in pieces, or pushed into the river and drowned ^m. Such was the issue of the memorable battle of *Mursa*, fought, according to the emperor *Julian* ⁿ, about the end of the autumn; but, according to *Idatius*, on the twenty-eighth of September. *Zonaras* writes, that *Magnentius* lost on this occasion twenty-four thousand men, and *Constantius* thirty thousand; which we can hardly believe. However that be, *The battle* it is certain that the empire was greatly weakened by this *of Mursa* blow, and that the battle of *Mursa* is generally reckoned *fatal to* by the antients one of the most dreadful calamities *that the empire* ever happened to *Rome* ^o. Most of the officers on both sides were killed, and among the rest *Menelaus*, who commanded the *Armenian* archers under *Constantius*, and had signalized himself during the engagement in a very eminent manner. He was slain by *Romulus* the enemy's general, who being mortally wounded by him, would not retire till he had killed the person, who had given him the wound. We are told, that *Menelaus* was famous for his skill in archery; that he used to shoot three arrows at a time, which did execution in three different places; and that this greatly contributed to the victory ^p. *Marcellinus*, the chief author of this war, and all the evils attending it, signalized his courage in the battle, but was never afterwards heard of, nor could his body be found; whence he was believed to have been drowned in the river ^q. Though we are not told in express terms by any writer, that *Constantius* was in person at the battle of *Mursa*, yet we can scarce believe what we read in *Sulpicius Severus*, viz. that not daring to appear in the field, he waited the issue of the combat in a neighbouring church ^r. As soon as it was day, (for the battle continued almost all night) the emperor, beholding from an adjoining eminence the plain covered, and the river choaked up, with dead bodies, *An instance* could not refrain from tears at so melancholy a sight, and *of Con-* being more grieved at the slaughter of so many men, than *stantius's* rejoiced at the victory, he ordered all the slain to be buried *good na-* *ture.*

¹ Zos. p. 699.
orat. i. p. 69.

^m JUL. orat. i. ii. p. 67, 110.

ⁿ Idem,

^o VICT. epit. HIER. chron. EUTROP. &c.

^p Zos. l. ii. p. 700.

^q JULIAN. orat. ii. p. 106.

^r SULP.

SEVER. l. ii. p. 158.

without distinction, and such as were wounded to be attended with care. At the same time, he caused a general pardon to be proclaimed for all those who had borne arms against him; those only were excepted who had been concerned in the death of his brother *Constans*^c. *Magnentius*, abandoning *Pannonia*, fled with the remains of his shattered army into *Italy*, there to recruit his broken forces, and try the fortune of another battle^d. *Constantius* did not pursue him, because the winter approached, says *Julian*^e, and likewise, without all doubt, because his army was greatly fatigued, weakened, and consequently not in a condition to undertake any new expedition.

Magnen-
tius retires
to Italy.

THE following year, *Decentius Cæsar* and *Paulus* were acknowledged consuls at *Rome*, and *Constantius* the fifth time, with *Gallus Cæsar*, at *Constantinople*. *Constantius* passed the winter at *Sirmium*, as appears from the dates of several of his constitutions. By one dated the twenty-sixth of *February* of this year 352, and addressed to the prefect *Rufinus*, he granted to eunuchs the liberty of making testaments^w; whence it is evident, that, till his time, they had been excluded from that privilege. *Constantius* was a great favourer of eunuchs, and intirely governed by them, and his other domestics^x. *Magnentius* having, after the battle of *Mursa*, fortified the passes of the *Alps*, and left a sufficient number of troops to defend them, remained the whole winter at *Aquileia*, passing his time, if *Julian* is to be credited^y, in feasting and debaucheries, as if no danger threatened him.

Constanti-
us passes
the Julian
Alps.

But *Constantius*, as soon as the season was proper for action, assembled his troops: and having, without the loss of one man, surprised and taken a castle on the *Alps*, in which *Magnentius* had left a strong garison, advanced in order to force the rest. His sudden approach struck the tyrant with such terror, that he immediately abandoned *Aquileia*, and ordered the troops that guarded the other passes on the *Alps* to follow him. By this means *Constantius*, entering *Italy* without opposition, made himself master of *Aquileia*, and the neighbouring country. From thence he advanced to *Pavia*, where *Magnentius* gained a considerable advantage over him; which, however, did not prevent him from reducing the whole country bordering on the *Po*, *Magnentius's* men abandoning him in whole troops, and delivering up to the enemy

^c JUL. or. i. ii. p. 69. 107.

i. p. 69.

p. 544.

p. 132.

^d JUL. ibid.

^e Vide BARON. ann. 352.

^f Zos. l. ii. p. 700. JUL. orat.

^w Cod. Just. l. vi. tit. 22. leg. 5.

^y JUL. ibid.

the places they garisoned. This so disheartened the tyrant, that in the end he left *Italy*, and retired with all his forces into *Gaul*^a. *Zosimus* writes, that he abandoned *Italy*, because he found the city of *Rome* greatly attached to *Constantius*^b; and *Socrates*, that before he withdrew into *Gaul*, he came to *Rome*, and there put a multitude of persons of all ranks to death^b. *Constantius* was master of *Rome* and *Italy* before the third of *November*; for we find a law bearing that date, addressed to the *Roman* people, wherein the emperor declares void some of the acts of *Magnentius*^c. But, not satisfied with driving him from *Italy*, he sent a powerful fleet to seize on *Africa* and *Carthage*; which immediately submitted, as did soon after *Sicily* and *Spain*^d. At the same time several cities in *Gaul* revolted from the tyrant, and among the rest *Treves*, the inhabitants of which important place shutting their gates against *Decentius Cæsar*, the tyrant's brother, declared for *Constantius*, and chose one *Pemenes* to govern them in his name^e. *Magnentius*, apprehending his affairs to be now in a desperate condition, dispatched to *Constantius* a senator, and after him some bishops, to treat of a peace, offering to resign the sovereignty, upon condition that the emperor would grant him his life, and some honourable employment. But the emperor treated the senator as a spy, and dismissed the bishops, without deigning to return them any answer^f. Hereupon *Magnentius*, perceiving there was no room left for pardon, recruited his army in the best manner he could, and dispatched an assassin into the east to murder *Gallus Cæsar*, hoping that his death would oblige the emperor to withdraw his forces from *Gaul*, and march in person to the defence of the eastern provinces, threatened by the *Persians*. The assassin had already gained some of *Gallus's* guards; but the plot being discovered, before it could be put in execution, they were all seized and executed as traitors^g. Some disturbances however happened this year in the east, raised, in all likelihood, and fomented by the emissaries of *Magnentius*; for in *Palestine* the *Jews* took arms, and cutting the throats of the soldiers in the night, set up one *Patricius* for their prince; and over-running all *Palestine*, and the neighbouring places, committed every-where dreadful disorders, exerting their cruelty chiefly upon the *Samaritans*.

Magnentius abandons Italy, and retires into Gaul.

Africa, Sicily and Spain declare for Constantius.

The Jews revolt, but are severely punished.

^a Idem. or. ii. p. 133, 134. AMMIAN. l. xxxi. p. 457. ^b Zos. l. ii. p. 700. ^c SOCRAT. l. ii. c. 32. p. 127. ^d Cod. Theodos. tit. 5. p. 408. ^e JUL. orat. i. ii. p. 73, 74, 137. ^f AMMIAN. l. xv. p. 45. ^g ZONAR. p. 15. ^h Idem p. 15, 16.

But

Constantius married Eusebia.

Her character.

But Gallus, who was then at *Antioch*, marching against them upon the first news of their revolt, cut great numbers of them in pieces, without sparing either their women or children, laid waste their country, and burnt several of their cities; among the rest *Tiberias*, *Diospolis*, and *Diocæsarea*. The last city he razed to the ground, and put all the *Jews* he found in it to the sword, because the revolt had begun there ^b. The *Jews* committed likewise some disorders in *Gaul*, where they stabbed a man of great distinction, who, after having governed *Egypt*, had been sent by *Constantius* into *Gaul*, and would, in all likelihood, had he not been thus suddenly taken off, have prevailed upon the inhabitants to declare for *Constantius*. His tomb and epitaph were discovered many ages after in the village of *Peyruis* on the *Durance*^c. Towards the close of this, or the beginning of the following year 353, *Constantius* married *Eusebia*, a native of *Thessalonica*, the metropolis of *Macedon*, and the daughter of a consular, and of a lady who is greatly commended for her chastity, and the extraordinary care she took in educating her children after the death of her husband ^k. She had two brothers, *Eusebius* and *Hypatius*, whom we shall see consuls in 359. The emperor sent for her out of *Macedon*, married her with great solemnity, loved her to the last, more than he had done any of his other wives, (for he had had several) and, to perpetuate the memory of her name, made a new diocese, comprehending *Bithynia*, and some other provinces, to which he gave the name of *Pietas* or *Piety*, the import of the *Greek* word *Eusebia*^l. She is greatly commended by *Ammianus*^m, *Zosimus*ⁿ, and above all by *Julian*, who wrote her panegyric about the year 357^o, for her beauty, virtue, obliging behaviour, skill in polite learning, prudence, &c. *Julian* was indebted to her both for his life, and the dignity of *Cæsar*^p. She was no sooner invested with power, than she raised to the first employments all her relations, and the friends of her family^q. On the other hand *Victor* the younger charges her with not imitating the example of the empress *Plotina*, who advised her husband *Trajan* to prefer the interest of his people to that of the exchequer^r. *Baronius* speaks of her as a profes-

^b SOCRAT. l. iv. c. 7. p. 545. SOZ. l. ii. c. 33. p. 128. HIER. chron. ^c SPON. miscel. antiq. p. 202. ^k JULIAN. orat. iii. p. 205. ^l AMMIAN. l. xxi. p. 185. ZANG. BYZANT. fam. p. 48. JULIAN. p. 206. VICT. epit. ^m AMMIAN. l. xxi. p. 185. ⁿ ZOS. l. iii. p. 702. ^o JUL. orat. iii. p. 190. ^p AMMIAN. l. xxi. p. 185. ^q JUL. ibid. p. 116, 117.

fed enemy to the catholic church, and a zealous favourer of the *Arians*, probably induced thereunto by what he had read in *Athanasius* and *Theodoret*, of whom the former says in general terms, that the *Arians* were supported by the credit of women^c; and the latter, that the empress having sent money to *Liberius*, bishop of *Rome*, to be distributed among the indigent christians, he could not be prevailed upon to accept it, saying, Let the empress employ as her almoners her *Arian* bishops, *Auxentius* and *Epictetus*^d. *Suidas* tells us, that *Leontius*, bishop of *Tripoli* in *Lydia*, refusing to wait upon the empress, because she had received other bishops with great haughtiness, she sent for him; but he, instead of complying immediately with her message, acquainted her, that he thought himself obliged to avoid appearing before her, unless she promised to receive him with that respect which was due to his character; that is, to descend from her throne, as soon as he appeared, to meet him near the door; to receive his blessing in an humble posture; and stand till he had taken his place, and given her leave to sit down. The empress, transported with rage, says the historian, at this answer, and swelled with pride, uttered, in the height of her fury, dreadful menaces against the bishop; and complaining to *Constantius* of his unreasonable pretensions, endeavoured to inspire him with her own rage. But the emperor, giving no ear to her complaints, commended the bishop for thus maintaining his sacred dignity and character, and desired the empress to retire to her apartment till her anger was allayed^e. Both *Suidas* and *Philostorgius*^f bestow mighty encomiums on *Leontius*, and paint him as a man of extraordinary merit; but to us he seems to have been, at least, destitute of prudence and discretion. The prelates of the church ought not to flatter princes with a mean complaisance; but neither are they allowed, in admonishing them of their faults, to be wanting to that respect which is due to their high station. *Eusebia* proved barren; whence, either out of jealousy, or for some reasons of state unknown to us, she obliged her sister-in-law *Helena*, whom *Julian* had, by her interest, obtained in marriage of *Constantius*, to take a potion, which made her miscarry as often as she proved with child^g. *Julian* married her about the end of the year 355, and this potion was given her, as *Ammianus* assures us, at *Rome* in 357. Before that time she had been delivered in *Gaul* of a son, the only child she could yet have; but he was dispatched by the midwife, not without

Is this behaviour
worthy a Chris-
tian bishop

^c ATHEN. solit. 813.^d THEODORET. l. ii. c. 13. p. 609.^e SUID. l. p. 20.^f PHILOSTORG. l. vii. c. 6. p. 504. SUID.

ibid.

^g AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 72.

private orders from *Eusebia*, uneasy at *Julian's* having any issue. *Eusebia* was still living in the year 359, but dead some time before the end of the year 360^y. We are told, that she died of a distemper occasioned by her barrenness; and that her death was hastened by a remedy with which an unskillful woman pretended to remove it^z. *Constantius* was this year, as appears from the dates of his laws, on the twenty-sixth of *February* and fifth of *March* at *Sirmium*; on the eighth of *April* at *Sabaria* in *Pannonia*; on the twenty-seventh of the same month, the thirteenth of *May*, and the twenty-fourth of *June*, at *Sirmium*; on the third of *November* at *Milan*; and on the first of *December* again at *Sirmium*^a.

Magnen-
tius defeat-
ed in Gaul.

THE following year, when *Constantius* was consul the sixth time, and *Gallus Cæsar* the second, the war against *Magnentius* was carried on with more vigour than ever, and happily ended by a third battle, says *Julian*^b, fought by the emperor's generals in the *Cottian Alps*, that is, in the higher *Dauphiné*, near a castle called *Mons Seleucus*, or *Mons Seleuci* which stood between *Die* and *Gap*, not far from the place where the present borough of *Aspres* stands^c. *Magnentius's* forces being in this battle likewise routed and broken, the tyrant took shelter in *Lions*; but the few soldiers who attended him, despairing now of any further success, resolved to purchase the emperor's favour, by delivering up to him his rival, the author of the present calamitous war; and accordingly surrounded the house where he lodged, to prevent his escape. It was probably on this occasion that *Magnentius* addressing himself to his men, they, instead of listening to him, cried out with one voice, *Long live Constantius Augustus*. This at least seems to us more probable than what we read in *Socrates*^d and *Sozomen*^e, viz. that *Magnentius*, endeavouring in a set speech to encourage his men, whose spirits began to sink under their ill fortune, they, forced by a superior impulse, instead of *Long live Magnentius Augustus*, cried out with one voice, *Long live Constantius Augustus*. From this miracle, add these two authors, *Magnentius* concluded, that his rival was favoured by heaven; and therefore from that time forward, laying all other thoughts aside, studied only how to make his escape. The tyrant, well apprised of the intention of his men, and thereupon transported with rage and despair, first slew with his own hand his mother, his brother

^y Idem. l. xviii. p. 118. & l. xxi. p. 185.

Chrys. in Philip. hom. 5. p. 144.

leg. 5. p. 544.

p. 39. Itin. ANTON. p. 22. BAUD. p. 493.

32. p. 127.

^e SOZ. l. iv. c. 7. p. 544.

^z ZONAR. p. 20.

^a Cod. Just. l. vi. tit. 22.

^c Burdigal. itin.

^d SOCRAT. l. ii. c.

Desiderius, whom he had created *Cæsar*, and such of his relations and friends as were with him; and then fixing his sword in a wall, threw himself upon it, to avoid by that means a more shameful death, which he well deserved, and had just reason to apprehend, if he fell alive into the hands of *Constantius* ^f. Such was the deserved end of the tyrant and usurper *Magnentius*, the first, say some writers, who brought a scandal upon christianity, of which he made an outward profession, by the murder of his lawful sovereign. But we have shewn pretty plain in the reign of the emperor *Philip*, that he was the first christian who imbrued his hands in the blood of his sovereign. All authors agree, that *Magnentius* died this year 353, about the middle of *August*, says *Socrates*, after he had held the supreme power three years, and near seventh months, being, at the time of his death, about fifty years old. His head was, by the emperor's orders, cut off, and carried through most of the provinces of the empire ^g. His brother *Decentius Cæsar*, who was marching to his assistance, and had already reached *Sens*, hearing of his death, and finding himself surrounded on all sides by the enemy's forces, chose rather to strangle himself, than to fall alive into the emperor's hands. His death happened on the eighteenth of *August* ^h. On some of his medals he is styled *Augustus*; and both on his, and those of *Magnentius*, mention is made of a victory gained by the two *Augusti*, and by *Cæsar* ⁱ. This victory is perhaps the advantage they gained over *Constantius* at *Pavia*, as we have related above; after which *Magnentius* probably gave *Decentius* the title of emperor. *Zonaras* writes, that *Desiderius* was not killed by *Magnentius*, but dangerously wounded; and that, upon his recovery, he yielded himself up to *Constantius* ^k. That author does not tell us what reception he met with; but *Julian* says in general terms, that *Constantius* after the victory sheathed his sword, and spared those who were suspected of the greatest crimes, the tyrant's favourites and confidants, and such as, taking upon them to discharge his embassies, had abused their prince in a most outrageous manner. The writer means no doubt *Titianus*, of whose embassy to *Constantius*, and insolent behaviour, we have spoken above; as does likewise *Themistius*, where he tells us, that the emperor having got into his power the person, with whose outrages he had been most affected, he not only forgave him, but requited his invectives

^f ZONAR. p. 16. ZOS. l. ii. p. 701. JUL. orat. i. p. 73. VICT. epit.

^g VICT. epit. p. 544. AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 227.

^h VICT. ibid. ZOS. p. 701. SOCRAT. p. 128. ZONAR. p. 16.

ⁱ BIRAG. p. 483—485. ^k ZON. p. 16.

From
whom his-
torians
differ.

And give
us several
instances of
his cruelty.

Paulus
Catena, a
noted in-
former, sent
into
Britain.

with innumerable favours, the sense of which kindness, from the hands of a prince whom he had so insolently abused, broke his heart¹. Thus the panegyrist. But historians do not speak so favourably of *Constantius*; for *Zosimus* tells us, that not able to bear his good fortune, he grew proud, haughty, and imperious^m; and *Libanius*, that those who had served under *Magnentius*, dreading the severity of *Constantius*, and not daring to shew themselves, turned public robbers, and infested the highways, till they were again taken into the service by *Julian*ⁿ. *Ammianus* assures us, that the emperor spared none who had, or were suspected to have, rendered the usurper any considerable service; and that many officers, both civil and military, were under that pretence loaded with chains, and dragged to the tribunal of the emperor, who sentenced them to death, or seized their estates, and confined them to desert islands, upon the deposition of their known enemies, or persons altogether unworthy of credit; nay, frequently upon bare suspicions, when no one appeared against them^o. Many innocent persons, says the same writer, were put to death, or banished; among the latter he names one *Gerontius*, who had been honoured by *Magnentius* with the title of *comes* or *count*, and was therefore first racked, by *Constantius*'s order, in a most inhuman manner, and then sent into exile^p. As the emperor gave ear to informations, informers multiplied without number; but the most mischievous of that infamous tribe was one *Paulus*, a *Spaniard*, who had the character of secretary, and was nicknamed *Catena*; that is, *Chain*, being remarkable for making accusations arise from one another, and linking them together, as it were, in a chain. He was sent into *Britain*, to bring from thence the tribunes and other officers, who had sided with *Magnentius*; that is, who had obeyed the usurper, when they were not in a condition to oppose him. He discharged this commission with such cruelty and injustice, that *Martinus* a man of known integrity, and at that time vicar of the island, generously interposing in behalf of the innocent, declared, that, unless *Paulus* altered his measures, he would withdraw from his government, not being able to see the innocent thus tyrannically oppressed, and confounded with the guilty. This *Paulus* highly resented, and even threatened to treat him as a traitor, and send him loaded with chains to the emperor. Hereupon *Martinus* drawing his sword, attempted to kill the

¹ THEMIST. orat. vi. p. 80.
BAN. orat. xii. p. 285, 286.
^p Idem ibid.

^m ZOS. l. ii. p. 701. ⁿ LI-
BAN. orat. xii. p. 285, 286. ^o AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 9.

informer; but he, dexterously avoiding the push, received only a slight wound; and the brave *Martinus* buried his sword in his own breast^q. Notwithstanding the odium which the death of so deserving a man cast upon the reign of *Constantius*, all those, whom *Paulus* brought to him, were stripped of their estates, and either proscribed, banished, or put to death^r. The name of *Paulus* is frequently mentioned by *Ammianus Marcel-* *His cruelty.*
linus, who relates several instances of his cruelty. *Libanius* likewise speaks of one *Aristophanes*, whom that inhuman minister caused to be beaten with balls of lead till he was ready to expire^s. The emperor was this year, on the sixth of *September* at *Lions*, as appears from a law bearing that date, which declares void all the public acts of the usurper, and promises indemnity and pardon to all concerned in his revolt, excepting those who were guilty of five crimes, which the laws punished with death. *Gothofredus* endeavours to explain this law^t. By another law of this year, the date of which is much disputed, he granted many valuable privileges and exemptions to the clergy, to their wives, children, and domestics^u. From *Lions* the emperor removed to *Arles*, where he passed the winter, and solemnized with great pomp and rejoicings the end of the thirtieth year of his reign, reckoning from the time he had been created *Cæsar*; that is, from the eighth of *November* 323^w. Some modern writers pretend, that on occasion of this solemnity was erected at *Arles* the obelisk, which was not long since discovered there^x. But this is a mere conjecture; for we have no positive proof of its having been raised in honour of *Constantius*. Before the emperor left *Arles*, he summoned a council there, and on that occasion gave many instances of his irreconcilable hatred to the orthodox, whom he had already begun to persecute, and to the bishops, *Constanti-*
 who stood up in defence of the faith of the council of *Nice*, *us perse-*
 especially to the great *Athanasius*, and the holy bishop *cuts the*
Paulinus, who was driven from *Treves*, and sent into *orthodox.*
 exile^y. *Gaul* was this year miserably ravaged by the barbarians beyond the *Rhine*, and the disbanded troops of *Magnentius*. At *Rome* the populace rose on account of the scarcity of provisions, and committed great disorders. In *Asia* the *Isaurian* robbers over-ran *Lycaonia* and *Pamphylia*, and even laid siege

^q Idem, p. 9. 10. ^r Idem ibid.

p. 214. ^s Cod. Theodof. l. ix. tit. 38. leg. 2. p. 270.

^u Cod. Theodof. tit. 6. p. 54. 35.
 p. 8. 9. Nov. dec. c. 1. p. 78, 79.

^y ZONAR. p. 16.

^t LIBAN. orat. ix.

^w AMMIAN. l. xiv.

^x P. PAGI. p. 353.

The Isaurians over-ran several provinces.

to *Seleucia*, a great and populous city, and the capitol of *Isauria*. Count *Castricius* defended the place with three legions, says *Ammianus*; which shews, that the legions were not at this time near so numerous as formerly, but much the same with our regiments. *Gallus Cæsar* no sooner received news of the siege of *Seleucia*, than he dispatched *Nibridius*, count of the east, to the relief of the place, who obliged the *Isaurians* to abandon the enterprize, and take refuge in their inaccessible mountains^a. At the same time the *Saracens* committed dreadful ravages in *Mesopotamia*; and the *Persians*, under the command of *Nohadarus*, attempted to surprise the city of *Batne* in the province of *Anthemusia* on the *Euphrates*, on occasion of a great fair which was annually held there for the vent of *Indian* and *Chinese* commodities^a. But the eastern provinces were not so much harassed by the barbarians as by *Gallus* himself, who commanded there with the title of *Cæsar*, and governed more like a tyrant and madman, than a prince. His unexpected advancement at the age of twenty four or twenty-five, his great quality (for he was the nephew of *Constantine*, the cousin and brother-in-law of *Constantius*), some slight advantages obtained over the *Jews*, *Persians*, and *Isaurians*, and the flattering panegyrics of *Libanius* and others, pronounced before him, inspired him with such pride and arrogance, that he became altogether insupportable, and abandoned himself to every act of violence and oppression. He is even said to have entertained thoughts of revolting from *Constantius*, and setting up for himself^b. He was naturally inclined to cruelty; and his wife *Constantia*, instead of softening his savage temper, took pains to encourage him in his cruelty, and to exasperate him against such as did not yield to her the most slavish submission, being puffed up beyond measure with the thought that she was the daughter and sister of an emperor, the widow of a king, and the wife of *Cæsar*. *Ammianus* styles her the *Megara* or fury of her sex, and adds, that her cruelty was equal to her ambition^c. *Gallus*, being thus egged on by his natural cruelty, and the restless and turbulent spirit of his wife, broke out into all acts of violence imaginable. Some were murdered upon bare suspicions; others deprived of their estates, and banished. The prince entertained an incredible number of informers and spies, who, insinuating themselves into all companies, related to *Gallus* and his wife, and exaggerated, what they had heard

The extravagant behaviour of Gallus.

His cruelty and suspicious temper.

^a AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 10—15. ^b Idem ibid. ^c Idem, p. 31. SOCRAT. l. ii. c. 34. p. 128. LIBAN. vit. p. 34. AMMIAN. p. 2, 3.

of them ; and the persons thus accused were, without so much as being heard, hurried to execution, or privately dispatched. *Gallus* himself, in order to make discoveries, used to walk the streets in the night-time in disguise, and to mix with the populace in public-houses ; but he did not long continue so shameful a practice, having been often known, by reason the streets of *Antioch*, where he resided, were illuminated the whole night with a great number of lights. His suspicious and cruel temper being once discovered, such as had private enemies laid hold of the prince's foible to gratify their own hatred, nothing being more easy than to destroy the most innocent persons, and procure the confiscation of their estates ; for under *Gallus* it was one and the same thing to be accused or suspected, and condemned. By this means all the cities and provinces were filled with blood and slaughter, and no man, says *Ammianus*, however free from guilt, was sure to live or enjoy his estate a whole day. Among the many innocent persons, whom *Gallus* unjustly deprived of their lives, liberty, or estates, authors particularly mention one *Clematius*, a nobleman of *Alexandria*, who refusing to comply with the lustful desires of his wife's mother, she turning her love into hatred, applied to *Constantina*, and presenting her with a necklace of great value obtained a warrant to *Honoratus*, count of the east, to put him to death, which he did accordingly ^d. *Thalassus*, at that time prefect of the east, was greatly concerned at the conduct of *Gallus* ; and had he been a man of prudence and discretion, might have easily corrected it, and prevented many disorders ; but being himself of a haughty and imperious temper, instead of admonishing *Gallus* of his faults with the respect that was due to his rank, he opposed him with too much heat, and checked him with a great deal of roughness and ill-nature ; and not satisfied with that, he informed the emperor of all his actions, exaggerating every thing to a great degree, not privately, but in public, with a design *Gallus* should know he had done it ; which, instead of reclaiming him, prompted him to still greater excesses, that he might not seem to yield to his inferior ^e.

THE following year, *Constantius* was consul the seventh time, and *Gallus* the third. The emperor, having passed the winter at *Arles*, went early in the spring to *Valence*, with a design to march against *Gondomarus* and *Vadomorus*, two brothers, and both kings of the *Alemans*, who had made frequent inroads into that part of *Gaul*, which lay next to their ter-

Constantius marches against the Alemans.

^d Idem, p. 27. ^e AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 3.

ritories.

ritories. The rendezvous of the troops designed for this expedition was at *Challon*, on the *Sône*, where they began to mutiny for want of provisions, the heavy rains that had fallen preventing the arrival of the corn that was expected from *Aquitaine*. *Constantius* was inclined to send to the mutinous army *Rufinus*, prefect of *Gaul*, with a design, as was supposed, to expose him to the fury of the incensed soldiery, he being very powerful, and by the mother's side uncle to *Gallus*, on whose ruin the emperor had already resolved. But *Rufinus*'s friends at court prevailed upon the emperor to change his mind; and *Eusebius*, *Constantius*'s great chamberlain, gained over the most mutinous and refractory by distributing money among them underhand. The emperor staid some time at *Valence*, and there received certain advice of what *Gallus* had done^f; that is, as we conjecture, of the murder of *Domitian*, of which we shall speak anon. The mutiny being appeased, and the expected convoys arriving soon after, the army marched chearfully towards *Rauricum* on the *Rhine*, a little above the present city of *Basle*, where

Attempts in
vain to lay
a bridge
over the
Rhine.

the emperor attempted to lay a bridge over that river; but the *German*s from the other side of the *Rhine* plied the workmen so warmly with incessant showers of darts and arrows, that the design was laid aside as altogether impracticable. This reduced the emperor to great straits; but while he was at a loss what course to take, a person, well acquainted with the country, shewed him a place where the river was fordable. They were, however, prevented from crossing it, by the unexpected arrival of deputies from the enemy's camp to sue for peace; which the emperor, by the advice of his council, and approbation of the army, readily granted, that he might be at leisure to consult what measures might be taken with respect to his cousin *Gallus Caesar*, of whose extravagant conduct new complaints were daily laid before him. With this view he left *Gaul*, as soon as the treaty was concluded, and repaired to *Milan*^g. He was on the twenty-second of *June* at *Cesena* in *Romagna*, and on the twenty-first of *July* at *Ravenna*; whence he went to *Milan*, the usual place of his residence, and there passed the winter^h.

Grants a
peace to the
Alemans.

We shall now give a succinct account of the affairs of the east, and the strange conduct of *Gallus* there, which gave just occasion to the complaints of the people, and induced the emperor to resolve upon his ruin. What happened there the preceding year, we have related above. In the

^f Idem, p. 23.
Theodof. chron. p. 52.

^g Idem ibid. p. 23—25.

^h Cod.

beginning



beginning of the present year, great disturbances were raised at *Antioch* on account of the scarcity of provisions. For *Gallus* commanding the magistrates to lower the prices, and they representing, that this, instead of mitigating, would increase the evil, he caused some of them to be publicly executed, and others to be dragged to prison. But *Honoratus*, who was still count of the east, opposed this wild decree, and, in spite of *Gallus*, set the prisoners at liberty¹. Some time after *Gallus* being to set out for *Hierapolis*, the people of *Antioch* beseeching him to give orders before his departure for the conveying of corn to their city from other countries, he answered, that if they were not supplied, it was the fault of *Theophilus*, governor of *Syria*. This answer the people remembered, and the price of provisions rising, four or five mean persons threw themselves upon *Theophilus* in the circus; and the mob immediately rising, they not only murdered him, but, transported with rage, dragged his body about the streets; a treatment which he no-ways deserved, having discharged his employment with great mildness and integrity. They attempted to treat *Eubulus*, one of the chief men in the city, and his son, in the same manner; but they found means to escape the fury of the populace, who nevertheless burnt their houses². The death of *Theophilus*, thus abandoned by *Gallus* to the rage of the multitude, and his protecting one *Serenianus*, who was universally hated by all good men, and had even aspired at the empire, greatly prejudiced *Constantius* against him. The emperor, however, wrote several obliging letters to him; but at the same time, under various pretences, drew the flower of his troops into the west. About this time *Thalassus*, prefect of the east, dying, *Constantius* named in his room one *Domitian*; and, in giving him his instructions at his departure, told him, among other things, he had been informed that *Gallus* was desirous of coming to *Italy*, and paying him a visit; adding, *If you think it proper, you may conduct him to my presence; but let it be done with all the duty and respect owing to his birth and station.* *Domitian* understood the emperor's meaning; but as he was the son of a tradesman, he wanted politeness and address to execute his tacit orders, agreeable to the prince's intention. For on his arrival at *Antioch*, he went directly to the house where the prefects lodged, without paying his respects to *Cæsar*, though he passed before his palace; and, under colour of being indisposed, kept several days at home, informing himself of the conduct of *Gallus*.

Theophilus, governor of Syria, abandoned by Gallus to the rage of the populace.

The imprudent conduct of the prefect Domitian.

¹ AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 25. Liban. vit.
16. JULIAN. p. III. LIBAN. OR. xiv. p. 399.
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² AMMIAN. p.
E e e
lus,

lus, and sending to the emperor an exaggerated account of all he heard. At length Gallus sending him word that he should be glad to see him, he went to court; and coming up to the prince, *You must go*, said he abruptly, *to Italy; for such is the emperor's will and pleasure; which, if you refuse to comply with, I shall stop the necessary appointments for the maintenance of your household.* Having thus spoken, he withdrew without uttering a single word more, or waiting the prince's answer, who called him back, and afterwards often sent for him; but could never prevail upon him to appear again at court. Gallus, highly provoked, and not without reason, at the conduct of the prefect, ordered him to be put under arrest. Montius, or, as others call him, Magnus, then questor, foreseeing the evil consequences that must inevitably attend the execution of this order, thought himself obliged to prevent them, and with great frankness told Gallus, that he ought to pull down the statues of Constantius before he thought of arresting or putting to death a prefect¹. Others say, that addressing himself to Gallus, he spoke the following words with an air of contempt; *The emperor has not thought fit to trust you with the power of creating a single magistrate, and you talk of putting a prefect to death^m!* Gallus, offended at the liberty which the questor had taken, complained of it to his guards, who immediately seizing Montius, and fastening cords to his feet, dragged him to the house of Domitian, whom they threw down stairs, and dragged with Montius through the chief streets of Antioch, casting, after many insults, both their bodies into the riverⁿ. This bold attempt, in which Constantina is said to have had a great share, was followed by many other cruelties and murders, committed in all the provinces of the east, at the instigation of Gallus and his wife Constantina, whose thirst after blood was as great as that of her husband. The reader will find in Ammianus Marcellinus^o a detail of these cruel and inhuman executions. It being discovered that a purple garment was making privately at Tyre, the two Apollinares, father and son, the former governor of Phœnicia, and the latter son-in-law to the prefect Domitian, were by Gallus's orders arrested, as if they aspired at the sovereignty; and, without any farther inquiry, condemned to banishment. But those who conducted them, at some distance from Antioch, pursuant to their private orders,

He and
Montius
murdered:

And many
others.

¹ AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 16, 17. ZONAR. p. 16.

LOSTORG. l. iii. p. 61.

AN. p. 17. ZON p. 17.

^m PHI-
ⁿ SOCR. l. ii. c. 34. p. 128. AMMI-

^o AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 18—23.

broke

broke their thighs, and then put them to death ^p. *Ursicinus*, general of the horse, was obliged to abandon the defence of *Nisibis*, and hasten to *Antioch*, to preside at the inquiry which the emperor ordered to be made into this affair; but the other judges being named, and well instructed before-hand by *Gallus* and *Constantina*, he could not proceed as he would have otherwise done; for *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who served under him, speaks every-where of him as a man of an unblemished character. As this commission gave him an opportunity of discovering many things till then not known, he acquainted the emperor with the state of affairs in the east, and pressed him to redress the many evils which afflicted those provinces ^q. Besides the informations the emperor received of *Gallus's* male-administration and cruelties, he was told, that, not satisfied with the dignity of *Cæsar*, he aspired at the sovereignty, and harboured evil designs against the emperor. This charge was believed by *Socrates* ^r, and is not denied by *Ammianus* ^s. But other writers will have these to have been mere inventions of *Dynamus* and *Picentius*, two mean and infamous informers ^t. To them *Zosimus* adds the prefect *Lampridius*, a man of great ambition, and the eunuchs of the court, who had a great ascendant over the emperor, especially his chief chamberlain *Eusebius*. *Constantius*, giving credit to their accusations, whether true or false, resolved upon the ruin and death of *Gallus*, tho' his cousin-german and brother-in-law; but, lest he should openly revolt, he carefully concealed his intention, and wrote a very friendly and obliging letter to *Gallus*, inviting him to *Italy*, that he might advise with him on certain affairs of great importance. At the same time, he wrote to *Ursicinus*, at that time *magister equitum*, or general of the horse in the east, to come with all speed to *Milan*, in order to deliberate about the most proper measures that might be taken with respect to the *Persians*, who were assembling their forces, as was pretended, with a design to invade *Syria*. This was likewise a pretext, which the emperor made use of to remove *Ursicinus*, lest he should raise disturbances in the east during the absence of *Gallus*. For the eunuch and courtiers, dreading the merit and abilities of that worthy man and great warrior, filled the emperor's mind with such fears and jealousies, in order to compass his ruin. One *Prosper*, a *comes* or count, was sent to succeed him, but only with the title and character of his deputy, to

Gallus accused of aspiring at the sovereignty.

Gallus and Ursicinus invited into Italy;

^p Idem, p. 21, 22.
p. 128.

^q Idem ibid.
^r AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 1.
E e c 2

^r SOCRAT. l. ii. c. 34.
^s ZOS. l. ii. p. 701.
remove

remove from him all apprehensions of his being suspected ^u. *Ursicinus*, on the receipt of the emperor's letter, set out immediately, accompanied by *Ammianus* the historian, and arrived at *Milan* much sooner than he was expected, to the great joy of the emperor, who now thought of nothing but getting *Gallus* into his power. In order to this, besides the above-mentioned letter to *Gallus*, he wrote several others to *Constantina*, expressing a great desire to see her, and inviting her to court, with the most tender insinuations imaginable; for he thought that the readiest way to draw *Gallus* thither. They were both too sensible of their evil conduct not to apprehend the worst from the emperor: however, *Constantina*, who was well acquainted with her brother's temper, hoped by her artful insinuations to disarm his rage; and, without any farther deliberation, set out on her journey, leaving *Gallus* at *Antioch*: but she had scarce entered the province of *Bithynia*, when she was seized with a fever at a place called *Cœni Gallicani*, of which she died, leaving behind her one daughter, of whom no farther mention is made in history. Her body was carried to *Rome*, and buried on the *Nomentan* way, where stood the church of the martyr *Agnes*, which she had founded ^w. Her death threw *Gallus* into the utmost perplexity; as he had now lost his only advocate with the emperor, he despaired of being able to appease him; and therefore began to think of assuming the title of *Augustus*, which he had done, had he met with the least encouragement; but most of his friends deserting him on account of his inconstant temper, and the rest hating him for his cruelty, and dreading the power of *Constantius*, he was obliged to lay aside all thoughts of openly revolting. In the mean time, the emperor, with frequent letters and repeated messages, importuned him to come with all speed to court. Among the rest, he sent one *Scudilo* to him, a crafty insinuating man, who, by giving him all imaginable assurances on the emperor's part, prevailed upon him to leave *Antioch* and begin his journey to *Italy*. He stopt some time at *Constantinople*, where, like a man who apprehended no danger, he exhibited public shows, and diverted himself and the people with the circensian sports. This confident behaviour increased the emperor's fears and jealousies, who thereupon ordered all the garisons to be removed out of the cities and towns through which he was to pass, lest he should debauch them; and at the same time dispatched se-

And likewise
Constantina.

Constantina
dies on
her journey

Gallus sets
out from
Antioch.

^u AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 26.
PHILOSTORG. 62.

^w AMMIAN l. xv. p. 27.

veral officers to him, who, under colour of attending him, were to keep a watchful eye over him; which they did with such strictness, that, though the *Thebean* legions encamped in *Thrace*, upon his arrival at *Adrianople*, sent deputies to him, assuring him, that they were ready to stand by him, and assist him to the utmost of their power, yet, during the twelve days he staid in that city, the deputies could never have an opportunity of speaking with him. In the mean time he received fresh letters from the emperor, requiring him to make what haste he could, and public carriages were provided for his equipage; but the officers sent to him by *Constantius* advising him to leave his court at *Adrianople*, he set out with a small retinue for *Milan*, where the emperor then was; but upon his arrival at *Petavium* in *Noricum*, he was there met by *Barbatio*, who, entering the same evening the house where he lodged, with a company of soldiers, stript him of all the ensigns of his dignity, and dispatched one *Apodemus* with his purple shoes to the emperor, assuring him, in the mean time, by repeated oaths, that nothing else was intended by the emperor against him; but nevertheless, putting him into a close litter, he hurried him away to *Flanona*, now *Fianone*, in *Dalmatia*, not far from *Pola*, where *Crispus Cæsar*, the son of *Constantine*, had been put to death twenty-eight years before. Thither the emperor sent his two most inveterate enemies, *Eusebius* the eunuch, and *Pentades* his secretary, to examine him about the death of the prefect *Domitian*, and others, and to hear what plea he could make *. *Julian* † and *Libanius* ‡ write, that he was condemned without so much as being heard; and truly, a prince, who hears only with the ears of his favourites, may be said not to hear at all. *Gallus* owned most of the crimes that were laid to his charge; but alledged, that they proceeded chiefly from the instigation and evil counsels of his wife *Constantina*. The emperor provoked at this plea, which reflected in so high a measure on his sister, and consequently on himself, and egged on by the enemies of *Gallus*, persuading him, that his safety depended upon the destruction of so dangerous a rival, resolved to put an end to his own fears, and the other's life, and accordingly signed a warrant for his execution ‡. Some authors write, that the emperor, soon after changing his mind, countermanded the execution; but that *Eusebius*, and the other enemies of *Gallus*, pretended that it came too late b. Be that

Is carefully watched by the officers of Constantius.

Is arrested at Petavium, and stript of the ensigns of his dignity.

And put to death.

* AMMIAN. l. xxi. p. 178. & l. xiv. p. 27—29. † JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 500. ‡ LIBAN. or. xii. p. 266. ² AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 29. & 31. ^b Idem, p. 30.

as it will; it is certain that *Gallus* was beheaded, and atoned with his own blood for the blood of many innocent persons, which he had shed. Thus fell *Gallus Cæsar*, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, after having reigned near four years. His death was chiefly owing to his own tyrannical conduct, but in great measure to the malice of *Eusebius*, *Scudilo*, and *Barbatio*, his avowed enemies, who charged him with more crimes than he had really committed^c. All those who had been any ways concerned with him in the death of the prefect *Domitian*, the questor *Montius*, and his other crimes, felt the weight of the emperor's displeasure. Multitudes of people of all ranks were brought out of the east in chains to *Aquileia*, where they were tried by *Eusebius* and one *Arbora*, men destitute of all mercy and compassion, and on that very account charged by *Constantius* with that commission. These merciless judges, without making any distinction between the guilty and innocent, sentenced some to the rack, and after that to banishment, others to servile offices in the army, and great numbers to death, sparing none but such as could redeem themselves with large sums. *Luscus*, the first magistrate of *Antioch*, was burnt alive. But *Gorgonius*, *Gallus's* great chamberlain, the most guilty of all, escaped by bribing his judges, and the eunuchs of the court. *Julian*, the brother of *Gallus*, though no-ways concerned in his crimes, was kept seven months under close confinement, and would have been put to death, had he not been saved by the favour of the empress *Eusebia*^d. By the death of *Gallus*, the *Roman* empire became united under one prince, after it had continued divided for the space of near seventy years, that is, from the year 285, or 286, when *Dioclesian* took *Maximian* for his colleague; for ever since that time there had been either several emperors, or one *Cæsar*. *Ammianus* observes, that *Constantius*, swelled with pride upon seeing himself sole master of the empire, assumed the title of *eternal*, styled himself *lord of the universe*, and gave ear to the flatteries of his ambitious and insinuating courtiers^e. As for *Ursicinus*, general of the horse in the east, of whom we have spoken above, he was accused of having put *Gallus* upon all the wrong measures he had taken, in order to render him obnoxious to the people, and make the empire fall to his own children. But *Ammianus*, his faithful friend and inseparable companion, assures us, that his only crime was the umbrage which the eu-

^c AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 31. ^d Idem, l. xiv. p. 18. l. xv. p. 34. JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 501. ^e AMMIAN. l. xv. p. 32, 33.

nuchs, and other courtiers, took at his great power and extraordinary abilities. However, after the death of *Gallus*, it was resolved in a council, which was held privately in the emperor's apartment, that the following night he should be conveyed out of the city, and executed without any farther trial. But the emperor changing his mind, *Ursicinus* escaped, and *Constantius* was soon after obliged to have recourse to the valour and address of so brave and experienced a commander, as we shall see anon.

THE next consuls were *Arbetio* and *Lollianus*. During their administration the emperor enacted two remarkable laws; the one addressed to *Volusianus*, vicar of *Rome*, and dated the thirtieth of *April*, forbidding the marriage of a brother or sister-in-law, and declaring the children born of such a marriage illegitimate: the other dated the twenty-third of *September*, and addressed to one *Severus*, ordaining bishops to be judged by bishops, and not by the civil magistrates^g. In the beginning of this year *Constantius* summoned a council of bishops at *Milan*, and banished *Liberius*, bishop of *Rome*, into *Thrace*, because he would not consent to the sentence passed by the council against the great *Athanasius*^h. Before the emperor left *Milan*, *Africanus*, governor of *Pannonia Secunda*, was brought prisoner to that city, with several others, who, after being tortured in a most cruel manner, were thrown into prison, because they had at an entertainment expressed themselves with great freedom on matters of state; whence it was concluded, that they were carrying on some plot, and that *Africanus* aspired at the sovereignty. A tribune, by name *Marinus*, who was present at this entertainment, chose rather to lay violent hands on himself at *Aquileia*, than to endure the tortureⁱ. *Ammianus*, who relates this, does not tell us in this place what became of *Africanus* and the other prisoners; but seems elsewhere^k to insinuate, that they were all put to death. The emperor soon after left *Milan* to march against the *Germans*, who made frequent inroads into the empire towards the *Brigantine* lake, now the lake of *Constance*. The emperor himself remained in the plains of the country now belonging to the *Grisons*, in the neighbourhood of the present city of *Coira*, and detached *Arbetio* with the flower of the army against the enemy. *Arbetio* fell into an ambuscade, and lost great numbers of his men; but this loss

Africanus and several others cruelly tortured upon bare suspicions.

^f Idem, l. xiv. p. 26, 33, 34. ^g Cod. Theod. l. iii. tit. 12. leg. 2. p. 296. & l. xvi. tit. 2. leg. 12. p. 37. ^h HILAR. OR. in Const. ⁱ AMMIAN. l. xv. p. 34, 36. ^k Idem, l. xvi. p. 67.

The Ger-
mans de-
feated.

Sylvanus
falsely ac-
cused of
aspiring at
the empire.

was soon retrieved by the valour of *Arintheus*, who became famous under the emperor *Valens*, and of two other officers, who falling upon the *Germans*, without waiting the orders of their general, put them to flight, and obliged them to abandon the *Roman* territories. The emperor, satisfied with this, returned to *Milan*, and there took up his winter-quarters ¹. From *Milan* he wrote a long letter to the senate of *Constantinople* in commendation of the philosopher *Themistius*, whom he had created senator of that city. *Themistius* answered this letter soon after by a panegyric on *Constantius*, wherein he endeavours to prove, that he was the greatest philosopher in the whole empire ^m. The emperor's letter, and the oration of *Themistius*, are still extant ⁿ. The tranquillity which *Constantius* enjoyed at this time, was soon interrupted by the apprehension of a pretended conspiracy, which produced a true one. *Sylvanus*, the son of *Bonitus*, a leading man among the *Franks*, commanded in *Gaul*, and had performed there great exploits against the barbarians. He owed his preferment to the artifices of rival courtiers, especially of *Arbetio*, the consul of this year, who, jealous of his extraordinary merit, had proposed him to the emperor as the best qualified person in the empire for driving the barbarians out of *Gaul*, and restoring that province, distressed by their frequent inroads, to its former condition. And truly *Sylvanus* well deserved the character which *Arbetio* gave him; but the consul's main design in commending him, and extolling his military talents, was to remove him from the emperor's presence, in order to compass his ruin, which he did in the following manner: One *Dynames*, keeper of the emperor's mules, leaving *Gaul*, begged of *Sylvanus* letters of recommendation to his friends at court; which being granted, the traitor erased all but the subscription; and having inserted directions to the friends of *Sylvanus* for the carrying on of a conspiracy, delivered the letters to the prefect *Lampridius*, who being privy, as was supposed, to this wicked contrivance, shewed them to the emperor. Hereupon orders were immediately issued for the apprehending of such persons as were named in the letters. As there were at that time great numbers of *Franks* of distinction at court, they all interposed in favour of their countryman; among the rest, *Malaricus*, their chief, well apprised that the whole was a mere calumny, offered to go into *Gaul*, and bring the supposed criminal before the emperor; adding, that if persons, whom *Sylvanus* mis-

¹ Idem, l. xv. p. 36, 37. ^m THEMIST. OR. CONF. p. 118. & or. ii. p. 24, 40. ⁿ Idem, *ibid*,

trusted,

trusted, should be sent for that purpose, he might be prompted by fear, to attempt what he was falsely accused of having already attempted. But *Constantius*, without hearkening to the just and reasonable proposal of *Malaricus*, was persuaded by *Arbetio* to name *Apodemus*, a declared enemy to all men of probity, to inquire into this affair. He immediately set out for *Gaul*; but instead of presenting to *Sylvanus* as soon as he arrived, pursuant to his instructions, the emperor's letter commanding him to repair forthwith to court, he seized on his estate, and caused his friends in *Gaul* to be apprehended and put to the torture. This coming to the ears of *Sylvanus*, who was then at *Cologn*, and too well acquainted with the emperor's suspicious temper, and the ascendant his enemies at court had over him, to suffer himself to be arrested, he resolved at first to take shelter among the *Franks*, his countrymen; but being persuaded by his friends not to trust a people so remarkable for their fickleness and treachery, he determined for his own preservation, to do what otherwise he would never have thought of; and accordingly assumed the purple, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor by the troops under his command¹. Some of his coins have reached us, on which he bears the title of *Augustus*, and the prænomen of *Flavius*, common, since *Constantine's* time, to such as had none of their own, especially foreigners^m. While these things passed in *Gaul*, *Dynames*, to strengthen his accusation against *Sylvanus*, forged a letter in the name of that general, and of *Malaricus*, to a tribune, desiring him to get every thing ready, without explaining himself further. The tribune, being at a loss about the meaning of it, sent it to *Malaricus*, who, knowing it to be forged, complained aloud of the treachery, and, with the other *Franks*, demanded vengeance on those who were by such malicious contrivances endeavouring to prejudice the emperor against those of their nation. This occasioned an inquiry, and unravelled the whole scene of iniquity. The emperor, well apprised of the innocence of *Sylvanus* and the malice of his accusers, deposed the prefect *Lampridius*, and even ordered him, with several other persons of distinction, to be put to the torture, on which some of them owned the whole to be a mere calumny. They were, however, in the end all absolved, so great was the power of their faction at court; and *Dynames* was even preferred to the government of *Heitruia*. As Syl-

*Is forced to
assume it in
his own
defence.*

*He is de-
clared in-
nocent.*

¹ AMMIAN. p. 39, 76. JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 503. & or. ii. p. 183. ^m GOLTZ. p. 131.

Urficinus
sent against
him.

Sylvanus
slain by the
treachery of
Urficinus.

vanus was declared innocent, they were all greatly surprised by the arrival of a messenger from *Gaul*, dispatched to acquaint the emperor, that *Sylvanus* had actually assumed the title of emperor. The messenger arrived at *Milan* about the close of the evening, and the emperor, thunder-struck at the unexpected tidings, summoned a council the same night, the result of which was, that *Urficinus*, of whom we have spoken above, should be sent forthwith into *Gaul*, the courtiers, who dreaded *Urficinus* no less than *Sylvanus*, hoping by that means to get rid of one whom they hated, and perhaps of both. *Urficinus* made what haste he could to reach *Cologne*, that *Sylvanus*, supposing his revolt not to be yet known at court, might the more readily comply with the emperor's injunctions. For *Urficinus* was charged with letters from the emperor to *Sylvanus*, confirming him in his post of general, injoining him to repair to court, and in the mean time deliver up the command of the army to *Urficinus*. But *Urficinus*, notwithstanding the haste he made, came too late, the news of *Sylvanus*'s revolt being known at court having got to *Cologne* before him; which obliged him to change his measures, and pretend that he had deserted *Constantius*, and was come to share with *Sylvanus* his success or misfortunes, waiting in the mean time a favourable opportunity of dispatching him. This was a dangerous expedient, and altogether unworthy of that greatness of soul which *Ammianus* so much admires in his hero. *Sylvanus* received him with extraordinary demonstrations of kindness, freely opened all his thoughts to him, advised with him about the measures that were to be taken for their mutual security, and reposed in him an entire confidence; which gave *Urficinus* an opportunity of gaining over some of his guards with large promises, who early one morning forcing unexpectedly the gates of the palace, and entering sword in hand, met *Sylvanus*, while he was attempting to make his escape, and take sanctuary in a neighbouring church, and cut him in pieces, after he had enjoyed the title of emperor only twenty-eight daysⁿ. Thus fell one of the bravest and most deserving officers of the empire, whom the crafty malice of jealous courtiers, and the credulity of the emperor, had obliged in his own defence to assume the purple. He had served under *Magnentius*; but deserting him with a numerous body of cavalry under his command before the battle of *Mursa*, had ever after distinguished himself in the wars of *Constantius*, who,

ⁿ AMMIAN. l. xv. p. 38—42. ZONAR. p. 17.

in regard of his eminent services, had raised him to the post of *magister peditum*, or general of the foot. But no merit or services, however great, are a sufficient antidote against the poisonous tongues of artful and insinuating courtiers, when they have once gained the confidence, and engrossed the favour, of a jealous, weak, and timorous prince. *Constantius* expressed an extraordinary joy at the news of *Sylvanus's* death; but though he owned that he had nothing more to fear, yet he proceeded with great rigour against such as had been any-ways concerned in his revolt. *Pemenes*, who had defended *Treves* against *Decentius*, and many other persons of distinction, were condemned and executed. The courtiers were for putting all the friends of *Sylvanus* to death, without distinction; but were therein opposed by the emperor, alledging that friendship ought not to be punished as a crime; nay, he ordered the effects and estate of the unhappy *Sylvanus* to be reserved for his son, who was then very young, and had been left by his father as an hostage at court, perceiving, when it was too late, that the malice of his enemies, and not his ambition, had prompted, and in a manner forced, him to revolt.

THE barbarians, whom the brave *Sylvanus* had driven out of *Gaul*, that is, the *Franks*, *Alemans*, and *Saxons*, no sooner heard the news of his death, than they broke into that province with greater fury than ever, and took and pillaged above forty cities, and among the rest *Colegn*, which they levelled with the ground^p. At the same time, the *Quadi* and *Sarmatians*, entering *Pannonia*, laid all waste before them^q; and the *Persians* over-ran without opposition *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*, *Prosper*, who had succeeded *Ursicinus*, and the prefect *Mausonianus*, being more intent upon pillaging than defending the countries committed to their care^r. *Constantius* apprised of the danger that threatened the empire, but not thinking it adviseable to stir out of *Italy* himself, after various consultations, resolved in the end to raise his cousin *Julian*, the brother of *Gallus*, to the dignity of *Cæsar*. This design was opposed by all the sycophants at court, who, extolling the emperor's prudence, conduct, and courage, told him, that he was capable of sustaining the burden of the empire alone, insinuating at the same time, that it was no-ways safe for him to raise *Julian* to that high station. But the empress *Eusebia*, interposing in favour of *Julian*,

The empire
in great
danger.

^p AMMIAN. p. 44. & JUL. or. i. & ii. p. 89, 183. 184. ^r AMMIAN. l. xv. p. 47. ^q ZOS. p. 702. ^r AMMIAN. ibid. p. 57.

prevailed upon her husband to pursue his intentions. The emperor therefore, being returned to *Milan* before the thirty-first of *October* from a short progress, ordered *Julian* to quit his philosophical cloak, and gave him an apartment in the palace; and on the sixth of *November* having assembled the army, he ascended the tribunal, and placing *Julian* on his right hand, he acquainted the soldiers with his design of dignifying his cousin with the title and authority of *Cæsar*, and asked their consent. The army with one voice approved of his resolution; whereupon the emperor clothed him with a purple robe, saluted him with the title of *Cæsar*, and of *most loving brother*; appointed him governor of *Gaul*, and in committing that province to his care, told him, that he placed him over a stout army, not doubting but upon occasion he would signalize at their head his own courage, and be witness of theirs. This ceremony and speech were followed by loud acclamations, and great encomiums bestowed by the whole army on the emperor and the new *Cæsar*. A few days after *Constantius* gave him his sister *Helena* in marriage; and this new favour and mark of distinction was likewise owing to *Eusebia*, who, besides many other things of great value, presented the young prince on this occasion with a large and well-chosen library^f. But at the same time his whole house was changed, the emperor pretending thereby to do him honour; but his real design was to remove all in whom he had any confidence: guards were placed at his apartment, not so much to defend as to watch him; all his letters were opened before they came to his hands, insomuch, that he thought it adviseable to desire his best friends to forbear visiting him, lest they should expose themselves or him to danger^g. Before he set out for *Gaul*, the emperor gave him instructions under his own hand, regulating his whole conduct, even the expences of his table, as if he had been a child, says *Ammianus*^h, sent to school. At the same time, he greatly restrained and curtailed his authority, injoining the generals who served under him, to watch his actions with no less care than those of the enemy, and investing one *Marcellus* with the command of the army, who was sent to succeed *Ursicinus*, though the latter was order to continue in *Gaul*, till the war was ended, with the title of general, but without any command, the emperor being still in some degree prejudiced

Julian created Cæsar

He marries Helena, the emperor's sister.

His power gives the emperor jealousy.

^f AMMIAN. p. 47—49. Zos. l. iii. p. 709. JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 504. SOCR. l. ii. c. 34. ^g JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 509. ^h AMMIAN. l. xx. p. 168.

against him ^w. *Julian* was, above all, strictly enjoined not to give any largesses to the army; and authors observe, that *Constantius* himself, contrary to custom, gave none upon his promotion ^z. Several writers tell us, that the emperor sent *Julian* into *Gaul* on purpose to destroy him ^y. But what others write seems to us more probable, viz. that he treated him thus on account of his youth, and want of experience, and to deprive him of all means of revolting, and setting up for himself. *Julian* set out from *Milan* on the first of *December*, the emperor himself accompanying him as far as *Pa-* *He is sent into Gaul,*
via, from whence he pursued his journey to the *Alps*, attended only by three hundred and sixty soldiers. On his arrival at *Turin*, he was first acquainted with the loss of *Cologn*, which had been kept concealed from the emperor. He arrived at *Vienne* before the end of the year, and was received by the people of that city and the neighbourhood, with extraordinary marks of joy ^z. While he was entering the city, an old woman, who had been long blind, cried out, if *Ammianus* is to be credited, that he would one day restore the temples of the gods ^a.

THE following year, 356, *Constantius* took upon him his eighth consulship, and chose *Julian* for his colleague. The latter passed the winter at *Vienne*, deliberating about the operations of the ensuing campaign. During his stay there, he received intelligence, that the city of *Autun* was besieged by the barbarians, but defended with great bravery by the veterans, who had repulsed the enemy when they were already scaling the walls, which had encouraged the other troops to make a vigorous sally. However *Julian*, having assembled what forces he could, marched to the relief of the place; but finding the siege raised, from *Autun* he went in pursuit of the barbarians to *Auxerre*, crossing with no small danger thick woods, and from *Auxerre* to *Troies*. On his march he found himself surrounded on all sides by the enemy, who moved about the country in great bodies; but he put them to flight with a handful of men, killed great numbers of them, and took some prisoners. From *Troies* he hastened to *Rheims*, where the main body of the army, commanded by *Marcellus*, waited his arrival. Leaving *Rheims*, he took his rout towards *Decempagi*, now *Dieuze*, on the *Scille* in *Lorraine*, with a design to fall upon the *Germans*, who were busied in

^w Idem, l. xvi. p. 60.^z Idem, l. xxii. p. 206.^y EUNAP.

c. 5. p. 76. SOCRAT. l. iii. c. 1. SOZOM. l. v. c. 2. p. 596.

^z AMMIAN. l. xv. p. 50. LIBAN. or. xii. p. 270.^a AMMIAN.

l. xv. p. 50.

Cologne
retaken by
Julian,
& rebuilt.

Authors
disagree
about his
first cam-
paign.

ravaging that country. But the enemy, taking advantage of a dark and wet night, attacked his rear unexpectedly, and would have cut off two legions, had not the rest of the army, alarmed at the sudden noise, turned back to their assistance. The *Germans* themselves were defeated a few days after, though not with great loss, in the neighbourhood of *Brocromagus*, now *Brumt*, in *Alsace*, between *Straßbourg* and *Haguenau*^b. This small victory opened him a way to *Cologne*, which he found abandoned by the enemy, and entered, after it had been ten months in their hands. The barbarians had neglected to fortify it; but *Julian* ordered the antient fortifications to be with all speed repaired, and the houses rebuilt^c. *Libanius* adds, that he re-established another great city in that country, perhaps *Tongres* or *Treves*, which had been often attacked by the barbarians, and was reduced to a miserable condition. During his stay at *Cologne*, one of the kings of the *Franks*, dreading his arms, sent deputies to him to sue for a peace; but *Julian* granted him only a short truce. Having repaired the city and fortifications of *Cologne*, he removed to *Basle* to support the emperor, who was making war upon the *Germans* in *Rhætia*, and to prevent their escaping from him into *Gaul*. He continued there till winter, when he retired to the city of *Sens*, and there took up his quarters^d. This campaign proved, according to the account which *Ammianus* gives us of it, very glorious for *Julian*. But the many advantages which he is said to have gained, must either have been less considerable than they are represented by that writer, or counterbalanced by equal losses, since *Julian* himself writes, that his first campaign proved unsuccessful, and that during this summer he performed nothing worthy of notice^e. Besides, we shall see him the next winter besieged in *Sens* by the barbarians, and obliged to fly before them, which he himself owns^f; but *Ammianus* has passed it over in silence. *Libanius* says, that the greatest victory he gained this year was over himself, in restraining his courage, and bearing with patience the evil offices of those about him, who, instead of seconding his great designs, made it their whole business to thwart them, in compliance with their private instructions, and to humour the jealous temper of *Constantius*^g. The same writer adds, speaking, we suppose, like an orator, that *Ju-*

^b Idem, p. 59. LIBAN. or. ix. p. 237. & or. xii. p. 271.
^c AMMIAN. p. 40. JULIAN. p. 512. ^d AMMIAN. p. 61.
 72. ^e JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 510. ^f Idem ibid. ^g LI-
 BAN. or. ix. p. 237.

lian was allowed not to act, but only to shew himself^e. As for *Constantius*, it appears from the dates of several laws, that he did not stir from *Milan* till after the eleventh of *April*^h, and then took a progress into *Illyricum*ⁱ. He was returned to *Milan* on the twenty-ninth of *October*, as appears from a law bearing that date, which confirms to the clergy of the city of *Rome* all their privileges^k. He left *Milan* soon after to make war upon the *Germans*, who had for their kings the two brothers *Gondomarus* and *Vadomarus*. He passed the *Rhine*, entered their dominions on the side of *Rhætia*, and meeting with no opposition, laid waste their country far and wide. This obliged them to sue for peace, which the emperor readily granted, and then returned to *Milan*, the usual place of his residence^l. While the emperor was abroad on this expedition, the empress *Eusebia* visited the city of *Rome*, and was received there by the senate, who went out to meet her, with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. During her stay in that metropolis, she gave great largesses to the people, and upon her departure made rich presents to the heads of the tribes^m. The same year, *Constantius*, exerting his zeal for the doctrine of *Arius*, drove *Athanasius* from his see at *Alexandria*; and put *Georgius*, an *Arian*, in his room. He likewise banished the orthodox bishops, *Hilarius* of *Poitiers*, and *Rhodanes* of *Toulouse*. But as for *Athanasius*, he persecuted him even beyond the limits of the empire, writing letters against him to the princes of *Auximus* in *Ethiopia*, where he imagined the persecuted bishop had taken shelter. The same year, the emperor enacted two remarkable laws, the one, dated the twentieth of *February*, condemning those to death who should for the future sacrifice, or pay any manner of worship to idolsⁿ; the other, dated the eighth of *March*, declaring the effects of condemned persons, except in cases of magic or treason, to belong to their children and relations within the third degree^o. But this law the emperor himself revoked in two years after^p.

THE next consuls were, *Constantius* the ninth time, and *Julian* the second. The latter had taken up his winter-quarters at *Sens*, as we have related above, and had kept with him but a small number of troops, the rest being dispersed about the

^e Idem, or. xii. p. 271.^h Cod. Theodos. chron. p. 55.ⁱ ATHANAS. solit. p. 841.^k Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. 2.

leg. 13. p. 39.

^l AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 77, &c. JULIAN. or.

iii. p. 240.

^m JULIAN. or. iii. p. 240, 241.ⁿ Cod.

Theodos. l. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 6. p. 266.

^o Ibid. l. ix. tit. 42.

leg. 2. p. 329.

^p Ibid. leg. 4. p. 331.

Julian besieged in Sens.

He is created commander in chief of all the forces in Gaul.

country for the convenience of their quarters in a province so often ravaged and laid waste. The barbarians, apprised of this, came in great numbers, and laid siege to the place, hoping to take *Julian* himself prisoner. But he, with the few forces he had, made so vigorous a defence, that the enemy, despairing of ever being able to reduce the town, drew off their forces, and retired, after they had lain a whole month before it. All this while *Marcellus*, the commander in chief, never stirred to rescue *Julian*, or relieve the place, though he was quartered in the neighbourhood^d. *Ammianus* tells us, that for this neglect he was by the emperor deprived of his command, and confined to *Sardica*, the place of his nativity^e. But *Julian* says only, that *Constantius* began to suspect him, and look upon him as unequal to the command with which he was invested^f. *Libanius* writes, that he dreaded the barbarians, oppressed the subjects of the empire, treated *Julian* himself with great haughtiness, thwarted all his designs, and upon his removal repaired to *Milan* to discredit him with the emperor. But *Julian*, well acquainted with the malice of the one, and the jealousy and credulity of the other, sent the eunuch *Eutherius*, his great chamberlain, to answer such things as might be alledged against him; which he did so effectually, that the emperor remained fully satisfied with the conduct of *Julian*^g. *Ammian* bestows great encomiums upon this eunuch. Not long after *Constantius* declared *Julian* commander in chief of all the forces in *Gaul*, being persuaded to it either by the empress, or the eunuch *Eutherius*, or probably by both^h. At the same time he appointed *Severus* an officer of great experience, and of a quite different temper from *Marcellus*, to command under him. Upon his arrival in *Gaul*, *Julian*, who received him with great joy, raised new troops, and supplied them with arms, which he luckily found in an old arsenalⁱ. This year *Constantius* sentenced to death a great many persons convicted of having consulted the magicians, and published a law forbidding, on pain of death, any one to have recourse to the augurs, aruspices, or any other diviners whatsoever^k. By another law, dated the fourth of *December*, he condemned all magicians to be devoured by the wild beasts^l. This year, the emperor took a progress to *Rome*, which he had never yet seen, with

^d JULIAN. p. 510. AMMIAN. p. 61.

p. 64, 66.

^e JULIAN. p. 511.

^f AMMIAN. ibid.

^g AMMIAN. p. 64,

65.

^h Zos. l. iii. p. 703. AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 72.

ⁱ Zos.

l. iii. p. 704.

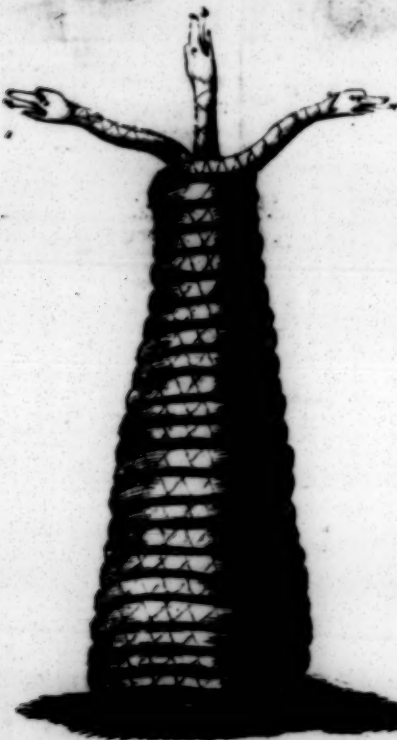
^k Cod. Theodos. ix. tit. 16. l. iv. p. 119.

^l Ibid. leg. p. 121, 122.

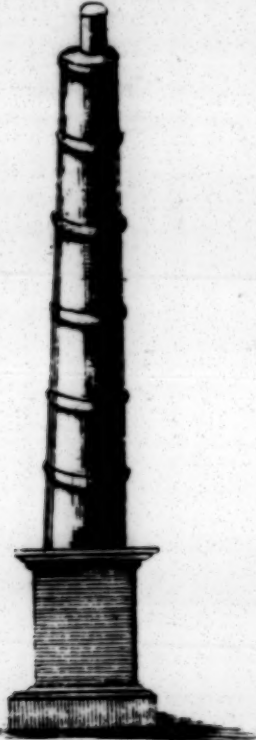
THE HISTORICAL PILLAR
from Du Fresnoie Lib. 1 Pag 9.



The Serpentine Pillar



The Porphyry Pillar



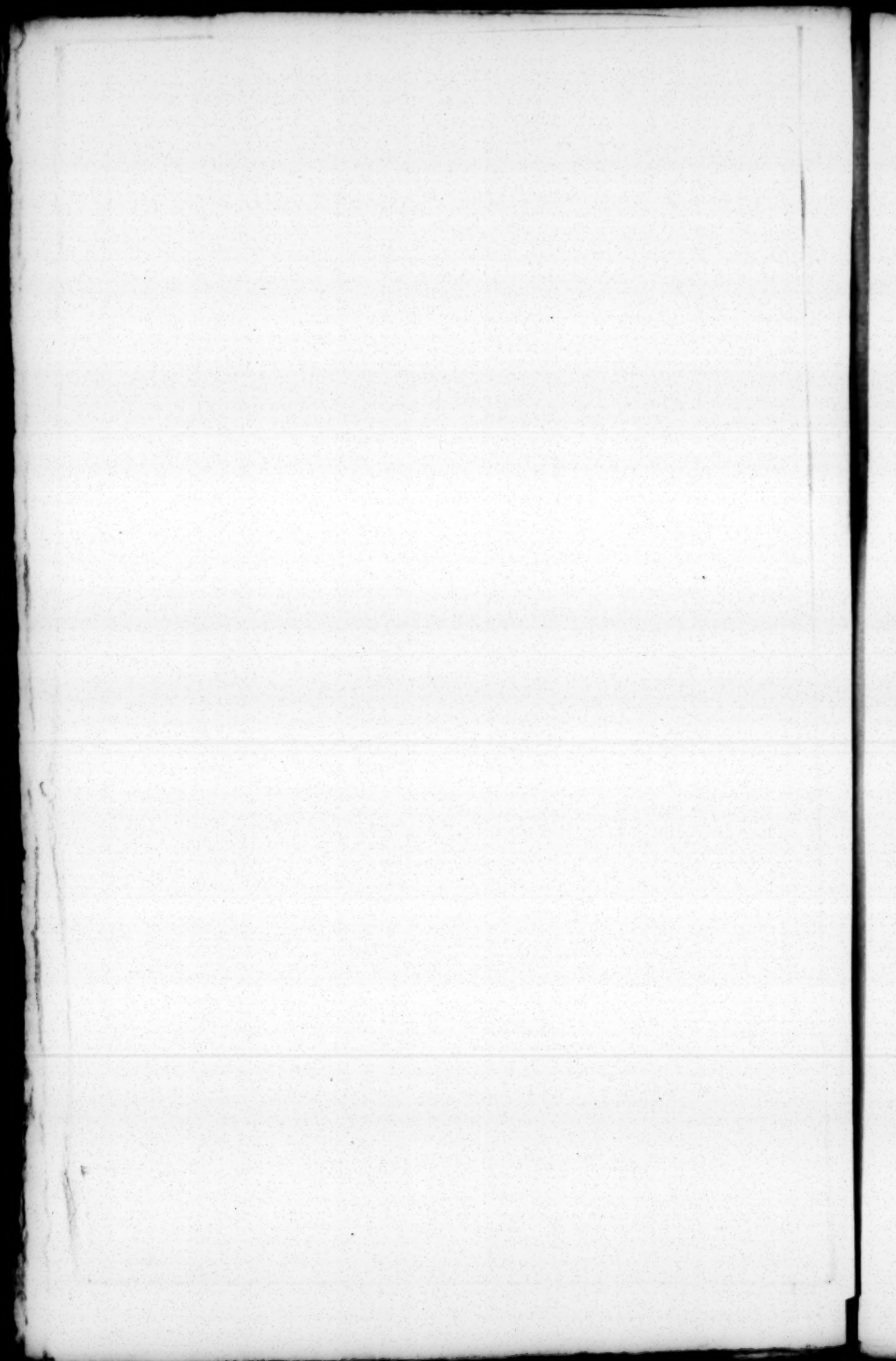
The Pillar of the Emp. Marcian



D.P. Sculpit.

The Hippodromenth. y. Thebean Obelisk and the manner in which it was erected.





the empress *Eusebia*, and his sister *Helena*, the wife of *Julian*. Constantine. He entered the metropolis of the empire on the twenty-eighth ^{us takes a} of *April*, in a gilt chariot, adorned with an incredible number ^{progress to} of precious stones, being attended by the senate, and the whole ^{Rome.} nobility, who came out in their robes, and richest apparel to meet him. The reader will find a very particular account of his triumphal entry in *Ammianus*, who describes it at length ^z. He was wonderfully taken with the grandeur and magni- ^{Is taken} ficence of the place, with the multitude of the people, with ^{with the} the loftiness of the buildings; but chiefly admired the temple ^{grandeur} of *Jupiter Tarpeius*, the public baths, the amphitheatre, ^{and magni-} *Pompey's* theatre, and the square of *Trajan*. He is said to ^{ficence of} have complained of fame, far exceeding truth in other things, ^{the city.} but coming short of it in what related to *Rome*. He harangued both the people and the senate, the former from the rostra, and the latter in the senate-house. He is thought to have celebrated in that great metropolis the thirty-fifth year of his reign, reckoning from 323, when he was created *Cæsar*; and it was perhaps on occasion of that solemnity that he ordered public sports to be exhibited, not only in *Rome*, but in all the other cities of *Italy* ^a. During his stay at *Rome*, he was presented with golden crowns of an extraordinary weight by several cities, and among the rest by the city of *Constantinople*, which had appointed *Themestius* to present it; but he falling sick, the discourse, which he had composed for the occasion, was sent to the emperor, who was so well pleased with it, that he ordered a statue to be erected in honour of the orator; which prompted him to write a second discourse or panegyric ^b. The emperor, desiring to add something of his own to the ornaments of the city, gave orders for the conveying of an obelisk thither, which had been removed by his father *Constantine* from *Heliopolis* in *Egypt* with that design, and had been carried as far as *Alexandria*. But that prince dying in the mean time, it still remained there. *Constantius* therefore ordered it to be brought to *Rome*, where it was with much difficulty set up in the *Circus Maximus* about the beginning of the following year ^c. This is the obelisk which was erected in *Rome* in the pontificate of *Sixtus V* ^d. *Constantius* would not enter the place, where the senate assembled, till the ancient altar of *victory* was removed from thence, lest he should defile his eyes, says *St. Ambrose* ^e, with the unhallowed sight of an altar consecrated to the in-

^z AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 71, &c.^a AMMIAN. ibid.^b THEMIST. OR. iv. p. 53—57.^c AMMIAN. l. xvii. p. 92.^d BARON. ann. 357.^e AMBROS. rel. sym. p. 196.

fernal spirits. He was greatly taken with the pleasures and diversions of *Rome*, says *Ammianus* ^f; but was soon obliged to abandon them, upon intelligence that the *Suevians* had entered *Rhætia*, the *Quadians Valeria*, and the *Sarmatians Lower Pannonia* and *Upper Mæsia*. He therefore left *Rome* on the twenty-ninth of *May*, after he had been there about a month, and was at *Milan*, if no mistake has crept into the code, on the third of *June*; and likewise on the thirteenth of *July* ^g; whence we may conclude, that the barbarians withdrew of their own accord. While *Constantius* was at *Milan*, he received letters from *Musonianus* prefect of the east, informing him, that *Sapor*, king of *Persia*, was engaged on the most remote frontiers of his kingdom in a mighty war with the *Chionitæ* and other people; that he had suffered great losses, and consequently would, in all likelihood, hearken to a treaty of peace and amity with the *Romans*, which *Musonianus* had taken care to propose to *Tamsapor*, the *Persian* general on the frontiers of *Mesopotamia*, who had written on that subject to his master. These negotiations came to nothing, as will appear anon. However, the emperor sent for *Ursicinus*, who was still in *Gaul*, in order to advise with him about the most proper method of dealing with the *Persians*. In the mean time, *Constantius*, leaving *Milan* about the middle of *July*, went to *Trent*, and from thence into *Illyricum*, visited the frontiers of the empire towards the *Danube*, and conferred with the chiefs of the *Quadians* and other neighbouring nations, who assured him of their friendship. *Ursicinus* found him at *Sirmium*, and was, after several conferences, sent by him into the east, with the character of general, and the same power with which he had been invested before his disgrace ^h. The emperor was at *Milan* on the fourth and sixth of *December*; but returned to *Sirmium* before the eighteenth of *December* ⁱ, and, according to *Ammianus* ^k, passed the winter there.

Ursicinus
recalled
from Gaul,
and sent
into the
east.

Barbatio
sent into
Gaul.

To return to *Gaul*: The emperor, resolved by all means to put an end to the dreadful devastations committed there chiefly by the *Alemans*, wrote to *Julian*, to march with all his forces against them, and at the same time sent *Barbatio*, who had been created general of the foot in the room of *Sylvanus*, out of *Italy*, with a body of twenty-five or thirty thousand men, in order to surprise and inclose the enemy between the two armies. *Barbatio* was generally esteemed a

^f AMMIAN. p. 72. ^g Cod. Theodof. chr. p. 56, 57.
^h AMMIAN. ibid. p. 72. JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 513. ⁱ Cod. Theod. p. 57. ^k AMMIAN. l. xvii. p. 103.

good officer^l; but all his bravery consisted, according to *Ammianus*^m, only in words. He had betrayed *Gallus*, under whom he served, and studied how to check the progress of *Julian*; who no sooner heard of his arrival at *Basle*, than he took the field, having with him only thirteen thousand men: but the *Leti*, a *German* nation, passing between the two armies, advanced as far as *Lions*, with a design to surprise and pillage that wealthy city. As they met with a warmer reception from the inhabitants than they expected, they gave over all thoughts of taking the place, and contented themselves with ravaging the country all round it. *Julian*, upon the first notice of what had happened, detached strong parties to guard the passes, through which he knew they must return; by this means they were all cut off, except those who marched near the camp of *Barbatio*, who was so far from cutting off their retreat, that he complained by a letter to *Constantius* of some officers for attempting it, who thereupon ordered them to be cashiered. One of these was *Valentinian*, afterwards emperorⁿ. The other barbarians either fortified themselves in the countries which they had seized, stopping up all the avenues with huge trees, or took shelter in the islands formed by the *Rhine*. *Julian* resolved first to attack the latter, and with this view sent to demand some boats of *Barbatio*, who, instead of complying with his just request, immediately burnt all his boats, as he did, on another occasion, the provisions which had been sent for both armies, after he had plentifully supplied his own. It is uncertain whether he behaved thus out of pique to *Julian*, or in compliance with private instructions from the emperor to thwart all his enterprizes^o. Be that as it will, *Julian*, not in the least ruffled or disheartened at the unaccountable conduct of *Barbatio*, persuaded some of the most resolute among his men to wade over to one of the islands, where they killed all the *Germans* who had taken shelter there; and seizing their boats, pursued the slaughter in several other islands, till the enemy abandoning them all, retired with their wives, and what booty they could carry, to their respective countries^p. After this, he undertook the rebuilding of the *Tres-tabernæ*, a fort near *Strasbourg* in *Alsace*, now known by the name of *Saverne*, which the enemy had demolished. As it was so situated as to curb the nations beyond the *Rhine*, and prevent their irruptions into *Gaul*, *Julian* not only repaired the ancient fortifications, but

The Germans attack *Lions* in vain, and are cut in pieces by *Julian*.

Barbatio endeavours to thwart his designs.

Julian rebuilds *Saverne*.

^l *LIBAN.* orat. xii. p. 272.
ibid. ^o *Idem* p. 73. 74.
p. 273.

^m *AMMIAN.* p. 73. ⁿ *Idem*
^p *Idem* ibid. & *LIBAN.* orat. xii.

Barbario
put to
flight by
the barba-
rians.

Julian
marches
against
them.

The battle
of Argen-
toratum or
Strasbourg

added new works to them, stored the place with provisions for a whole year, and left a numerous garison in it, to keep the neighbouring country in awe⁹. While *Julian* was busied in this work, *Barbatio* was employed in laying a bridge of boats over the *Rhine*; but the enemy, apprised of this, threw a great number of huge trees into the river, which being carried by the stream against the boats, sunk several of them, and parted the rest. *Barbatio*, seeing his work ruined, thought it adviseable to retire; but the enemy, falling unexpectedly upon him in his retreat, cut great numbers of his men in pieces, took most of his baggage, laid waste the neighbouring country, and returned in triumph, loaded with booty. Hereupon *Barbatio*, putting his troops into winter-quarters, as if the campaign had been over, though it was then but harvest-time, returned to court, to make war there upon *Julian* with his calumnies and ill offices¹. The barbarians, elated with this success, assembled in great numbers, under the banners of *Chnodomarius*, a prince of great renown among them, and of six other kings, and encamped in the neighbourhood of *Strasbourg*. Being informed there by a deserter, that *Julian* had only thirteen thousand men with him, *Chnodomarius* sent him a haughty and menacing message, commanding him to abandon forthwith the country which the *Germans* had conquered by their courage and valour². *Libanius* adds, that the messenger produced to him the letters of *Constantius*, promising to relinquish to them what countries or cities they should seize in *Gault*. By such promises *Constantius* is supposed to have stirred them up against the tyrant *Magnentius*. But *Julian*, paying no regard to them, detained the messenger as a spy, and pursued the works he had begun at *Saverne*, till he received intelligence, that the enemy were advanced within twenty miles of his camp. Hereupon, leaving *Saverne*, he marched directly against them. When he was about half way, he halted, with a design to rest his men, and put off the battle to the next day; but both officers and soldiers demanding to be led without delay against the enemy, he pursued his march, and found the *Germans*, who had been informed of his approach, ready to receive him. They were thirty-five thousand strong, headed by seven kings, ten princes, and many other lords of great distinction. Both armies engaged with great resolution and intrepidity, and the victory continued long doubtful; the *Roman* cavalry even gave way,

⁹ JULIAN. p. 512. LIBAN. p. 273. ¹ AMMIAN. p. 75.
² Idem, l. xvi. p. 75, 76. ¹ LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 269.

nor could *Julian*, with all his oratory, prevail upon them to rally and return to the charge : but the vigorous resistance made by the foot so disheartened the enemy, that, after having attempted several times in vain to break them, they began to abate much of their impetuosity ; which the *Romans* perceiving, they made a last effort ; and charging the barbarians, already quite spent, put them to flight, and pursued them *The Ger-* with great slaughter. Great numbers of them threw them- *mans in-* selves into the *Rhine*, which was in their rear, and were *tirely de-* drowned. *Chnodomarius* himself was taken in a wood, and *seated.* presented to *Julian* in the sight of the whole army, who thereupon saluted him with the title of *Augustus* ; which he rejected with great indignation, telling his soldiers, That the glory of the action was chiefly owing to *Constantius*, under whose auspices they had fought ^u. He lost in the battle only four tribunes, and two hundred and forty-three private men. Of the *Germans* six, or, as others will have it, eight, thousand men were killed in the field ; but a great number of dead bodies were seen floating on the river ^w. *Zosimus* writes, that sixty thousand of the enemy were killed on the spot, and an equal number drowned ; but he must have been misled by bad memoirs, which makes us question the truth of what he adds, *viz.* that, after the battle, *Julian* obliged six hundred of his horsemen, who had fled, to appear before the whole army in the apparel of women ^x. The battle of *Strasbourg* is famous in history. *Julian* himself styles it a successful action, which restored *Gaul* to its antient liberty ^y. *Mamertinus* says, that, by this single battle, the war was ended, and *Germany* ruined ^z. It is at least certain, that the barbarians were intirely driven out of *Gaul*. This memorable battle was fought in the plains near *Strasbourg*, when the corn was ripe, and the moon in the last quarter ^a. *Julian* ascribed the whole glory of it to *Constantius*, and immediately sent his royal captive *Chnodomarius* to him, whom he had treated with great respect, looking upon him as an instance of the instability of all human grandeur. *Constantius* sent him to *Rome*, where he died soon after a natural death ^b. This victory was greatly lessened by the sycophants at court, and all the other actions of *Julian* turned into ridicule ; which, however, was less prejudicial to him, than if they had extolled and magnified his exploits to a suspicious, weak, and timorous prince.

^u AMMIAN. p. 84, 85. LIBAN. orat. x. p. 237. JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 512.

^w AMMIAN. ibid.

^x Zos. l. iii. p. 704.

^y AMMIAN. l. xx. p. 160.

^z Panegy. xi. p. 223.

^a AM.

MIAN. l. xvi. p. 78.

^b Idem l. xvii. p. 103.

Constanti-
us assumes
to himself
the whole
glory of
this action.

Constantius was not ashamed to ascribe the whole glory of this great action to himself, as appears from an edict published about this time, wherein he speaks of himself as if he had fought at the head of his army, without so much as mentioning the name of *Julian* ^c. *Aurelius Victor*, who wrote about the latter end of his reign, speaks in the same strain ^d; and *Themistius*, in magnifying his victories over the *Germans*, and the valour with which he delivered *Gaul* from their inroads, and restrained them within their antient limits, quotes the letters which the emperor himself had sent to the senate of *Constantinople* ^e. *Julian's* first care, after the battle, was to cause all the dead to be buried, without distinction of friend or enemy. Having performed this pious office, he returned to *Saverne*, to finish the works begun there, and then advanced with all his army to *Muyence*, where he built a bridge over the river, and entered *Germany*, having with much-ado prevailed upon his army to follow him. The *Germans*, alarmed at the boldness of the young general, sent deputies to sue for peace, and almost at the same time others to threaten him and his army with immediate destruction, if they did not forthwith retire; but the brave commander, despising their menaces, continued ravaging their country till after the equinox; and then the snow preventing him from advancing farther, he began to repair the fort of *Trajan*, which some take to be the castle of *Cromburgh*, about three or four leagues from *Frankfort*. This undertaking alarmed the enemy to such a degree, that they sent new deputies to sue for peace, which they could not obtain upon any terms; but a truce was granted them for ten months, upon their promising to store with provisions the fort which was building in their country, in order to curb and awe them ^f. After this, he returned to *Gaul* with a great number of captives; but being informed on his march, that some *Franks*, having ravaged the country about *Rheims* during his absence, had shut themselves up in two castles on the *Meuse*, he marched against them, and obliged them to surrender, after they had defended themselves with great bravery for the space of fifty-four days; that is, the greatest part of *December* and all *February*. The prisoners were all sent to the emperor, who incorporated them among his troops. *Julian*, having thus ended this long and glorious campaign, put his troops into winter-quarters, and took up his own in *Paris*, which we find about this time first menti-

Julian ob-
liges some
Franks to
surrender,
and sends
them to the
emperor.

^c Idem, l. xvi p. 86.
^d Aur. VICT. p. 528.
^e THE-
MIST. orat. p. 57.
^f AMMIAN. p. 68. LIBAN. orat. xii.
p. 277.

oned

oned in history. It was then only a castle situate on the island formed by the *Seyne*, which is now but a very small part of that great metropolis ^g. This year the emperor enacted a *Some laws* law, dated the third of *July*, commanding the effects of those of Con- to be confiscated, who should renounce the *Christian* to em-stantius. brace the *Jewish* religion; by another he obliges all senators to reside at *Rome*, or in the neighbourhood; many of them having retired from that metropolis, and settled in *Achaia*, *Macedon*, and the other provinces of *Illyricum*, on account of the great expences attending that dignity at *Rome*. By a third, addressed to *Felix* bishop of *Rome*, he exempts all merchandizing ecclesiastics, their wives, children, and domestics, from every imposition, whether ordinary or extraordinary, supposing the gains they made to be applied by them to the relief of the poor.

THE next consuls were *Cerealis*, uncle to *Gallus Cæsar* on the mother's side, and *Datianus*, who, though of a mean descent, bore the title of *comes* in 349, and was afterwards raised to the rank of a patrician ^h. We have observed above, that the *Persian* general *Tamfapor* had been persuaded by *Mufonianus*, prefect of the east, to write to his master about renewing the antient treaties with the *Romans*; but as *Sapor* had not only concluded a peace with the *Chionitæ*, but entered into an alliance with them before *Tamfapor*'s letters came to his hands, in answer to the proposals transmitted to him by that general, he wrote a haughty letter to *Constantius*, which *Embassies* he sent by one *Narfes*, with presents for the emperor. The *from Sapor* contents of the letter were, that he might lawfully insist up- to Con- on the emperor's yielding to him all the countries beyond the stantius, river *Strymon* in *Macedon*; but lest his demands should seem and from unreasonable, he would be satisfied with *Armenia*, and *Me-* Constan- *sopotamia*, which, with the utmost injustice, had been taken tius to Sa- from his grandfather *Narfes*. He added, that, unless they por. were restored, he was determined to do himself justice, and try whether he could recover them by force of arms. In this letter *Sapor* styled himself *king of kings, brother of the sun and moon*, &c. *Narfes*, who was charged to deliver it to the emperor, arrived at *Antioch* about the end of the preceding year, where *Themistius* saw him; and, after having rested some time there, pursued his journey to *Constantinople*, which he entered with great pomp on the twenty-third of *February* of the present year 358. From *Constantinople* he repaired to *Sirmium*, where the emperor then was, and, in a public au-

^g AMMIAN. p. 240. in fol. ^h PHILOSTORG. l. viii. c. 3. p. 113. Cod. Theod. tit. 4. p. 8.

dience, presented to him *Sapor's* letter, wrapped up in a piece of white silk. *Constantius*, without entering into any negotiation with him, wrote back to *Sapor*, that as he had maintained the *Roman* dominions in their full extent while he was possessed only of the east, he could not suffer them to be curtailed now that he was master of the whole empire. He added, that he was ready and desirous to conclude a peace with the *Persian* monarch, provided it were upon honourable terms. With this letter he dismissed *Narses*; but a few days after sent a solemn embassy into *Persia*, with letters and presents for the king, being desirous at least to put off the war till he had secured the northern provinces against the incursions of the barbarians, that he might employ all the forces of the empire against so powerful and formidable an enemy. The *Roman* ambassadors found *Sapor* at *Ctesiphon*; but not being able to prevail upon him to abate any thing of his demands, they returned about the twenty-fourth of *August*. Count *Lucillianus* and *Procopius*, who usurped the sovereignty in the reign of *Valens*, were sent to the *Persian* court soon after, to amuse that warlike prince with new proposals; but he, instead of hearkening to them, kept the ambassadors some time under close confinement, threatening to treat them as spies, but in the end dismissed them unhurt¹. While the emperor resided at *Sirmium*, the *Quadi* and *Sarmatians* broke into *Pannonia* and *Mæsia*; and the *Futhunges*, a *German* nation, into *Rhætia*. The latter were defeated and driven back by *Barbatio*; but the emperor marched in person against the former soon after the vernal equinox; and having crossed the *Danube* on a bridge of boats, laid waste the territories of the *Sarmatians*, who thereupon came in great numbers, with the *Quadi*, pretending to sue for peace; but their true design was to surprise the *Romans*, who, suspecting it, fell upon them sword in hand, and cut them all to a man in pieces. This obliged the rest to sue for peace in good earnest; which they obtained, upon their setting at liberty the prisoners they had taken, and delivering up hostages². The emperor then marched against the *Limigantes*, that is, those slaves, who in 334 had driven the *Sarmatians* out of their country, and seized it for themselves, as we have related elsewhere. They too had made frequent inroads into the *Roman* territories; but, upon the approach of the army, came in great numbers to meet the emperor, pretending to submit; but prepared to

The Quadi
and Sar-
matians
overcome
by Con-
stantius.

¹ AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 68. & l. xvii. p. 94. THEMIST. orat. iv. p. 57. ZONAR. p. 17. PETR. legat. p. 28. ² AMMIAN l. xvii. p. 103, 104.

fall upon him unexpectedly, if an opportunity offered. The emperor, observing their surly looks, and distrusting them, ascended his tribunal, attended by the chief officers of the army, and his guards, in order to acquaint them with his pleasure. While he was speaking to them, his troops, pursuant to their private orders, insensibly surrounded them on all sides. When the emperor had done, the *Limigantes*, dissatisfied with the conditions he had offered them, laid their hands on their swords; which being observed by the *Romans*, who watched all their motions, they fell upon them at once, and began the slaughter. The *Limigantes*, finding it impossible to make their escape, made with great fury towards the tribunal; but were repulsed by the guards forming themselves into the shape of a wedge, and all to a man cut in pieces, not one of them deigning to ask quarter. After this, the *Romans* entering their country on one side, and the *Sarmatians*, their antient masters, with the *Taifales*, on the other, and destroying all with fire and sword, they were obliged in the end to comply with the only condition the emperor offered them, which was, to quit their country, and remove to a more distant place, that they might not be tempted to infect the empire anew. *Constantius* restored the country to the *Sarmatians*, its antient owners, twenty-four years after they had been driven from it; appointed one of their nation, by name *Zizais*, to rule over them with the title of king, and declared them a free people¹. For these exploits the army saluted *Constantius* with the surname of *Sarmaticus*, who soon after, that is, about the end of *October*, returned to *Sirmium*, which he entered in triumph, and put his troops into winter-quarters^m.

In the mean time *Julian*, having spent the first month of this year at *Paris*, in regulating the taxes paid by the province, so as to find the necessary supplies, without laying any new burdens on the people, already quite drained and exhausted, took the field as soon as the season was fit for action, with a design to conquer the *Franks*, before the truce which he had granted to the *Alemans* was expired. The *Franks* were at this time divided into several tribes or clans; but the most powerful among them was that of the *Salii*, who, being driven by the *Saxons*, according to *Zosimus*ⁿ, from the lands they possessed in *Germany*, had settled in *Batavia*; that is, in the islands formed by the several branches of the *Rhine*, and in *Toxandria*, which country began, according to the

¹ Idem, p. 106—112.^m Idem ibid.ⁿ Zos. l. iii.

Julian
overcomes
the Salii,

And the
Chamavi.

He obliges
the Ale-
mans to
sue for
peace.

best modern geographers, about a league from *Mastricht*, and extended about twenty-five leagues along the *Meuse*, where stand at present the cities of *Boisleduc*, *Breda*, and *Antwerp* °. Against these *Franks* *Julian* marched first, and was already arrived at *Tongres*, when he met their deputies on their journey to *Paris*, where they supposed they should find him. They had been sent to beg he would suffer them to remain as friends in the country which they possessed. *Julian*, upon some difficulties which he started, sent them back for more particular instructions. They imagined, that he designed to wait their return at *Tongres*; but they were no sooner gone, than he followed them; and having entered their country, and obliged them to submit, he allotted them lands in *Gaul*, and incorporated great numbers of them into his cavalry^p. He then marched against the *Chamavi*, another nation of *Franks*, who had settled in *Gaul*; and having overcome them in battle, and taken many of them prisoners, he obliged them to retire beyond the *Rhine*; whence they sent deputies to sue for peace, which he granted them upon such terms as he thought fit to prescribe. Having thus reduced the *Salii* and *Chamavi*, he rebuilt three forts on the *Meuse*, which the barbarians had demolished; but wanting provisions, in a country so often ravaged by the enemy, to store them, to supply his army, and to maintain the many captives, whom he had obliged the enemy to set at liberty, he ordered six or eight hundred vessels, as we read in *Zosimus*, to be built in *Britain*, for the conveying of corn from thence into *Gaul*. *Julian* continued in the country of the *Chamavi*, till the truce he had granted to the *Alemans* was expired; and then laying a bridge of boats over the *Rhine*, he entered their country, putting all to fire and sword. Hereupon two of their kings, *Suomarius* and *Hortarius*, came in person to him, and obtained a peace, upon their promising to set at liberty all the captives they had taken, to supply a certain quantity of corn when required, and to furnish wood, iron, and carriages for the repairing of the cities which they had ruined. The prisoners, whom he rescued out of the hands of the barbarians during this campaign, amounted to twenty thousand and upwards^q. The campaign being thus ended, he put his troops into winter-quarters; but we are not told where he took up his own. This year, on the twenty-fourth of *August*, about six in the morning, a most dreadful earthquake was felt in *Asia*, *Pontus*,

° Notit. Gall. p. 558. ^p AMMIAN. p. 99. JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 514. ^q JUL. ibid. AMMIAN. p. 102. LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 280. Zos. p. 70.

and *Macedon*, which greatly damaged an hundred and fifty cities, and utterly ruined that of *Nicomedia*, where it was so sudden and violent, that all the houses were overturned at once, and the inhabitants to a man buried in the ruins. This calamity is described at length by *Ammianus*^r, by *Gregory of Nyssa*^t, *Ephrem of Edessa*, who wrote an elegy on that subject^t, and *Libanius*, who bemoaned, in an oration, the destruction of a city, which he styles the fifth of the empire for greatness, and inferior to none in beauty^v. When *Julian* passed that way in 362, he could not refrain his tears, in comparing the condition it was in then, with that in which he had formerly seen it^w. *Aristenetus*, who resided there in quality of vicar; *Cecrops*, bishop of the place, and another bishop, perished with the rest; but not in the church, nor with many bishops, as the pagans gave out, to insult the christians^x. The church, which was a magnificent structure, and had been built by *Constantine* about the year 330, underwent the same fate with the other edifices^y. This year the emperor enacted a law, dated the thirteenth of *July*, and addressed to *Taurus* prefect of *Italy*, declaring all magicians, astrologers, augurs, aruspices, and pretenders to the art of divination, enemies to mankind; and such of them as shall be found in the prince's court, guilty of treason, as giving the world occasion to believe, that he suffers or countenances them. By the same law he orders the latter, whether discovered in his own palace, or in that of *Julian*, to be put to the rack, if they deny the charge, and specifies the various kinds of tortures, which he will have them to undergo, without any regard to their rank or quality^z. Authors think, that, by this law, the emperor meant to drive these impostors from the court of *Julian*, who was suspected of privately favouring them, and giving credit to their predictions^a.

A law
against
magicians,
augurs, &c.

THE following year, 359, the two brothers, *Eusebius* and *Hypatius*, were consuls, being raised to that dignity by the empress *Eusebia* their sister^b. *Ammianus* begins his history of this year with the exploits of *Julian* in *Gaul*, where he was busied in erecting magazines, in visiting the cities which had suffered most by the inroads of the barbarians, and giving proper orders for the rebuilding of their walls, and repair-

^r AMMIAN. p. 97. ^t GREG. Nyss. p. 75. ^u MARC. chron. p. 66. ^v LIBAN. orat. viii. p. 203. ^w AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 219. ^x SOZ. l. iv. c. 16. p. 559. ^y PHILOST. l. iv. c. 10. p. 70. ^z Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 16. leg. 6. p. 124, 125. ^a Vide BARON. ad ann. 358. ^b AMMIAN. l. xviii. p. 113.

Julian obliges several German nations to sue for peace.

Barbatio and several others executed.

The treachery of the Limigantes.

ing their fortifications. After this he assembled all his forces at *Mentz*, and passing the *Rhine* on a bridge of boats, entered *Germany*, and advanced as far as a place or country called *Pallas*, where the territories of the *Alemans* and *Burgundians* ended, pillaging and laying waste their country far and wide. There he was met by two kings, *Macrianus* and *Hariobaudus*, who were brothers, come in person to submit to *Julian*, who granted them a peace, as he did soon after to three other kings, *Urias*, *Ursicinus*, and *Vestralpus*, upon their promising to deliver up all the prisoners they had taken, and to furnish a certain quantity of corn when required. After this, *Julian* left *Germany*, and, as the season was already far advanced, he put his troops into winter-quarters, and retired himself to *Paris* ^c. To return to *Constantius*: That prince, having intercepted a letter to *Barbatio* from his wife *Affyria*, giving him some hopes of being raised one day to the sovereignty, ordered them both to be executed. Many innocent persons were involved in their ruin, and put to death, as privy to their designs. A tribune, by name *Valentine*, was several times racked in a most inhuman manner; but, as he constantly denied the charge, the emperor, convinced in the end of his innocence, to make him some amends, gave him the command of the troops in *Illyricum* ^d. Before the end of the winter, the emperor received intelligence that the *Limigantes*, quitting the country in which they had been placed by him the preceding year, were advancing towards the borders of the empire. Hereupon, leaving *Sirmium* early in the spring, he hastened to the banks of the *Danube*, to prevent them from crossing that river, and invading *Pannonia*. Upon his arrival he sent deputies to them, desiring to know what had induced them to abandon the country which had been allotted to them. The *Limigantes* answered in appearance with the greatest submission imaginable, that they were willing to live as true subjects of the empire, in what part soever the emperor should think fit to place them; but that the country, which they had abandoned, was altogether uninhabitable, as they were ready to demonstrate, if the emperor would give them leave to cross the river, and lay their complaints before him. *Constantius*, pleased with their proposal, granted them their request, and received them in the neighbourhood of *Acumincum*, which most geographers take to be the present town of *Kamenetz* on the *Danube*, near *Peterwaradin*, in the territory of *Sirmium*. But while he was ascending his tribunal, they unex-

^c AMMIAN. l. xviii. p. 113. & l. xx. p. 154. xviii. p. 118.

^d Idem, l.

pectedly fell upon his guards sword in hand, and would have killed the emperor himself, had he not with much-ado saved himself by flight. Several of his guards were slain; but in the mean time the rest of the troops, taking the alarm, flew to arms, surrounded the *Limigantes*, and cut them all to a man in pieces^e. *Constantius* then returned to *Sirmium*, where he was on the twenty-second of *May*, this year the eve of *Pentecost*; but soon after set out from thence for *Constantinople*, for he was on the eighteenth of *June* at *Singidunum*, in *Mæsia*^f. He passed the remaining part of this year at *Constantinople*, ready to march, upon the first advice, against the *Persians*. During his stay in that metropolis, he distinguished it with a prefect or governor; an honour till this time peculiar to *Rome*. The first prefect of *Constantinople* was one *Honoratus*, invested with that dignity on the eleventh of *December*, according to *Idatius*, or of *September*, as we read in the chronicle of *Alexandria*. He had before been prefect of *Gaul*^g. This year the emperor dispatched into the east the secretary *Paulus Catena*, famous for his cruelty, to prosecute several persons accused of having consulted the oracle of an idol named *Besa* in the city of *Abydos*, on the most distant borders of *Egypt*. *Modestus*, then count of the east, and afterwards prefect, was appointed to judge the criminals, *Hermogenes*, who had succeeded *Musonianus* in the office of prefect, being thought unfit for that commission, on account of his mild and compassionate temper. *Modestus* established his tribunal at *Scythopolis* in *Palestine*, whither persons of both sexes, and of every rank and condition, were daily dragged in crowds from all parts, and either confined to dungeons, or torn to pieces in a most cruel and barbarous manner on the rack, or publicly executed. *Ammianus* gives us a most frightful idea of this, as we may call it, inquisition; but at the same time owns, that several persons were cleared, and others punished with far less severity than was expected^h. *Parnasus*, who had been governor of *Egypt*, was condemned to lose his head, for having consulted an astrologer, by means of one *Aristophanes*; but *Modestus* softened the rigour of that sentence, and only sent him into banishment; as he did *Simplicius* the son of *Philippus*, who had been prefect, and consul in 348, though accused of aspiring at the empire. The latter was only banished from his own country; nor would *Modestus* suffer him to be racked, though he had positive orders for it

They are
all cut off.

Several
persons con-
demned for
consulting
an oracle.

^e Idem ibid. ^f Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 59. ^g Idem ibid. SOCRAT. l. ii. c. 37. p. 139. SOZ. l. iv. c. 23. Chron. Alex. p. 682. ^h AMMIAN. l. xix. p. 150, 151.

from the emperor. As for *Aristophanes*, he was, by the order of *Paulus*, whom he had provoked with his freedom of speech, beaten with balls of lead fastened to cords, till he was ready to expire; when *Modestus*, pitying him, ordered the executioner to forbear, and sent *Aristophanes* into banishment. *Demetrius*, surnamed *Cythras*, a philosopher, stricken in years, being convicted of having sacrificed to the idols, was tortured with great cruelty for many hours; but afterwards suffered by *Modestus* to return to *Alexandria* his native city. *Parnasus* and the rest, excepting *Aristophanes*, who had been banished on this occasion, were recalled three years after, and pardoned¹.

The Persians begin hostilities.

IN the mean while, *Sapor*, king of *Persia*, was encouraged and pressed to begin hostilities by an officer of *Constantius*, named *Antoninus*, who, finding his affairs ruined at home, had fled to the court of *Persia*, hoping to make his fortune there, and brought with him an exact account of the state of the empire and all its forces. At the same time, *Eusebius* the eunuch, who had been long contriving the ruin of *Ursicinus*, as the only person who was independent of him and scorned his support, persuaded the emperor to remove him, as a person not to be trusted, from the command of the troops in the east, and to appoint in his room *Sabinianus*, a decrepit old man, possessed of immense wealth, but every way unfit for that employment. This change was no sooner known at the *Persian* court, than *Antoninus*, who was well acquainted with the character of *Sabinianus*, pressed *Sapor* anew to begin the war without delay, advising him to march strait to the *Euphrates*, without losing time in besieging towns, to cross that river, and enter *Syria*, which he might easily reduce, while defended by so unfit a commander. The *Persian*, approving the scheme, began to assemble his troops from all quarters, in order to put it in execution. This alarmed *Constantius*, who immediately ordered *Ursicinus*, to hasten back into *Syria*, with the character of general of the foot, in the room of *Barbatio* lately beheaded; but without any authority, or even troops under his command. This too was a malicious contrivance of *Eusebius* and the other eunuchs, that, if the mighty designs of the *Persians* were defeated, *Sabinianus* might have the honour of it; but, if they were attended with success, *Ursicinus* might bear the whole blame. That brave commander had no sooner reached *Syria*, than he was informed, that the enemy's van-guard had already passed the *Tigris*. Upon this intelligence he hastened into *Mesopotamia*, to give the necessary

Ursicinus enters Mesopotamia.

¹ Idem, p. 152.

orders there, in case the enemy should attack the city of *Nisibis*. From *Nisibis* he flew to *Amida*, another city in the same country ; and, though he travelled in the night-time, he narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands, whose parties were spread all over the country. From *Amida* he sent *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the historian, to reconnoitre the enemy, who, upon his return, informed him, that to him they seemed at least an hundred thousand strong ; that they had already passed *Niniveh* in the province of *Adiabene*, and were arrived at the bridge of the *Anzabas*, a river in *Assyria*. Here-upon *Urfcinus* dispatched orders to *Cassianus*, duke of *Mesopotamia*, and to *Euphronius*, governor of the province, to warn the inhabitants to withdraw with their effects into places of safety ; to abandon *Carrhæ*, which was an open city ; and to set fire to the forage, and likewise to the corn, though already ripe, that the enemy might find no subsistence, either for themselves or their horses, between the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*. At the same time he took care to fortify the banks of the *Euphrates* with forts and palisades, supplying the former with warlike engines of all kinds. These wise precautions having obliged *Sapor* to lay aside his design of marching strait to the *Euphrates*, he turned to the left, and took his rout, pursuant to the advice of *Antoninus*, by the foot of the mountains which part *Mesopotamia* from *Armenia*, not doubting but he should find there plenty of forage, and the *Euphrates* fordable nearer its head. *Urfcinus*, apprised of his design, immediately left *Amida*, to give the necessary orders on that side likewise ; but being surrounded by one of the enemy's parties, he narrowly escaped falling into their hands. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the historian, was pursued as far as *Amida* ; which place was invested a few days after by *Sapor's* whole army, in which served several princes of different nations, and among the rest the king of *Albania*, and *Grumbates*, king of the *Chionitæ*, a prince renowned for his valour and conquests. The *Persian* took on his march to *Amida* two Roman forts, *Reman* and *Busan*, the soldiers, who garisoned them, opening the gates to him upon the first summons, though they were both places of great strength, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring country had retired to them with all their effects. In both the forts *Sapor* found some virgins, consecrated, to use the expression of *Ammianus*, to the worship of God, according to the discipline of the christians, and was so far from offering them any injury, that, on the contrary, he enjoined his soldiers not to interrupt or disturb them in their usual exercises of piety, hoping, by that gentle treatment, to remove the prejudice, which his former

Wise precautions
taken by
Urfcinus.

Sapor takes
two Roman
forts.

cruelties

*He lays
siege to
Amida.*

*Which,
after a
long and
vigorous
resistance,
is taken
and razed.*

cruelties had begotten in the minds of the neighbouring people ^k. He appeared before *Amida*, not with a design to besiege the place, but only to sound the disposition of the garrison; and, in case they refused to submit, to pursue his march into *Syria*, agreeable to the plan suggested by *Antoninus*. But the *Romans* having discharged against him, as he approached the walls to shew himself in all his pomp and majesty, a shower of darts, arrows, and javelins, one of which pierced his royal robes, and another laid the son of *Grumbates*, a youth of great expectation, dead at his father's feet, he was so transported with rage, that, laying aside his former scheme, he resolved at all adventures to revenge the affront offered to himself and the death of the young prince, with the utter destruction of the city, and a general massacre of all its inhabitants. The reader will find a particular and distinct account of this memorable siege in *Ammianus*, who was shut up in the town, and an eye-witness of all that passed both within and without the walls. Never was place assaulted with more fury, nor defended with more vigour, resolution, and intrepidity; but in the end most of the garrison being killed, and those who survived quite spent with labour and watching, the walls being in several places levelled with the ground, and the ditches filled up with dead bodies, the *Persians* made a last effort, and entered the town sword in hand, after having lain seventy-five days before it, and lost, during that time, thirty thousand men and upwards. The city was razed, the chief officers crucified, and the rest, with the soldiers and inhabitants, either put to the sword, or carried into captivity, except our historian and two or three more, who, in the dead of the night, escaped through a postern not observed by the enemy. As for *Sapor*, the summer being already far spent, and his army greatly fatigued, he thought it advisable to return to his dominions, having but little to brag of this expedition, which cost him the lives of so many men, and prevented him from pursuing the advantageous designs suggested to him by *Antoninus* ^l. *Sabinianus* was busied, during the whole time of the siege, in exercising his men near *Edeffa* ^m. *Ursicinus* was continually pressing him to take the field, and harass, at least, the enemy, by cutting off their parties, and intercepting their convoys; which he might have easily done, and by that means diverted them from pursuing the siege with so much vigour, and perhaps obliged them to raise it. But *Sabinianus* returned no other answer,

^k Idem, l. xviii. p. 124—132.

^l Idem, p. 144—146.

^m Idem, p. 127.

than

than that his instructions were not to expose the army to any danger. He is supposed to have had likewise private instructions from *Eusebius*, the favourite eunuch, his patron, to give *Ursicinus* no opportunity of performing any thing that might redound to his honour^a. Thus was that great officer obliged to continue inactive, and see, with the utmost regret, one of the strongest cities in the east reduced, and so many brave men fall unrevengeed. *Ammianus*, after his escape from *Amida*, found him at *Miletene* in the *Lesser Armenia*, on his way to *Antioch*, whither he followed him soon after. From *Antioch* *Ursicinus* repaired to court, where he was, to his great surprize, charged with the loss of *Amida*, and all the wrong steps taken during that unhappy campaign. *Arbetio* and *Florentius*, two of *Eusebius*'s creatures, were appointed by the emperor to inquire into his conduct, and examine by whose fault *Amida* was lost. These two judges, however partial and corrupt, could not lay the blame on *Ursicinus*; but on the other hand, not caring, through fear of offending *Eusebius*, to expose *Sabinianus*, ended their enquiries, without clearing, as they were in justice bound to do, the former, or condemning the latter. *Ursicinus*, highly provoked at such proceedings, appealed to the emperor, who, he said, would not fail to punish with due severity the authors, whoever they were, of the late miscarriages. In the transport of his passion, he let drop the following unguarded expression, viz. *That the emperor himself, though he marched into Mesopotamia next spring at the head of his army, would not be able to protect that country, so long as he was thus governed by eunuchs*. This being carried immediately to the emperor, as it generally happens in courts, with malicious aggravations, *Constantius*, without any further inquiry, ordered that brave and loyal officer to retire to his native country, after having divested him of his employment, and given it to one *Agilo*, a *German*, who, in 354, had been *tribunus stabuli*, which answers our master of the horse^o. Thus was this weak and deluded prince induced to deprive himself, and the empire, which lay at stake, at so critical a conjuncture, of the skill, counsels, and experience of the best officer of the age, to gratify the avarice, ambition, and revenge of a wicked courtier, sacrificing to his private ends the public interest, and the welfare and glory both of his prince and country.

*Ursicinus
accused at
court, but
found in-
nocent.*

*He is dis-
graced.*

^a Idem ibid. & l. xix. p. 136.
xiv. p. 24.

^o Idem, p. 144, 145, & l.

The Persi-
ans make
themselves
masters of
several
places in
Mesopo-
tamia.

Constan-
tius
marches
into Meso-
pota-
mia.

THE following year, *Constantius* being consul the tenth time, and *Julian* the third, *Sapor*, entering *Mesopotamia* early in the spring, took by assault *Singara*, a town of considerable strength, and carried both the garison and inhabitants into captivity. Then leaving *Nisibi*, where great part of the Roman army lay encamped, on the left, he took his rout towards *Bezabde*, called also *Phœnicia*, a strong town on the *Tigris*. After several attacks, in which great numbers fell on both sides, the bishop of the place went out to exhort the king to withdraw, and put an end to so destructive a war; but *Sapor*, without returning him any answer, pursued the siege, made himself master of the place, put most of the inhabitants to the sword, and reduced the rest, with the bishop and all his clergy, to slavery. Some suspected the bishop, named, as we are told^p, *Heliodorus*, of secretly favouring the *Persians*; but *Ammianus* clears him of this charge^q. *Sapor* did not demolish *Bezabde*, as he had done *Singara*; but repaired the fortifications, and leaving a garison in it, led his army against *Virta*, or *Birtha*, on the most distant borders of *Mesopotamia*; but not being able to reduce it, after several unsuccessful attacks, he raised the siege, and retired to his own dominions, without engaging in any other enterprize this campaign. While *Sapor* was thus, by degrees, reducing *Mesopotamia*, *Constantius* was still at *Constantinople*, raising new troops, and soliciting the *Goths* and other barbarians to join him. At length he left that metropolis, when the spring was already far advanced, and set out for *Syria*. Upon his arrival at *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, he was met by deputies sent to him by *Julian*, who had been declared emperor at *Paris*, as we shall relate anon. He was thunder-struck with this news, and long in suspense, whether he should march against *Julian* or *Sapor*; but was in the end persuaded to pursue his march into the east. Leaving therefore *Cappadocia*, he advanced to *Miletene* in the *Lesser Armenia*, passed the *Euphrates* at *Samosata* in *Syria*, and arrived at *Edeffa* in *Mesopotamia*, where he was obliged to wait the coming of his troops, and the warlike engines, till after the autumnal equinox, when he pursued his march to *Amida*, which he could not behold, buried, as it was, in its ruins, without shedding many tears. From *Amida* he continued his rout to *Bezabde*, with a design to retake that place; but being in several assaults repulsed by the *Persian* garison, he resolved to reduce it by famine, which he might have done, the *Persian* army being long before dispersed, and, according to custom, returned to their respec-

^p Menæa 9. Apr. p. 76.

^q AMMIAN. l. xx. p. 165.

tive homes, had not the heavy rains and severe weather obliged him to drop the enterprize and retire to *Antioch*, which he did not reach before the end of the year; for, on the seventeenth of *December*, he was at *Hierapolis* in *Euphratesiana* ^r.

WE shall now return to *Julian*, whom we left the preceding year in his quarters at *Paris*, where he was informed in the beginning of the winter, that the *Picts* and *Caledonians*, about this time first distinguished in history by the name of *Scoti* or *Scots*, had broken into the *Roman* province, and committed dreadful ravages there. Upon this intelligence, he sent his lieutenant *Lupicinus*, who had succeeded *Severus* in that post, with some troops into *Britain*. *Lupicinus* set sail from *Boulogne* in the depth of winter, and in a few days reached *London*, where he landed his forces^r. But of this expedition we find no farther account in history: and indeed *Lupicinus*, though he was an officer of great bravery and experience in war, had not time to perform any remarkable exploits, being recalled soon after, as we shall relate anon. In the mean while, *Constantius*, wholly intent upon assembling a mighty army for his intended expedition against the *Persians*, sent *Decentius*, one of his secretaries, into *Gaul*, to bring from thence all the *Batavians*, and other auxiliaries, with three hundred men chosen out of each corps serving under *Julian*, that is, the flower of that prince's army. The emperor's orders were not addressed to *Julian*, to whom he only wrote, warning him not to oppose them; but to his lieutenant *Lupicinus*, and to *Gentius*, or, as others call him, *Sintula*, his *tribunus stabuli*, or master of the horse. Most writers are of opinion, that the emperor took this resolution, rather with a design to weaken *Julian*, than to strengthen himself; for he began to be jealous of that prince's glory, and apprehensive of his power. The common report was, that the emperor was induced to take this step by private letters from *Florentius*, at that time prefect of *Gaul*, and in his heart a great enemy to *Julian* ^{*}. Be that as it will, *Julian* found himself reduced, by the above-mentioned order, to the unhappy dilemma, either of falling a sacrifice to the resentment of the emperor, if he refused to comply with it; or perishing by the arms of barbarians, if he obeyed it, being well apprised that they, unmindful of their promises and treaties, would be tempted to break into *Gaul*, as soon as they saw that province destitute of troops to defend

The Scots
and Picts
break into
the Roman
territories.

The emperor
sends
for part
of Julian's
army.

^r Cod. Theodof. p. 60. AMMIAN. l. xxi. p. 185. & l. xx. p. 170—177. ^r Idem. l. xx. p. 154. ^{*} Idem, p. 157, 158.

Julian
complies
with the
emperor's
orders.

it. In this dangerous situation, he resolved without hesitating a single moment, to obey, but at the same time to abdicate the dignity of *Cæsar*, that he might not be charged with the loss of *Gaul*. He thought himself, however, bound to acquaint *Decentius*, that the auxiliaries raised in *Gaul* and *Germany* had entered into the service, upon condition of their not being obliged to pass the *Alps*; and that the violation of this article, always insisted upon by the people beyond the *Rhine*, might prevent their lifting themselves for the future. But *Decentius* giving no ear to his just remonstrances, he submitted to the emperor's will without reply. As *Lupicinus*, to whom the emperor's orders were addressed, was absent in *Britain*, *Decentius* himself chose all the best men out of each corps, not excepting *Julian's* own guards; which was no sooner done, than *Julian* wrote to their respective commanders, injoining them to quit their winter-quarters, and begin their march without delay. This order threw all *Gaul* into the utmost confusion; nothing was heard but complaints, outcries, and lamentations, as if the barbarians had already entered the province: several libels against *Constantius*, and in commendation of *Julian*, were privately handed about, and dispersed among the soldiery. *Ammianus* mentions one, in which the soldiers complained of their being banished to the most remote parts of the earth, while their wives, children, and relations were carried into captivity by the barbarians. To obviate this complaint, *Julian* ordered them to carry their families with them, supplying them with public carriages for that purpose. When the troops were ready to depart, *Julian* advised *Decentius* not to suffer them to approach *Paris*, where he still was in winter-quarters; but *Decentius*, fearing they might mutiny, if they left *Gaul* without seeing their general, led them thither to take their leave of him, which proved a very injudicious step. *Julian* received them in a most obliging manner, and encouraged them cheerfully to submit to the emperor's commands, who would not fail to reward their valour. But on the other hand, the people conjured them not to abandon a country which they had defended with so much glory; and the soldiers shewed a strong inclination to comply with their request. Hereupon *Julian*, ascending the tribunal, told them, that it was not by any means lawful for them to deliberate about a thing already decided by the emperor; and upon that subject made a long discourse, which the soldiers heard with attention, and withdrew in silence. After this, *Julian* invited the chief officers to dinner, entertaining them with no less tenderness than magnificence,

The soldi-
ers un-
willing to
leave him.

nificence, and desiring them, when they took leave of him, to let him know in what he could be serviceable to them. The officers, greatly concerned to part with so obliging a commander, and to quit their country, returned in the utmost affliction to their quarters¹. However, they continued all quiet till about sun-set, when the soldiers, stirred up, according to *Zosimus* ^u, by libels dispersed under-hand among them by their officers, flew all at once to arms, and hastening to the palace, surrounded it, and with a tumultuous noise proclaimed *Julian* emperor ^w. *Julian* calls all the gods to witness, that he had not the least knowledge of this design, nor the least suspicion of its being on foot, but was withdrawn with his wife when he first heard himself saluted with the title of *Augustus* ^x. *Libanius* too assures us, that the design was not premeditated, but sudden ^y. *Julian*, shewing himself highly dissatisfied with the conduct of the soldiery, ordered all the gates of the palace to be kept shut; insomuch, that the soldiers, eager to see him, were obliged to wait till the next morning. In the mean time, he invoked his gods, intreating them to reveal to him their will by some prodigy; and they commanded him, as we are told, to comply with the desires of the soldiery. *Ammianus* writes, that *Julian* told his friends in confidence, that a spectre appeared to him that very night, representing the genius of the empire, as it was painted in those days, and disappeared, after having uttered these words, *I am come to stay with you, but only for a short time* ^z. *Eunapius* assures us, that before he accepted the sovereignty, he performed certain ceremonies in private with a pagan pontiff, whom he had some time before secretly sent for out of *Greece* ^a; which, in the language of that writer, imports that he had recourse to magic. As soon as day appeared, the soldiery, breaking down the gates of the palace, obliged *Julian* to shew himself, and saluted him anew with the title of *Augustus*, which he continued to reject, reminding them of their duty, and promising to prevail upon the emperor to countermand the orders which had given occasion to their complaints, mutiny, and revolt. But all was to no purpose; nay, the soldiers, well apprised that *Constantius*, notwithstanding all his promises, would in the end treat them as rebels, threatened *Julian* with immediate death, if he per-

They proclaim him emperor.

Julian rejects the title.

¹ Idem p. 169. LIBAN. OR. XII. p. 283. JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 518, 519. ^u ZOS. l. III. p. 710. ^w AMMIAN. l. XI. p. 159. LIB. OR. XII. p. 284. ^x JULIAN. OR. XII. p. 284. ^y LIBAN. OR. X. p. 241. ^z AMMIAN. p. 162. ^a EUNAP. c. 5. p. 76.

But is
forced to
accept of it.

His gene-
rosity.

His speech
to the sol-
diery.

Disagree-
ment a-
mong au-
thors about
the manner
of his pro-
motion.

sisted any longer in declining the honour they intended to confer upon him. To these menaces he yielded, and was thereupon lifted up by the soldiers on shields, and shewn to the multitude, who, with loud acclamations, proclaimed him emperor, while an officer, by name *Maurus*, placed upon his head his golden collar, enriched with precious stones, instead of a diadem. When this ceremony was over, *Julian*, to animate his soldiers, promised them five pieces of gold and a pound weight of silver a man ^b. After this, he shut himself up in the palace, displeased and uneasy at what had happened; which gave occasion to the report of his having been murdered. This alarmed the soldiery, who immediately flew to the palace, where, to their great satisfaction, they found him, not only safe, but clad in the imperial robes ^c. *Libanius* writes, that the eunuch, his chamberlain, had in reality been bribed to murder him ^d; and *Julian* himself, that money had been distributed among the soldiery to debauch them ^e. However that be, the soldiers, imagining he had been in danger, pressed him to put all the friends of *Constantius* to death, who had opposed his promotion; but he resolutely declared, that he would not by any means suffer the least injury to be offered to them; nay, he generously forgave the eunuch, who had attempted to take away his life ^f. Some troops had already begun their march towards the east, but they were no sooner informed of what had passed at *Paris*, than they returned with their leader *Sintula*, and joined the rest. *Julian*, having assembled them all in a neighbouring plain, appeared at their head with all the badges of majesty; and ascending the tribunal, in a very elegant and lively speech commended their valour, put them in mind of the many victories they had gained under his conduct, encouraged them to defend and protect a prince, whom they themselves had raised, and ended with assuring them, that he was determined to rule with justice and moderation, and to prefer such only as were men of merit, without suffering himself to be biassed by the recommendation of any person whatsoever. Such is the account which *Julian* himself, and after him *Libanius*, *Ammianus*, and *Zosimus*, his admirers, or rather adorers, give us of his promotion to the imperial dignity. But on the other hand, the christian writers, namely *Gregory of Nazianzus* ^h, *Philostor-*

^b AMMIAN. p. 160. LIB. OR. V. p. 179. ZOS. p. 711. ZONAR. p. 18. ^c JULIAN. ibid. p. 522. AMMIAN p. 160. ^d LIBAN. OR. XII, p. 285. ^e JULIAN ibid. ^f Idem p. 522. & LIB. p. 285. ^g AMMIAN. l. XX. p. 161, 162. JULIAN. LIBAN. ZOS. ibid. ^h GREG. NAZ. p. 58, 67.

gius^l, Theodoret^k, and Sozomen^l, seem to have thought him privy to the design of the soldiery; nay, Zonaras tells us in plain terms, that, either prompted by ambition, or apprehending in the end the doom of his brother Gallus, he gained under-hand the officers, who by his private directions stirred up the soldiers to threaten him as they did, that, to the eyes of the world, he might seem to have accepted the sovereignty to save his lifeⁿ. The former writers betray, no doubt, a great partiality for Julian, and the latter an equal prejudice against him. We shall therefore, in describing his reign and actions, impartially relate, unbiassed as we are by any favour or prejudice, what we find in writers of both parties, leaving the reader to judge which of them deserves most credit. All authors agree, that Julian was raised to the imperial dignity in the year 360, but as to the day, we are quite at a loss: but as the troops were, at the time of his promotion, still in their winter-quarters, it must have happened in the month of May or April. He had no sooner accepted the imperial title, than Decentius hastened back into the east, whither he was soon followed by the prefect Florentius, who, conscious to himself of his conduct towards Julian, and dreading his resentment, was in such haste to get out of Gaul, that he left his whole family behind him; but Julian not only gave them leave to follow him, but ordered them to be supplied for that purpose with public carriages. Lupicinus, Julian's lieutenant, an officer of great experience, courage, and address, was capable of imbroiling matters; but as he was still in Britain, Julian, by ordering all the vessels on the coast to be stopped, prevented his receiving intelligence of what had passed; so that upon his landing at Boulogne to execute the emperor's orders, addressed to him, as we have related above, he was arrested by an officer sent thither for that purpose, but treated by Julian with the utmost humanity and good-natureⁿ. And now Julian well apprised that the emperor would be alarmed and highly provoked at what had happened, in order to appease his wrath, and allay his fears, wrote an obliging letter to him, which he sent by two of his chief officers, Pentadius and Eutherius. In the letter he acquainted him with what had happened, begged he would suffer him to enjoy the title which he had been forced to accept, promised to obey him, even in that station, with the same

Decentius
and Flo-
rentius re-
tire from
Gaul.

Lupicinus
arrested,
but treated
with hu-
manity.

Julian
sends depu-
ties, and
writes to
the empe-
ror.

^l PHILOSTORC. l. vi. c. 5. p. 84.
28. p. 636.

^k THEODOR. l. ii. c.

^l SOZOMEN. p. 18.

ⁿ ZONAR. p. 18.

ⁿ AMMIAN. p. 171. JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 515.

readiness and alacrity as if he were a private person, offered to send him some troops, and even to leave him the nomination of the prefect; but at the same time he reserved to himself the creating of other officers; and remonstrated with the greatest submission, that *Gaul* was so far from being able to spare any of its natives, that, on the contrary, it stood in need of assistance from other provinces. *Julian* not only wrote himself, but persuaded the whole army to write to the emperor, earnestly intreating him to confirm what they had done, and to agree with *Julian*; who had obliged them to take an oath not to raise any disturbances, if *Constantius* suffered him to continue in *Gaul* with the title of *Augustus*°. *Julian*, in his letter, contented himself with the title of *Cæsar*^p; and he himself assures us, that, in writing to the emperor, he never assumed any other^q. But to this public letter, as we may style it, he added a private one, highly injurious and abusive, as we read in *Ammianus*, who tells us, that though it had been communicated to him, yet he should have thought it indecent and unbecoming to insert it in his history^r. The deputies from *Julian* met the emperor at *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, who, upon his first reading the letter, was so transported with rage, that he drove them from his presence, and was some time in suspense, as we have said, whether he should proceed in his expedition against the *Persians*, or turn his arms against his new rival; but upon mature deliberation, cooler counsels prevailed, and *Constantius*, dismissing the deputies without any answer, dispatched *Leonas*, his questor, into *Gaul*, with a letter to *Julian*, acquainting him, that he could not by any means approve of his usurpation, and exhorting him as he tendered his own safety, and that of his friends, to be satisfied with the title of *Cæsar*, which he still allowed him to enjoy; but disapproved and annulled whatever else had been done. *Leonas* soon reached *Paris*, where he was kindly received by *Julian*, to whom he delivered the emperor's letter the day after his arrival. *Julian* received it sitting on his tribunal, in the presence of the soldiery and people, whom he had assembled for that purpose, and caused it to be read aloud. When he understood, that the emperor would not by any means allow him the title of *Augustus*, addressing himself to *Leonas*, he told him, that he was willing to lay down that title, provided the soldiery consented to it; but otherwise could not, without betraying

Constantius refuses to acknowledge him emperor.

Julian's conduct on this occasion.

° AMMIAN. l. xx. p. 167. JULIAN. p. 518. ZONAR. p. 18.
^p ZONAR. *ibid.* ^q JULIAN. *ibid.* p. 523. ^r AMMIAN. *ibid.* p. 169.

them, and exposing them to the resentment of *Constantius*. He had scarce uttered these words, when the whole assembly confirmed to him with repeated acclamations the title they had given him, declaring that they were determined to stand by him to the last drop of their blood. *Julian* wrote to the emperor by *Leonas*, acquainting him with the disposition of the people and soldiery, and telling him, that he could not prevail upon himself to abandon them to his resentment. Several messages and embassies passed between *Constantius* and *Julian*; the former insisting upon his abdicating the sovereignty, and the latter declining, under various pretences, to relinquish the authority with which he had been invested by the soldiery and people, but at the same time assuring the emperor of his good intentions and zeal for his service^f.

IN the mean time, the emperor being wholly taken up with the *Persian* war in the east, *Julian*, to keep his army in action, and maintain the reputation he had acquired, passed the *Rhine* at *Tricesima*, which some take to be *Cleves*, others *Kellen*, in that neighbourhood; and falling suddenly upon the *Athuarii*, the inhabitants of the present countries of *Julian o-Cleves* and *Munster*, who had made frequent inroads into *Gaul*, laid waste their territory, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to submit to such laws as he thought fit to impose upon them. In this expedition he spent three months, and then repassing the *Rhine*, he visited all the forts on that river as far as *Basle*, recovered some places that were still held by the enemy, fortified them, and, as the year was already far spent, retired by the way of *Besancon*, which he describes in a letter^g, to *Vienna*, where he took up his winter-quarters. About this time died his wife *Helena*, the sister of *Constantius*, and her body was sent to *Rome*, to be there interred near that of her sister *Constantina*^h. She is styled on most of her medals *Flavia Julia Helena*, and on some bears the title of *Augusta*^w, which we suppose her to have taken after the promotion of her husband. This year, on *Monday* the twenty-eighth of *August*, happened a great eclipse of the sun, which began at half an hour past four in the morning, and lasted above two hours^x. *Ammianus* takes notice of it in his history^y.

His wife
Helena
dies.

^f Idem, p. 170. LIB. OR. XII. p. 286. ZON. p. 19. ^g JULIAN. epist. xxxviii. p. 180. ^h AMMIAN. l. xx. p. 172, & l. xxi. p. 178. ^w Byzan. famil. p. 41. ^x PETAV. doctr. temp. l. xi. c. 45. p. 373. ^y AMMIAN. l. 20. p. 155.

Julian's
hypocrisy.

He reduces
the Ale-
mans.

THE next consuls were *Flavius Taurus*, prefect of *Italy*, who had presided the year before at the famous council of *Rimini*, and *Florentius*, prefect of *Gaul*, who had fled from that province upon the promotion of *Julian*. This year *Julian*, finding *Constantius* would not hearken to any terms, began to prepare for war, being incited to it also by his magicians, who assured him of success, and encouraged by several dreams, in one of which he is said to have known, that *Constantius* was near his end, nay, that he was to die about the month of *November*². He still made an outward profession of the christian religion, says *Ammianus*³, to gain the christians to his party, though he had long since renounced that in his heart, and embraced the religion of the antient *Romans*; nay, the better to impose on them, on the feast of the *Epiphany*, which was celebrated with extraordinary solemnity in the church, he publicly assisted at divine service, and offered up with the rest his solemn prayers⁴; which expression of *Ammianus* some understand of his receiving the eucharist. *Zonaras* writes, that this happened on the feast of our Saviour's nativity, which was then celebrated by the *Greeks* on the sixth of *January*; and adds, that *Julian* by this hypocrisy hoped to secure the soldiers to his party, who were for the most part christians⁵. When he had made the necessary preparations for war, and was ready to march into *Italy*, and thence into the east, against *Constantius*, if he persisted in refusing him the title of emperor, advice was brought him, that the *Alemans*, and among the rest the subjects of *Vadomarius*, whose country lay near *Basle*, had broken into *Gaul*, on the side of *Rhaetia*, and committed dreadful ravages there. *Vadomarius* pretended to have the greatest respect imaginable for *Julian*, and to be much concerned for the hostilities committed by his countrymen; but, in the mean time, *Julian*, having intercepted a letter from him to *Constantius*, filled with bitter invectives against himself, found means to have him arrested at a banquet, and banished him into *Spain*⁶. He had already sent *Libano*, one of his commanders, with a strong detachment against the *Alemans*; but he being killed, and his men put to the rout near *Sanctio*, now *Seckingen*, in the neighbourhood of *Basle*, *Julian* advanced in person against them, passed the *Rhine*, and coming upon them unexpectedly, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to

² LIBAN. OR. xii. p. 286. AMMIAN. ibid. p. 179. ³ AMMIAN. l. xxi. p. 180. ⁴ Idem, p. 181. ⁵ ZONAR. p. 19. ⁶ AMMIAN. ibid.

restore the booty they had taken, and sue for peace; which *And grants* he granted them upon his own terms^e. *Libanius* assures us, *them a* that *Constantius* had, by letters and large sums, transmitted *peace.* to the heads of the *German* nations, stirred them up, and encouraged them to invade *Gaul*, in order to divert *Julian* from forming other schemes^f. This, says *Ammian*, was the common report^g, and *Julian* pretended to have in his custody the very letters, and to shew both them and others, which the emperor was supposed to have written to the barbarians in the time of *Magnentius*, animating them to invade *Gaul*^h; which greatly estranged from him the minds of the people. However, *Ammianus* does not take upon him to affirm it, but only says, that it was a flying reportⁱ. In the mean time, *Constantius*, having ordered magazines to be formed at *Briangon* in *Dauphiny*, at *Bregentz* on the lake of *Constance*, and at several other places on the *Alps*, *Julian* concluded from thence, that he was bent upon war; and resolving to be before-hand with him, he threw off the mask, and obliged his soldiers to take an oath of allegiance to him, which they all *He obliges* did very readily, except *Nebrius*, who had succeeded *Flo-* his soldiers *rentius* in the prefecture of *Gaul*. That officer frankly de- to take an *clared*, that he would not, upon any consideration whatsoever, oath of al- *take* an oath, which obliged him to draw his sword against his *legiance to* lawful sovereign. Upon this, *Julian* suffered him to retire himself. unmolested into *Hetruria*^u. The loyal, generous, and disinterested conduct of this officer deserved a better name than that of effeminacy, with which *Libanius* has been pleased to stigmatize it^w. In his room, *Julian* appointed one *Germanicus* to discharge the functions of the prefect. As his thus obliging the soldiers to take an oath of allegiance to himself was openly revolting from *Constantius*, he wrote to several *He writes* cities, and amongst the rest to *Athens*, *Lacedæmon*, and *Corinth*, to several *cities.* acquainting them with the motives that had prompted him to take that step, being well apprised, says *Libanius*, that good princes are willing to submit their actions to the judgment of the whole world, whereas tyrants dread the least scrutiny^x. Of all these letters, or rather apologies, only that has reached our times which he wrote to the *Athenians*, and a few lines of a letter which he wrote to the inhabitants of *Corinth*, when he was already master of great part of the empire. In these he pretends to have been animated by his gods to make war

^e Idem ibid.^f LIBAN. or. v. p. 180.^g AMMIAN. ibid.^h JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 524.ⁱ AMMIAN. ibid.^u Idem

p. 183.

^w LIBAN. p. 287.^x LIBAN. or. xiii p. 288.

He sets out
on his
march.

Makes
himself
master of
Illyricum;

upon *Constantius*, and by them assured of success ¹. And now *Julian*, finding he could depend upon the fidelity of his army, and resolved to pursue his designs with vigour, sent part of his forces into *Pannonia* under the conduct of *Nevita*, *Jovinus*, and *Jovius*, ordering them to take different routs, that they might seem the more numerous, and strike the greater terror into the enemy, while he, leaving *Basle*, marched through woods and by-ways into *Illyricum*. *Nevita*, *Jovinus*, and *Jovius*, had with them about twenty-thousand men, but *Julian* himself only three thousand. They were all to meet at *Sirmium*, the place of the general rendezvous. Upon the first news of *Julian*'s march, *Taurus*, prefect of *Italy*, and *Florentius*, whom *Constantius* had lately appointed prefect of *Illyricum*, abandoning their provinces betook themselves to flight, and hastened to the emperor to acquaint him with the motions of *Julian*. As they were both consuls this year, *Julian* ordered them, if *Zosimus* is to be credited ², to be stigmatized in all the public acts with the name of the *run-away consuls*. By their flight, *Julian* became master of *Italy* without striking a blow, and likewise of *Sicily*, whither he sent some troops, with orders to keep themselves in readiness to pass over into *Africa*. The different parties, led by *Julian* and the three above-mentioned commanders, pursued their march with such expedition, that in ten or eleven days time they all arrived in the neighbourhood of *Sirmium*, which *Julian* entered in triumph; *Lucilianus*, who commanded there for *Constantius*, having been surpris'd the night before, and taken prisoner by one of *Julian*'s parties. He staid but two days at *Sirmium*, being eager to make himself master of the important pass of *Sucidava*, dividing *Illyricum* from *Thrace*, which he did without meeting with the least opposition; and having left a strong garison there under the command of *Nevita*, he turned back to *Naissus*, where he seems to have continued, till news was brought him of the death of *Constantius*, assembling troops from all quarters, in order to reinforce his army before he entered *Thrace*. During his stay there, he raised *Aurelius Victor*, the historian, to the government of *Pannonia Secunda*, and wrote to the *Roman* senate a letter filled with bitter invectives against *Constantius*, which was ill received by the people, and is highly disapproved of by *Ammianus* himself ³. While *Julian* lay at *Naissus*, without the least apprehension of an enemy at his back, two of

¹ JULIAN ep. xiii. p. 129. NAZ. or. ix. p. 68. ² Zos. p. 712. ³ AMMIAN. p. 190. LIB. or. xi. p. 254. Zos. p. 712.

Constantine's legions, and a cohort of archers, who had been ordered into *Gaul*, surprised on their march the city of *Aquileia*, and defended it with such vigour and resolution, that *But cannot Julian* could not by any means reduce it: they were com-^{reduce}manded by one *Nigrinus*, who held out till two months after the *Aquileia* emperor's death, and was even then with much-ado prevailed upon to submit to *Julian* ^b.

In the mean time, *Constantius*, being returned from *Mesopotamia* to *Antioch* in the latter end of the preceding year, as we have related above, married in that city, with great so-^{The empe-}lemnity, *Maxima Faustina*, *Eusebia* being dead some time^{ror mar-} before. Of the parentage and qualities of this new empress, ^{ries Fau-}no mention is made by the antients. All we know of her is, that some time after the death of *Constantius* she was delivered of a daughter, named *Flavia Maxima Constantia*, who was afterwards married to the emperor *Gratian* ^c. When the public rejoicings were over, the emperor spent the remaining part of the winter in preparing for his intended expedition against the *Persians*, being resolved to end that war, or at least to secure the empire on that side, before he marched into the west against *Julian*. In the mean time, *Sapor*, having assembled a mighty army, took the field, and advanced to the banks of the *Tigris*, with a design to cross that river, and pursue his march strait to the *Euphrates*. This *Constantius* no sooner unde stood, than he left *Antioch*; and, crossing the *Euphrates*, advanced as far as *Edeffa*, whence he sent part of his army under the command of *Arbetio* and *Agilo*, to the banks of the *Tigris*, with express orders to spare the troops, and not expose them wantonly to dangers. About this time the emperor received certain intelligence, that *Julian* had already made himself master of *Illyricum*, and the important pass separating that country from *Thrace*. He was thunder-struck with this news; but the very next day, an express arrived from his generals on the banks of the *Tigris*, assuring^{The Per-} him, that *Sapor*, frightened by unlucky omens, was marched^{sians retire} back to his own dominions with his whole army. *Constantius*, overjoyed at these tidings, immediately left *Mesopotamia*, and returned to *Antioch*, with a design to march without delay against *Julian*, being encouraged thereunto by his army, who declared with one voice, that they were ready to sacrifice their lives in so good and honourable a cause. In the mean time, he dispatched *Arbetio* with a strong detachment to the streights of *Sucidava*, where *Julian* was assembling his forces in or-

^b AMMIAN. p. 191—195.
Biz. fam. p. 48.

^c Idem l. xxi. p. 185. CANGE

The emperor march-
es against Julian, but
dies at Mopsu-
crene.

der to invade *Thrace*, and followed him in person with the rest of his army about the latter end of the autumn. Upon his arrival at *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, he was seized with a feverish distemper, occasioned chiefly by the uneasiness and perplexity of his mind; but believing he might get the better of it by motion and exercise, he pursued his march to *Mopsucrene*, on the borders of *Cilicia* at the foot of mount *Taurus*, where, by the violence of his distemper, which increased daily, he was obliged to stop. In that place, all remedies proving ineffectual, he died on the third of *November*, being then in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign, reckoning from the time he had been created *Cæsar*, but only the twenty-fifth since the death of his father ^d. It was commonly said, and believed at least by the christians, that *Julian* had, with the promise of a great reward, seduced one of his courtiers, whom they do not name, to administer him poison, of which he died ^e. Be that as it will, *Julian* no sooner received the news of his death, than he left *Illyricum*, and on the eleventh of *December* arrived at *Constantinople*, whither he caused the corpse of the deceased prince to be brought by *Jovian*, afterwards emperor, and ordered it to be interred with the usual solemnity in the church of the apostles ^f. *Julian* himself assisted at the ceremony in his purple robes, but without the other badges of his dignity ^g. *Gregory Nazianzen* writes, that at the point of death *Constantius* betrayed great concern, chiefly for three things; which were, his having murdered his nearest relations, his having raised *Julian* to the dignity of *Cæsar*, and his having persecuted, at the instigation of the *Arians*, the orthodox christians ^h. On the other hand, *Ammianus* tells us, that he was said to have named *Julian* for his successor. We can scarce believe, that he repented his having persecuted the church, though *Gregory Nazianzen*, and, after him, *Theodoret* ⁱ affirm it, since *Athanasius* assures us, that he held the impious tenets of the *Arians* to his last breath, and received baptism a little before he expired at the hands of the bishop *Euzoius*, a most obstinate *Arian* ^k. *Socrates* writes, that he was baptized by *Euzoius* at *Antioch* before he set out for *Cilicia*; and truly *Euzoius* was the *Arian* bishop of that metropolis ^l. But *Philostorgius* tells us,

Is baptized
at the point
of death by
an Arian
bishop.

^d AMMIAN. p. 196. ZON. p. 19. SOCR. l. ii. c. 47. ^e GREG. NAZ. or. iii. p. 68. ^f AMMIAN. l. xxi. p. 205. SOCR. l. iii. c. i. p. 168. Panegy. xi. p. 213. ^g LIBAN. or. xii. p. 289. ^h GREG. NAZ. or. xxi. p. 389. ⁱ THEODOR. l. iii. p. 637. ^k ATH. de syn. p. 907. ^l SOCRAT. l. ii. c. 47. p. 161.

that

that he received baptism at *Mopsucrene*, when he was already at the point of death * ; wherein he is followed by the chronicle of *Alexandria* ^m, which adds, that he sent for *Euzoius* from *Antioch*. As for his character, all the ancients, whether christians, or pagans, paint him as a weak and vain prince : he was intirely governed by the eunuchs of the court, especially by his chamberlain *Eusebius*, over whom, however, he had, says *Ammianus* pleasantly, some small authority ⁿ. He admitted none to his confidence, but such as were skilled in the art of flattery ; whence he had no true friends about him, but such only as, by approving and commending all his measures, studied to gain his favour and raise themselves. He used to ascribe to himself the whole glory of victories gained by his officers, and speak of them as if he had fought in person at the head of the victorious army. The christian writers, both *Arian* and orthodox, complain of his assuming to himself, too much in ecclesiastic matters. Under him employments were not given to the most deserving men, but to such only as were best able to purchase them of the eunuchs, and other favourites ; whence the unhappy people in the provinces were miserably oppressed by their governors, who made it their chief business to repay themselves, at their expence, the sums which they had disbursed, and to heap up money wherewithal to purchase other more profitable employments. He was so jealous of his authority, and of such a timorous and suspicious temper, that, upon the least appearance of a plot, he put numbers of persons to death, frequently confounding the innocent with the guilty, though accused by persons altogether unworthy of credit. By this means the infamous tribe of informers increased under him to such a degree, that no man of fortune, however innocent, was safe ^o. As he had no great genius or capacity himself, he hated all men of letters, and discountenanced every liberal art and science ; whence only freed-men applied themselves to the study of the law, and that of eloquence was intirely neglected : to be a great philosopher was reckoned a crime, *Constantius* looking upon the philosophers as magicians, against whom he enacted, as we have observed, most rigorous laws ^p. However, he founded and endowed a library at *Constantinople*, enriched it with a large collection of choice books, and appointed a person with a handsome salary to take care of it ^q. But among so many bad qualities, he had

His character.

* PHILOST. l. vi. c. 6. p. 85.

^m Chron. Alex. p. 684.

ⁿ AMMIAN. l. xviii. p. 119.

^o AMMIAN. l. xxi. p. 203.

LIBAN. OR. xxviii. p. 591.

^p LIBAN. ibid. EUTROP. l.

xy. p. 44.

^q THEMIST. OR. iii. p. 45.

some

some good ones. In crimes of treason, real or only suspected, he behaved like a tyrant, says *Ammianus*; but in other respects was not a bad prince ^r. He was of very low stature, says the same writer, but enured to all manner of fatigues, and performed the military exercises, especially those of the infantry, with wonderful address ^s. He was satisfied with a frugal diet, slept little, was an utter stranger to luxury, and of such chastity and temperance, as not to be even suspected of those vices which usually reign in courts ^t. He is generally thought to have been the author of the law condemning those to death who were found guilty of crimes against nature ^u. He sometimes performed the meanest duties of a soldier, but at the same time knew how to maintain the grandeur and majesty of his station ^w. He despised all manner of popularity, which *Ammianus* ascribes to a greatness of mind worthy of a prince, but perhaps ironically; for elsewhere he derides his affected gravity, telling us, that he appeared in public like a statue, without moving his head or hands, without spitting or blowing his nose (to these particulars that writer descends), lest he should by such vulgar actions degrade the majesty and grandeur of an emperor ^x. Though he had no genius either for poetry or eloquence, yet he was not quite unacquainted with polite literature ^y; but of this his speeches, which we read in *Ammianus*, are no proof, since they, as we may well imagine, were composed by that historian. *Aurelius Victor* and *Eutropius* commend him for the great respect he always shewed to his father, for his extraordinary modesty, and for rewarding, with uncommon generosity, every service done him ^z. *Themistius* extols his magnificence, and observes, that he enriched all his friends ^a. He finished the walls of *Constantinople*, begun by his father; repaired, at a great expence, many of the buildings there; and embellished the city with fountains, baths, and other stately edifices ^b. His panegyrists speak of him as a prince of great moderation, and inclined to mercy; but *Julian* tells us, that he was an utter stranger to all mercy and compassion, though he was commonly thought to be possessed of both these virtues ^c. Crimes of treason he punished with the utmost severity, says *Libanius* ^d;

^r AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 21, 22. ^s Idem ibid p. 203. ^t Idem ibid. p. 203. & l. xvi. p. 70. THEMIST. or. i. p. 39. VICT. epit.

^u Cod. Theodos. ix. tit. 7. leg. 3. p. 59.

^w AMMIAN. l.

xxi. p. 200.

^x Idem. l. xvi. p. 70.

^y AUR. VICT. p. 87.

^z Idem ibid. & EUTROP. p. 183.

^a THEMIST. or. iv. p. 62.

^b Idem ibid. p. 58.

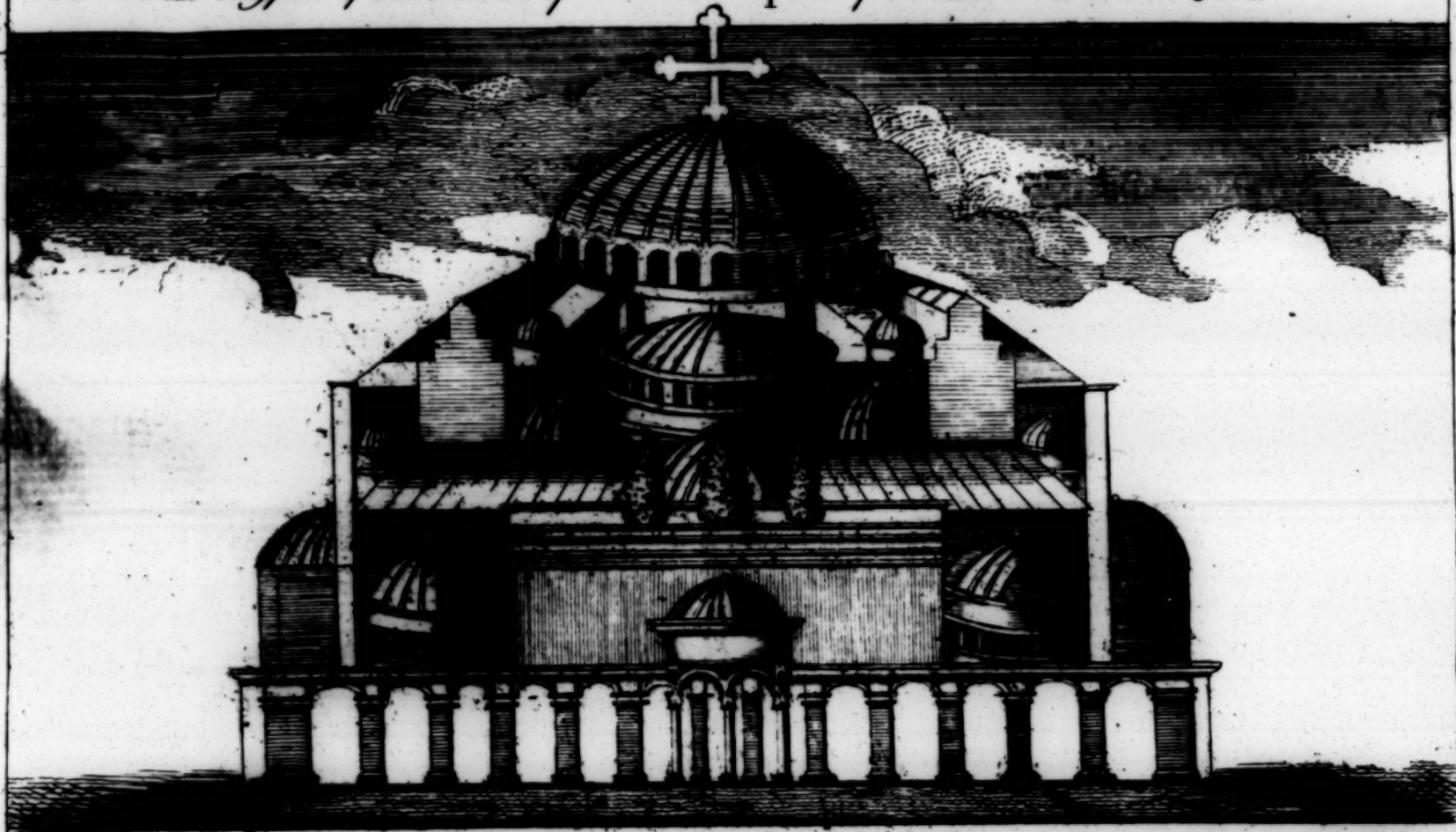
^c JULIAN, epist. 23 p. 141.

^d LIBAN. orat. xiv. p. 399.

The Thracian Bosphorus with Constantinople divided in Wards.



The outside Prospect of the Church of Sancta Sophia from Du Fresnoie Lib. 3 P. 1.



The whole view of the Church of Sancta Sophia from Du Fresnoie Lib. 3 P. 6.



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but bore with great patience, and was ready to forgive, upon the least submission, all other affronts and injuries offered him. To confirm this, he tells us, that the inhabitants of *Edeffa* having pulled down one of his statues, and publicly whipt it, adding, that he who deserved to be thus treated was not fit to govern, the emperor, when informed of the insult, did not betray the least resentment, nor ever shewed the least ill-will to that city, or the authors of such an outrage, which few princes would have suffered to go unpunished ^e. He was a most zealous promoter of the christian religion, and enacted several laws, of which we have taken notice in the history of his reign, for the utter suppression of idolatry. He built a great number of churches, and among the rest the famous cathedral of *Emesa* in *Syria*, and the great church of *Alexandria*, called *Cæsarea*. As for that of *St. Sophia* in *Constantinople*, it was the work of *Constantine*, though commonly ascribed to his son *Constantius* ^f. He not only built, but endowed and enriched, many churches with great revenues, and shewed, on all occasions, an extraordinary respect and esteem for the clergy, especially the bishops, receiving their blessing in an humble posture, entertaining them at his table, exempting them from all manner of imposts and taxes, &c ^g. But these favours he bestowed on those alone who professed the doctrine of *Arius*. As for the orthodox bishops, they were driven from their sees, and either banished, or imprisoned; nay, some of them were, by the authority or connivance of the emperor, put to death. But to give an account of this persecution is not our province, but that of the ecclesiastic writers. Of the authors who flourished under *Constantius*, we shall speak in note (G).

BEFORE

^e Idem ibid. p. 400. ^f SOCRAT. p. 94. CANGE urb. Constantinop. descrip. p. 144, 145. ^g HILAR. contra Constant. or. p. 113, 114.

(G) Among the men of learning who flourished under *Constantius*, *St. Jerom* mentions *Gennadius*, *Petrus*, *Victorinus*, *Minervius*, *Alcimus*, *Delphidius*, and *Donatus* (1). All we know of the two first, is, that they were both celebrated lawyers; that the former lived at *Rome*, and the latter at *Saragosa* in *Spain* (2). Of *Victorinus* we shall speak hereafter. *Tiberius Victor Minervius* taught eloquence at *Constantinople*, at *Rome* about the year 353, and at *Bordeaux*, the place of his nativity (3). He is highly commended

(1) Hier: chron (2) Idem ibid. (3) Idem ibid. & *Ause-
sen. de profess. Burdigal* carm. 1. p. 137.
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BEFORE we proceed to the history of *Julian's* reign, it will not be foreign to our purpose to give the reader a succinct

by *Ausonius*, who is proud of having studied under him (4). *Alethius Minervius*, his son, was likewise professor of eloquence in the same city; but died when he was yet very young (5). *Latinus Alethius Alcimius* was a native of the *Agenois*, or territory of *Agen*, and is by *Ausonius* counted among the professors of *Bordeaux* (6); but he was likewise a pleader, and is commended by *Apollinaris Sidonius* for his knowledge of the law, and his extraordinary skill in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues (7). He published some works, in which he commended the emperor *Julian*, and *Salust*, who was prefect of *Gaul* under that prince (8); but none of them have reached our times. *Ausonius*, who had a great value for him, commends his modesty, the mildness of his temper, his gravity, and the regularity of his life (9). *Atticus Tyro Delphidius*, the son of the orator *Patera*, or *Paterius*, of whom we have spoken in our last note, acquired great reputation by his poems (10). As he was by profession a pleader, he accused of extortion before *Julian* in 358 *Numerius*, governor of *Narbonne Gaul*; but could not make good the charge (11). He embraced the party of a tyrant, hoping by that means to make his fortune; but, without the tears of his father, he had been utterly undone (12). This tyrant can be no other than *Procopius*, who revolted from the emperor *Valens* in 365. Afterwards he taught rhetoric at *Bordeaux* with great reputation (13), but in the reign of *Valentinian*, and not of *Constantius*, if what *Sulpicius Severus* writes be true, viz. that dying about the age of forty, he had not the displeasure of seeing his daughter *Procula* seduced by the *Priscillianists* in 380 and his wife *Eucrocia*, who had embraced the same heresy, beheaded about 384 (14). St. *Jerom* writes, that while he was yet very young, he was famous all over *Gaul* for his compositions both in verse and prose (15). *Ammianus Marcellinus* (16) and *Apollinaris Sidonius* (17) commend his lively and flowing eloquence. Though we might infer from what we have quoted above out of *Sulpicius Severus*, that he was a christian, yet St. *Jerom*, in writing to *Hedibia* descended from him, speaks of him as a pagan (18). *Donatus*, under whom St. *Jerom* studied, taught grammar at *Rome* with great reputation in 354, wrote comments on *Terence* and *Virgil*, and published several

- (4) *Auson. ibid. carm. 6. p. 150.* (5) *Hier. chron. p. 254.*
 (6) *Auson. ibid. carm. 2. p. 141.* (7) *Sidon. l. viii. epist. 11. p. 232.* (8) *Idem ibid.* (9) *Auson. ibid.* (10) *Idem ibid. carm. 5. p. 147.* (11) *Ammian. l. xviii. p. 114.* (12) *Auson. car. 5. p. 148.* (13) *Idem ibid. p. 149.* (14) *Sulp. Sever. l. ii. p. 173, 177. & Prosp. chron.* (15) *Hier. epist. 150. p. 140.*
 (16) *Ammian. ibid.* (17) *Apoll. Sid. l. v. ep. 10. p. 140.*
 (18) *Hier. epist. 150. p. 140.*

grammatical

ci nct account of the birth, parentage, education, and studies of a prince so much spoken of by the ecclesiastic writers. *Birth, education and Julius parentage of Julian.*

grammatical pieces, often quoted by *Cassiodorus*, who judged them more proper for children, than any thing written by other grammarians (19). *Gregory* the great speaks of the rules of *Donatus*, as generally taught at the end of the sixth century (20). Some grammatical pieces, explaining with great clearness the first principles, have reached us, under the name of *Ælius Donatus* (21). There are still extant comments on *Virgil* and *Terence*, which some pretend to be those that *St. Jerom* ascribes to his master *Donatus*; but critics of more penetration are of opinion, that tho' some observations in the comments on *Virgil* seem worthy of *Donatus*, yet the whole is altogether unworthy a man of his parts (22). As for the comments on *Terence*, they are thought to have been written by one *Evanthius*, called by some *Eugraphus*, who died in the first year of *Gratian's* reign, or in 359, under *Constantius*, as we read in the chronicle of *St. Jerom*, who calls him the most learned among the grammarians (23). He taught the *Latin* tongue at *Constantinople*, and, upon his death, *Chrestus* was sent for out of *Africa* to succeed him (24). The life of *Virgil*, ascribed by some to *Donatus*, is, in the opinion of *Vossius*, a very mean performance, done not by *Ælius Donatus*, which he takes to be the name of the grammarian, under whom *St. Jerom* studied, but by one *Tiberius Claudius Donatus* (25). As for the life of *Terentius*, he takes it to have been written by *Suetonius* and not *Donatus* (26). *Nonius Marcellus* another celebrated grammarian, lived, as is supposed, about the time of *Constantius*, and was, as we gather from the title of his work on the propriety of *Latin words*, a native of *Tivoli*, and a *Peripatetic* philosopher (27). He is quoted and commended by *Priscian*; which seems very strange to *Vossius*, who speaks of him with great contempt, and thinks him commendable for no other reason, but because he has conveyed to us several passages out of the antients, which are to be found no-where else (28). The works of *Sex. Pompeius Festus* bear a much better character than those of *Marcellus*. He wrote on the signification of words; but his work, which was only an abridgment of what *Terrius Flaccus* had written on that subject in the time of *Augustus*, was abridged in the time of *Charlemagne* by *Paulus Diaconus*; and to this abridgment is owing the loss of the far greater part of that which was done by *Festus* (29).

(19) *Hier. in Ruf. l. i. c. 4. p. 202. Cassiod. de orthogr. p. 255, 256.* (20) *Greg. moral. p. 62.* (21) *Vide Baillet, gram. c. 622. p. 37, 38.* (22) *Idem, p. 29, 30.* (23) *Hier. chron.* (24) *Idem ibid. & Voss. hist. Lat. p. 743.* (25) *Id. ibid. p. 743. & orat. l. vi. c. 2. p. 432.* (26) *Idem ibid.* (27) *Vide Baillet. c. 620. p. 34. & Salmaf. in not. in Spart. p. 241.* (28) *Voss. ibid.* (29) *Vide Baillet. p. 30, 35.*

Julius Constantius, the brother of *Constantine the Great*, had two wives, viz. *Galla*, by whom he had *Gallus Cæsar*, and other

At what time *Festus* lived, we are no-where told. Some manuscripts have reached our time on *the art of surveying or measuring land*, done by one *Innocentius*, probably the surveyor of that name, who, according to *Ammianus Marcellinus*, was at the court of *Constantius* in 359 (30). To him are likewise ascribed some *remarks on the Roman laws*, which, in our opinion, were rather the work of *Innocentius* the quæstor, who drew up most of the laws of *Constantius*, as *Eunapius* informs us (31), and published several works both in Greek and Latin. The latter was grandfather to *Chrysanthus*, under whom *Eunapius* studied, and consequently was more antient than the surveyor, and superior to him in rank (32). One of *Constantius's* officers, by name *Innocentius*, took holy orders, and, retiring from the court, led a solitary life on the *Mount of olives* (33). *Vindanius Anatolius*, a native of *Berytus*, wrote ten books on *agriculture*, containing many useful rules, blended with some superstitious and heathenish observations (34). Part of that work has reached our time; but the author is there styled *Vindamonius*, and not *Vindanius*. One *Anatolius*, a pagan, and a native of *Berytus*, was prefect of *Illyricum* in 349, and 359 (35), and died in 360 (36). He was perhaps the author of the above mentioned work. One *Andronicus* was concerned in the affair of *Parnasus*, governor of *Egypt*, accused in 359, of having consulted the astrologers, as we related among the other transactions of that year; but *Andronicus* was absolved, and afterwards became famous, especially on account of his poetical compositions (37). *Libanius* speaks of a poet, by name *Andronicus*, who, he says, charmed all *Egypt*, and was still alive in 378 (38). *Themistius*, who was contemporary with *Libanius*, mentions a young *Egyptian*, who had a particular talent for writting tragedies (39); and *Photius* takes notice of several theatrical pieces written by one *Andronicus*, senator of the city of *Hermopolis* in *Egypt*, some of which were inscribed to count *Phæbammon* of *Cynopolis* in the same country (40). Whether all these writers speak of one and the same person, we will not take upon us to determine. *Sextus Aurelius Victor* may be ranked among the writers who flourished under *Constantius*, tho' he died long after him, since, in his reign, he wrote his history of the *Roman emperors*. He is commonly thought to have been a native of *Africa*, and to have been born of poor parents, in some

(30) *Ammian* l. xix. p. 149. (31) *Eunap.* c. 21. p. 144, 145. (32) *Idem* *ibid.* (33) *Pallad. List. Lausiac.* c. 103. p. 1022. (34) *Phot.* c. 163. p. 349. (35) *Eunap.* c. 1. p. 117. (36) *Ammian.* l. xix. p. 166, & l. xxi. p. 185. (37) *Idem.* l. xix. p. 152. (38) *Liban. vit.* p. 158. (39) *Vide* *Ammian.* *ibid.* p. 230. (40) *Phot.* c. 279. p. 1526.

other children, whose names are not known, and *Basilina* descended of an illustrious family, being the daughter of one *Julian*,

village of that country (41). He was, at least when he wrote his history, a pagan, as must evidently appear to all who peruse it. It begins with *Augustus*, and extends to the twenty-third year of *Constantius*; that is, to the end of the year 359, or the beginning of 360 (42); for he speaks of the victories gained by *Julian* in *Gaul*; but takes no notice of his assuming the title of *Augustus*, which he would not have omitted, had his history reached so far. He ascribes all the conquests of that prince to *Constantius*, at that time the object of his flattery (43). In the title, the work is said to extend to the tenth consulship of *Constantius*, and the third of *Julian*, which happened in the year 360. This history is but a very concise abridgment. Another abridgment, done by the same writer, has reached our times, comprehending the lives of illustrious men, mostly *Romans*, from *Procas* to *Julius Cæsar*. This work is, by different writers, ascribed to *Cornelius Nepos*, to *Pliny* the younger, to *Æmilius Probus*, to *Tacitus*, and to *Suetonius*; but *Vossius*, and other able critics, adjudge it to *Aurelius Victor* (44). To these two histories is prefixed a third, on the origin of the *Romans*, which likewise passes under the name of *Sextus Aurelius Victor*, and is thought by *Andreas Scotus* to have really been done by him; but *Vossius* takes it to be the work of some writer, who flourished after his time (45). Another history of the emperors, extending to the reign of *Theodosius*, goes under the name of *Sextus Aurelius Victor*, whom we must distinguish from the author we are now speaking of. *Ammianus* writes, that *Julian*, while he was at *Sirmium* in 361, saw there *Victor* the historiographer, and soon after created him governor of the *Second Pannonia*, and honoured him with a statue of brass (46). The same writer adds, that he was generally esteemed on account of his wisdom, and was afterwards raised to the government of *Rome*. *Vossius* and others take this to be the historian of whom we are now speaking; for he had ended his history the year before, as we have observed above (47). One *Victor* was consul in 369, whom *Onuphrius* supposes to have been the historian mentioned by *Ammianus* (48); but, had it been the same person, *Ammianus* would, in our opinion, have taken notice of his consulship, as well as his government. In an inscription of the time of *Theodosius*, that is, long after the year 369, he is styled governor of *Rome*, but not consul; which title would not have been omitted, had he ever

(41) *Voss. hist. Lat. p. 196.* (42) *Aur. Vict. p. 528. & 517.*
Cajaubon. not. in Spart. p. 119. Voss. ibid. (43) *Aur. Vict.*
p. 486. (44) *Voss. ibid.* (45) *Idem ibid. p. 196.* (46) *Ammian. l. xxi p. 190.*
 (47) *Voss. ibid. p. 196.* (48) *Onuph. p. 298.*

Julian, who was prefect, and the sister of another, who was count of the east. The surname of *Anicius* was common to both,

discharged that office. Besides, it appears from *Themistius* (49), that *Victor*, who was consul in 369, was a commander of great prowess and renown. *Gothofredus* published, in 1628, an *antient description of the world*, as he styles it, done in the time of *Constantine*, and not of *Constantine*, as we read in the text, after that prince had finished the port of *Seleucia*, and after the earthquake which overturned the city of *Duras* (50). The port of *Seleucia* was perfected, according to *St. Jerom*, in 346, and the earthquake happened in 345. The author takes no notice of the earthquake that ruined *Nicomedia* in 358, nor of that which overturned *Berytus* in 348, or rather 349; whence *Gothofredus* conclude, that work to have been done about the year 347. He thinks the author insinuates, that there were then two emperors; and infers from thence, that he wrote after the death of young *Constantine* in 340, and before that of *Constans* in 350 (51). *Gothofredus*, in publishing this work, not only reformed the barbarous and uncouth language of the *Latin* text, and corrected the many faults he found in it, but added to it a *Greek* translation, supposing it to have been written originally in that language (52); which supposition is rejected by *Petavius*, as false and groundless. However that be, the author seems to have been better acquainted with the eastern than the western provinces. He was greatly mistaken in supposing *Rome* and *Hetruria* to have been comprised in what was at that time called *Italy* (53). *Gothofredus* is inclined to believe one *Alypius* of *Antioch*, famous in *Julian's* time, to have been the true author of this work; because that prince commends the geography, which had been sent to him by *Alypius*, the brother of *Cæsarius* (54). But this geography seems only to have been a map, accompanied with some verses. The author gives us a tolerable account of several cities, though, for the most part, blended with many fables; which evidently shew him to have been a pagan, though he acknowledged a God, the author of mankind (55). The beginning of the work bespeaks it imperfect (56); and besides, it is plain, that he had written several things relating to the *Persians*, which have not reached us (57); whence *Gothofredus* concludes this to be only a small part of a much larger work (58). *Vossius* was altogether unacquainted with this writer. None of the authors we have hitherto mentioned were christians; but *Julius Firmicus Maternus*, who flourished at the

(49) *Themist. orat. ix. p. 121.* (50) *Gothofred. vetus orb. descrip. p. 13, & 33.* (51) *Idem, p. 13, 14.* (52) *Idem, p. 7.*
 (53) *Idem, p. 33.* (54) *Julian. epist. 30. p. 163. Gothofred. p. 10, 11.* (55) *Idem, p. 9.* (56) *Idem, p. 3.* (57) *Idem, p. 9.* (58) *Idem, p. 3, & 8.*

both, and the *Anician* family was one of the most illustrious in *Rome* ¹. Perhaps *Basolina* was the daughter of *Anicius Julianus*,

¹ AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 31. l. xxv. p. 291. LIB. orat. xii. p. 262.

same time, was not only a christian, but a zealous defender of the religion he professed; for he addressed a work to the two emperors, *Constantius* and *Constans*, animating them to complete the destruction of idolatry. This work is intitled, *the errors and falsehood of profane religions* (59). The author not only exposes the absurd notions of the pagans, but explains, with great elegance and erudition, several articles of the christian faith. He wrote before the year 350, in which *Constans* died, and in or after the year 343, for he speaks of his journey to *Britain*, which happened that year (60). Though the antients seem to have been quite unacquainted with this work, yet no writer, we know of, has ever questioned its being genuine. The author is distinguished, in the title of the work, with the epithet of *clarissimus*, which was peculiar to the senators of *Rome*, and sufficiently confutes the opinion of *Baronius*, who will have him to have been bishop of *Milan* (61). Eight books on judicial astrology were published about the same time by one *Julius Firmicus Maternus*, who was likewise a *Roman* senator, and is therefore by some writers confounded with the above-mentioned author (62); but *Possévinus* maintains them to be two different writers (63): and truly the astrologer is styled, in the title of his work, *Julius Firmicus Maternus junior*; and the work itself is altogether unworthy of a christian. It is addressed to *Maxentius Lollianus*, and was begun in the reign of *Constantine the Great*, but finished in that of his son *Constantius*, about the year 355 (64). With the year 354, the seventeenth of *Constantius's* reign, end two small works, published by *Bucherius* in 1633, with the *pascual cycle of Victorius*. *Bucherius* is of opinion, that they were composed that very year, and by the same author, to whom he ascribes three others contained in the same manuscript (65). The first of these works is a list of the consuls from 205, to 354, with the epacts, bissextile years, and the day of the week with which each year began. There are some mistakes in the epacts; but the rest is done with great exactness (66). The manuscript, which *Bucherius* made use of, was imperfect; but cardinal *Noris* having discovered an entire copy in the emperor's library, containing a list of the consuls, from the two first, *Brutus* and *Collatinus*, to those of the year 354, he pub-

(59) *Firm. Matern. c. 21. Bibl. patr. tom. 4. p. 99.* (60) *Du Pin. tom. 1. p. 578, 579. Possévin. apar. tom. 1. p. 989. Matern. c. 29. p. 107.* (61) *Baron. ad ann. 357.* (62) *Vide Du Pin. p. 577.* (63) *Possévin. p. 988.* (64) *Du Pin. ibid.* (65) *Buch. cycl. p. 245, 247.* (66) *Idem. p. 247—251.*

*lian*us, who was consul in 322, and afterwards governor of *Rome*. She professed the christian religion¹; but seems to have

¹ PALLAD. hist. laus. & vit. Chryf. p. 126.

lished it in 1689, with a learned dissertation on that work, by him greatly esteemed (67). He is of opinion, that it was composed in 354, the year with which it ends (68). The second work published by *Bucherius*, is another list of the consuls and governors of *Rome*, from 254, to 354. From the year 288, to the end, the author not only names the governors, but the day on which each of them entered upon his office (69). The third begins with a short necrology of the bishops of *Rome*, in which are marked, according to the order of the months, the day on which each of them died, and the place where he was buried. It begins with *Lucius*, and ends with *Julius*. In this list *Sixtus II.* and *Marcellus* are omitted; the latter probably by a mistake of the transcriber, confounding him with his predecessor *Marcellinus*; and the former, perhaps, because he is set down in the calendar of martyrs annexed to the necrology, and containing the names of several martyrs, according to the order of the months, and the time of their martyrdom; but they are all of *Rome*, except *St Cyprian*, and the famous martyrs of *Africa*, *Perpetua* and *Felicitas* (70). The fourth work for which we are indebted to *Bucherius*, is another catalogue of the bishops of *Rome*, which ends with *Liberius*, who succeeded *Julius*, the last in the former list. As the election of *Liberius* is marked, and not his death, we may suppose this catalogue to have been written in his time. It is exceeding exact from *Pontianus* to the end; but full of mistakes to his time. *Anicetus*, *Eleutherius*, and *Zephyrinus*, are omitted (71). The fourth work begins with the birth-days of the emperors, or the days of their accession to the empire, according to the order of the months. The last emperor mentioned there is *Constantius*, who is not styled, as the others, *divus*, but *dominus*; a convincing proof, that he was still living (72). This work contains likewise some verses, and a calendar of the sports, and other profane, and even idolatrous, solemnities; but from the author's marking the dominical letters, we may conclude him to have been a christian. The work is inscribed to one *Valentine*, and is said in the title to have been done by *Furius Dionysius Filocalus* (73). The months of *March*, *April*, *May*, and *June*, are wanting in the edition of *Bucherius*; but are to be found in *Petavius's* *uranology*, copied by him from *Herwart* (74). *Du Cange* will have the first author of the *pascual chronicle*, or the *chronicle of Alexandria*, to have ended his work in the year 354, for it is manifest, that this work

(67) *Noris fast. consular.* (68) *Idem*, p. 23. (69) *Buch.* p. 236, 241, 244. (70) *Idem*, p. 288, 269. (71) *Idem*, p. 269—273. (72) *Idem*, p. 276, &c. (73) *Idem*, p. 275. (74) *Petav. uranol.* p. 114.

have been tainted with the doctrine of *Arius*; for she bore great hatred to *Eutropius*, the famous orthodox bishop of *Adrianople* ^k. She was married at *Constantinople*, and died a few months after she was delivered there of *Julian*, her only child ^l. He was born in 331, after the month of *June*; for writing against *Athanasius* at the end of 362, he says, that he was then in the thirty-second year of his age, which was not ended on the twenty-sixth of *June* 363, when he died ^m. He was named *Julian* from his grand-father on the mother's side, and is styled in all antient inscriptions *Julianus Flavius Claudius*. He was of low stature, and a disagreeable aspect, which was besides disfigured with a long beard, as he is represented in most of his medals; but at the same time well-shaped, very nimble, active, and of great address at all sorts of exercises ⁿ. As for his mind, he was endowed by nature with an extraordinary capacity, learned with surprising quickness, and never forgot what he had once known ^o; insomuch that those, whose province it was to instruct him, though persons eminent in every branch of learning, used to complain, that he too soon exhausted their stock of knowledge ^p: hence he is by some writers equalled, and by others preferred, to the greatest men *Greece* ever produced ^q. However, he was far better acquainted with the *Greek* than the *Latin* tongue: in the former he came not short of the best writers; but did not excel, according to *Eunapius* ^r, in the latter. His eloquence was easy and flowing, and accompanied by a graceful delivery ^s. In his answers off-hand he displayed an uncommon penetration, vivacity, and presence of mind, and,

^k *ATHEN.* solit. p. 812. ^l *JUL.* ad *Athen.* p. 502. *AMMIA.* l. xxii. p. 219. ^m *LIB.* orat. xii. p. 262. *JULIAN.* misop. p. 80, 81. & epist. 58. p. 214. ⁿ *AMMIAN.* l. xxii. p. 226. ^o *Idem* ibid. ^p *EUNAP.* c. 5. p. 68. ^q *Idem*, p. 589. & *VICT.* epit. p. 545. ^r *EUNAP.* ibid. ^s *Idem*, ibid.

was done by different writers, the same thing being often repeated, and sometimes related in a quite different manner. In some places the tenets of *Arius* are preached up, and in others condemned (75). As therefore *Holstenius* found a manuscript of this chronicle ending in the year 354, *Du Cange* ascribes it to the first author, and what was afterwards added, to another, who not only continued the work to the time of *Heraclius*, but inserted several things into the part which had been done by the other (76). But the task of examining this point, we are willing to leave to others.

(75) *Chron. pasc. prim.* p. 289—291. (76) *Idem.* ibid.

in the greatest dangers, an undaunted courage and intrepidity^t. But whether the solidity of his judgment was equal to the brightness of his genius, we shall leave the reader to judge from his actions. He was naturally of a mild and sweet temper, had a violent thirst after glory, was greatly attached to his own opinion, which he frequently preferred to the advice of his ablest counsellors, and strangely addicted to satire and raillery^u. He was brought up at *Constantinople* till the death of his uncle *Constantine*, which was followed by the massacre of all his relations, in which were involved among the rest the father and elder brother of *Julian*; but *Julian* himself was spared on account of his infancy, being then but six or seven years old, as was his brother *Gallus*, because he happened to be at that time ill of a fever, and thought past recovery^w. Some authors write, that *Julian* was conveyed away privately by *Marcus* bishop of *Arethusa* in *Syria*, and concealed in a church^x; others, that *Constantius* ordered both him and his brother to be spared^y. *Julian* himself tells us, that the emperor at first ordered him to be murdered with the rest of his relations; but afterwards contented himself with sending him into banishment^z. *Constantius* suffered *Gallus* to enjoy part of his father's estate, and restored to *Julian* the estates both of his mother and grand-mother, which had been confiscated^a. *Julian*, at seven years old, was put under the tuition of an eunuch formerly belonging to his mother, named *Mardonius*, who discharged his trust with great care, inspiring him with an utter aversion to all manner of sports and diversions, and teaching him how to conquer his passions, and get the better of his evil inclinations^b. The emperor afterwards committed the care of his education to *Eusebius* bishop of *Nicomedia*, a leading man among the *Arians*^c, by whom he was brought up, partly at *Nicomedia*, and partly at an estate in *Bithynia*, left him by his grandmother, where he planted with his own hands a vineyard. He took great delight in this place; but nevertheless gave it afterwards to one of his friends^d. At the age of fourteen or fifteen he was, by the emperor's orders, sent with his brother *Gallus*, who had been all this time confined to his estate in *Ionia*, to a castle called *Macella*, in the neighbourhood of *Cæsarea* in *Cappado-*

^t AMMIAN. l. xviii. p. 114. ^u Idem, l. xiv. p. 31. EUNAP. c. 5. p. 68. SOCRAT. l. iii. c. 1. p. 169. ^w JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 497. SOCRAT. l. iii. c. 1. LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 262. ^x GREG. NAZ. orat. iii. p. 9. ^y Idem, ibid. p. 58. ^z JUL. ad Athen. p. 498. ^a Idem ibid. p. 502, 532. ^b JUL. misapog. p. 80, 21. ^c AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 219. ^d JULIAN. epist. 49. p. 199, 200.

cia. There they had a royal palace for their habitation, a handsome allowance, a noble court, and the best masters to instruct them in all the sciences; but at the same time were surrounded by the eunuchs of the court, and kept in a manner prisoners, no one being allowed, as *Julian* complains ^e, to visit them. In this exile or retreat they continued six years; that is, till the fifteenth of *March* 351, when *Gallus* was created *Cæsar*. The emperor's chief care was to appoint them such masters as were capable of inspiring them with sentiments of piety, and instructing them in the duties of the christian religion, which they were taught to practise, by conversing only with persons of religious and exemplary lives. They spent their time, says *Sozomen*, not in profane diversions, but in reading, meditating, visiting the churches and the tombs of the holy martyrs ^f. They were even admitted to the office of readers, and read the holy scriptures in public, appearing no less satisfied with that function, than if they had been discharging the highest office in the state ^g: and truly *Gallus* acted therein with sincerity, he being not only a true, but a most pious, christian; but *Julian* only studied, if *Gregory Nazianzen* is to be credited, to deceive the world with the mask of piety, and conceal his wicked inclinations ^h. Both that writer and *Ammianus Marcellinus* assure us, that he was, from his infancy, inclined to the religion of the antient *Romans*, that is, to idolatry ⁱ; but he himself tells us, that he was a christian till he was twenty ^k; and *Libanius*, that when he came first to *Nicomedia*, which was in 351, or 352, he had an extreme aversion to the *Roman* gods ^l. Be that as it will, the different disposition of the heart, with which the two brothers performed the same actions, was laid open to the eyes of the world, as we are told, by the following miracle, which we cannot omit, but intirely submit to the judgment of the reader. They both undertook to build a church over the tomb of *St. Mamas*, a celebrated martyr of *Cæsarea* in *Capadocia*; but the side that was to be erected by *Julian*, could never be finished; whereas that which *Gallus* had undertaken, was speedily completed. This miraculous event is not only related by *Theodoret* ^m, but by *Gregory Nazianzen*, who assures us, that he learnt it of those who had been eyewitnesses of it ⁿ; and *Sozomen*, who, in relating it, says the

^e JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 499.

SOZOM. l. v. c. 2 p. 593.

^g THEODORET. l. iii. c. 1. p. 637.

^h GREG. NAZ. p. 58.

ⁱ AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 208.

^k JULIAN. epist. 51. p. 210.

^l LIBAN. orat. v. p. 173.

^m THEODOR. p. 637. ⁿ GREG.

NAZ. p. 59 & 61.

same thing, and adds, that many persons were still living, ready to confirm, as eye-witnesses, the truth of what he relates^o. From this retreat *Gallus* was called to court, and created *Cæsar*, in the beginning of the year 351, and soon after the emperor was, with much-ado, prevailed upon to give *Julian* leave to quit *Macella*, and pursue his studies at *Constantinople*, where he saw his brother as he passed through that city on his journey into the east, with the title of *Cæsar*^p. *Libanius* writes, that he met *Gallus* at *Nicomedia*, and obtained leave of the emperor to speak with him^q. At *Constantinople* *Julian* studied oratory, under a sophist of no great eloquence, but chosen by *Constantius* for his preceptor, because he used, in all his declamations, to inveigh against the idolatrous worship of the pagan gods^r. *Socrates* assures us, that this sophist was *Ecebolus*^t, of whom hereafter. *Julian's* conduct at *Constantinople*, his application, and obliging behaviour, soon gained him the affections of the inhabitants of that city, though he appeared in the schools like a private person, and, following the directions of the eunuch *Mardonius*, carefully avoided the least mark of distinction. This no sooner came to the ears of the jealous emperor, than he ordered him to quit *Constantinople*, and retire to *Nicomedia*, or what other place in *Asia* he pleased; but strictly injoining him not to frequent the school of *Libanius*, a pagan sophist of great reputation, who, being driven out of *Constantinople*, had opened a school at *Nicomedia*; which city he was likewise obliged to quit soon after, and retire to *Antioch*, the place of his nativity^u. The sophist too, under whom *Julian* studied at *Constantinople*, prevailed upon him to promise and solemnly swear, that he would never hear the lectures of *Libanius*. *Julian* observed his oath; but, as he had a great esteem for that orator, he privately read his works, and imitated his style with better success than those who had studied under him^v. During his stay at *Nicomedia*, he became acquainted with one *Maximus* of *Ephesus*, a pagan philosopher of great reputation, and much addicted to the study of magic, who, flattering him with the hopes of being one day emperor, inspired him with an aversion to the christian religion, which condemns all magical practices^w. *Libanius*

^o SOZOM. p. 594. ^p AMMIAN. l. 15. p. 34. ^q LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 263. ^r Idem ibid. ^s SOCRAT. l. iii. p. 197. ^t EUNAP. c. 14. p. 132. LIBAN. vit. p. 18. SOCRAT. p. 165. ^u LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 263. SOCRAT. p. 165. EUNAP. c. 14. p. 134. ^v SOCRAT. l. iii. c. 1. p. 165. SOZ. l. v. c. 2. p. 594. LIBAN. orat. v. p. 175.

writes

writes, that the precepts and instructions of a philosopher in *Ionia*, meaning no doubt *Maximus*, made such a deep impression on the mind of *Julian*, that he immediately renounced the christian religion, and embraced that of the *Romans* *. However he was so far from owning his real sentiments, that, on the contrary, he put on the appearance of a sincere and zealous christian, causing his head to be shaved, says *Sozomen*, affecting the dress and manner of a monk, and performing the office of a reader in the principal church of *Nicomedia*, while he at the same time privately adored the heathen deities, and caused himself to be instructed in the abominable mysteries of magic †. *Gallus*, who resided at *Antioch*, hearing somewhat of his brother's inclination to idolatry, endeavoured, by several warm and pious epistles, to confirm him in the true religion, and divert him from the idolatrous worship of the pagan gods ‡. But the sacrilegious curiosity of knowing future events, says *Gregory Nazianzen*, and the desire of reigning, prevailed over all other considerations §. Upon the ruin of his brother *Gallus*, he was very near undergoing the same fate, being unjustly charged with several crimes, and suspected by the emperor of aspiring at the sovereignty, who thereupon ordered him to be arrested, and kept him for seven months surrounded by guards, sometimes in one place, and sometimes in another ¶, but mostly at *Milan*, where the emperor himself resided; for he tells us, that he was kept six months in the great city which was the emperor's abode; and that, during the whole time he was detained there, he was but once admitted to see the emperor, and then by the mediation of the empress *Eusebia*, who prevailed upon her husband to hear him, and encouraged him to defend himself with liberty and freedom; which he did, without either justifying, through fear or complaisance, the emperor's proceedings against his brother, or provoking his vengeance, by complaining of the hard usage he himself had met with. *Constantius* promised him a second audience; which was put off from day to day, under various pretences, by the eunuch *Eusebius*, the emperor's great chamberlain, who began to apprehend, that *Julian* might, by degrees, gain not only the prince's favour, but confidence †. However, *Constantius* being in the end convinced of his innocence, by means of the empress, he was allowed to return to his own country; that

* LIB *ibid.*† SOCRAT. *ibid.* p. 166.

‡ PHILOST.

l. iii. c. 27. p. 59.

LIBAN. *orat.* x. p. 234.

§ GREG NAZ.

orat. iii. p. 86.¶ LIBAN. *orat.* xii. p. 267. JULIAN. *ad**Athen.* p. 501.† Idem *ibid.* p. 503, 504. LIBAN. *ibid.*

is,

is, to his mother's estate in *Ionia* or *Bithynia*^d. But a report being spread, before he set out, that *Africanus* had revolted in *Illyricum*, *Constantius* would not suffer him to return to *Asia*; but, at the request of *Eusebia*, gave him leave to go into *Greece*, which he preferred to all other places, being desirous, as he pretended, to perfect himself in the sciences; but his true design was to confer with the magicians at *Athens*, whom he believed more skilled in that art than those in *Asia*^e. He arrived at *Athens* about the middle of the year 355, and there became acquainted with the two great luminaries of the church, *St Gregory Nazianzen* and *St. Basil*, who were at that time both improving themselves at *Athens* in the study of eloquence, of which they made afterwards so good an use. With the latter *Julian* read and studied, not only the profane authors, but the books of the holy scripture, carefully concealing, through fear of *Constantius*, his real sentiments^f; but he could not, with all his disguises, deceive the former, who, from his wild motions and gestures, which he minutely describes, foresaw, and foretold among his intimate friends, what afterwards happened^g. During his stay at *Athens*, he became familiar with the most zealous advocates for paganism, and the persons best versed in magic, expressing to them, in confidence, his concern for the downfall of paganism, and his desire and intention of restoring it to its former lustre, as soon as it was in his power so to do^h. He had been but a very short time at *Athens*, when he was recalled, to attend the emperor at *Milan*, who, it seems, had already determined with himself to raise him to the dignity of *Cæsar*ⁱ. *Julian* left *Greece* with great regret, resolving not to accept the dignity with which he imagined the emperor designed to invest him, either because he loved a retired life, as *Libanius* would make us believe^k, or rather dreading the fate of his brother, as he himself informs us^l. On his arrival at *Milan*, he lodged in a house without the city, where he was splendidly entertained by the eunuchs of the empress^m. *Constantius* was not then at *Milan*; but he returned soon after to that city, and immediately communicated to his friends his design of raising

^d JULIAN. *ibid.* p. 501. AMMIAN. l. xv. p. 34.

ibid. EUNAP. c. 5. p. 74. THEMIST. p. 479.

207. p. 122.

^e GREG. NAZ. p. 121, 122.

rat. xii. p. 268.

^f JUL. ad Athen. p. 503. AMMIAN. l. xv. p.

47. LIBAN. orat. x. p. 235.

^g LIBAN. *ibid.*

^h JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 505.

ⁱ LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 268. & JULIAN. *ibid.*

^j JULIAN.

^k BASIL. ep.

^l LIBAN. o-

rat. xii. p. 268.

^m JULIAN.

ibid.

Julian, who did all that lay in their power to divert him from it; but *Eusebia*, who favoured *Julian*, prevailed; and the emperor ordered *Julian* to shave his long beard, to quit his philosophical cloak, and appear in the attire of a military man, and the garb of a courtier^a. As he had hitherto led the life of a philosopher, or rather of a monk, his awkwardness in acting a part he had never been accustomed to, afforded for some time no small diversion to the other courtiers^b. The emperor assigned him an apartment in the palace, which he entered with dread and terror, reflecting, that he was to live among those who had shed the blood of his father and brothers, and massacred his whole family. When he found the emperor, in spite of his warm remonstrances, resolved upon his promotion, he earnestly intreated him to appoint such ministers and officers to serve under him, as might supply his want of experience, and to give him in writing directions relating to his whole conduct, that his only business might be to obey^c. *Constantius* encouraged him, and having calmed his fears, gave him leave to wait on the empress, who removed all his apprehensions^d. At length, on the sixth of *November* 355, he was declared *Cæsar* with the usual solemnity, appointed governor of *Gaul*, and a few days after, by the interest of *Eusebia*, married to *Helena*, the empress's sister^e. We have related above^f in what manner he was treated, and how narrowly watched after his promotion. His household was changed, and of his former domestics only four were left with him, viz. two youths, his physician, and his librarian^g. The latter alone was privy to his sentiments touching religion, as he himself informs us^h. He left *Milan* on the first of *December*, as we have observed above^w, and arrived at *Vienne* in *Gaul* about the end of the year. His warlike exploits, already described by us in the reign of *Constantius*, seem to us altogether surprising, when we reflect, that they were performed by one who was yet very young; who had been brought up in the country and among books, and consequently was obliged to learn the first rudiments of war while he was leading the army to battle^x. During his stay in *Gaul*, as soon as he had quitted the field, he betook himself to his studies, especially to that of philosophy, but without neg-

*Julian is
declared
Cæsar.*

*His conduct
in Gaul.*

^a Idem ibid. p. 505, 506.

^b AMMIAN. l. xv. p. 47.

^c JULIAN. ibid. p. 516.

^d Idem ibid. p. 517. & orat. iii. p.

228.

^e AMMIAN. l. xv. p. 49. Chron. Alex. p. 680. SOCR. l.

ii. c. 34. JULIAN. orat. iii. p. 230. ^f See before p. 412, & seq.

^g JULIAN. ibid. p. 526. LIBAN. orat. ix. p. 236.

^h JULIAN.

ibid. p. 509.

^w P. 413.

^x JULIAN. ib. p. 180.

lecting

lecting the other sciences, in which he made a wonderful progress, being, according to *Ammianus*, not only an excellent philosopher, but an eloquent orator, a good poet, well versed in the *Roman* and other historie, thoroughly acquainted with the *Greek* tongue, and pretty well with the *Latin*, in which he expressed himself with great ease ⁷. His two eulogies on *Constantius*, his panegyric on the empress *Eusebia*, and his discourse in commendation of *Sallust*, which have all reached our times, were the fruit of his studies in *Gaul*; for in the first of these compositions he speaks of his promotion to the dignity of *Cæsar*, and tells us in the second, that he had seen the barbarians on the banks of the *Rhine*, and the coasts of the ocean, which must have happened in the campaign of the year 358 ². The panegyric on *Eusebia* was written after that princess had been at *Rome*, in the latter end of the year 356 ³. As *Julian* took great delight in learning, men of letters flocked to him while he was in *Gaul* from all parts, especially from *Greece*, and among the rest the pontiff of *Eleusina*, with whom he practised in private the abominable mysteries of magic, and consulted the *aruspices* and *augurs*; for though he outwardly professed the christian religion he was a heathen in his heart, and sacrificed every morning to *Minerva* in his closet ⁴. He observed great temperance and sobriety in his diet, remembering, says *Ammianus* ⁵, the saying of *Cato* the elder, viz. *That whoever thinks too much of his table, thinks little of virtue*. Having this maxim constantly before his eyes, he would not even suffer his table to be served after the manner prescribed by *Constantius*, who had given him instructions under his own hand, as we have observed above, which were to be the rules of his conduct, and descended even to his diet, but contented himself with the food of the common soldiers ⁶. As he fed sparingly he was satisfied with little sleep, reposing on a skin spread on the ground, and awaking when he pleased, which was constantly about midnight: the rest of the night he spent in writing, reading, and visiting before break-of-day the sentries and guards in their different stations; from this no inclemency of weather ever diverted him ⁷. He never suffered plays to be exhibited but on the first day of the year,

His frugality.

He bates all sports.

⁷ AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 62. ² JULIAN. or. i. p. 82. & or. ii. p. 103. ³ Idem, or. iii. p. 241. ⁴ JULIAN. ep. xxxviii. p. 180. LIBAN. or. x. p. 140. & xii. p. 279. EUNAP. c. 5. p. 76, 77. AMMIAN. l. xxi. p. 180, 181. ⁵ AMMIAN. l. xvi. & xxv. p. 61. & 292. ⁶ Idem, ibid. p. 62. JULIAN. p. 60. LIBAN. or. xii. p. 304. ⁷ AMMIAN. JULIAN. LIB. ibid.

and

and then not for his own diversion (for he hated all sorts of sports, even those of the circus), but to comply with an ancient custom, and to humour the populace^f. No dancers, comedians, players upon instruments, buffoons, &c. were suffered to appear at his court; nay, when he was emperor, he would not suffer the pagan pontiffs to assist at the infamous sports, as he styles them, of the theatre, nor to contract friendship with stage-players, dancers, drivers of chariots, &c. or even enter their houses: however, he allowed them to be present at certain combats, which he names sacred, and at which no women appeared; but as for the combats, in which men entered the lists with wild beasts, he excluded from them both the priests and their children^g. The grave and severe life he led in *Gaul* gained him the esteem and affections of the people there, who looked upon him as a prince sent down to them by heaven, the more because he made it his chief study to ease them of the heavy and insupportable burdens with which they were loaded by the emperor's officers, especially by *Florentius*, prefect of *Gaul*, who, on that account conceived an implacable hatred against him, and did him all the evil offices at court that lay in his power. But *Julian*, preferring the welfare of the people to his own safety, in spite of *Florentius*, lessened the taxes, and reduced them from twenty-five pieces of gold a head to seven, which he found sufficient to defray all the expences of the war^h; whence he was by all the people in *Gaul* looked upon as the restorer of their country, and their common fatherⁱ. In what he undertook in favour of the people, he was greatly assisted by one *Salust*, a native of *Gaul*, in whom he reposed an intire confidence; which raised such jealousy in the other courtiers, that they took great pains to discredit him with the emperor, who was in the end persuaded to remove him, and appoint one *Lucinianus* in his room^k. *Julian*, sensibly affected in seeing himself deprived of the counsels of so trusty a friend, gave vent to his grief in the discourse which he wrote to bid him farewell^l. From that discourse, which is a kind of panegyric on *Salust*, it appears, that *Julian* had communicated to him his most secret thoughts; whence some conclude him to have been a pagan, though a man of great in-

Studies to ease the people.

^f AMMIAN. l. xxv. p. 292. JULIAN. misopog. p. 59, 60.
^g LIB. or. x. p. 240. JULIAN. or. fragment. p. 555. ^h Panegyric. xi. p. 223. AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 58. JULIAN. ep. xvii. p. 133.
ⁱ LIB. or. xii. p. 281. JULIAN. ep. ad Athen. p. 518.
^k LIBAN. ibid. JULIAN. ep. xvii. p. 135. ^l JULIAN. or. viii. p. 444.

He causes
the temples
of the gods
to be open-
ed.

Julian ac-
knowleged
emperor
upon the
death of
Constantius.

tegrity and an unblemished character ^m. The emperor, who was then in *Illyricum*, sent him into *Thrace*; whence he was soon after remanded into *Gaul*, where *Julian* left him in 361, with the character of prefect ⁿ. As *Julian* was universally esteemed and beloved by the people in *Gaul*, no wonder that they readily concurred with the soldiery in bestowing upon him the title of emperor in 360, as we have related above. After his promotion, he continued for some time to profess outwardly the christian religion, and publicly assisted at the holy ceremonies of the church on the feast of the *Epiphany* in 361 ^o, but threw off the mask soon after; for we are told by *Libanius*, that he no sooner saw himself master of *Illyricum*, than he opened the temples of the gods, offered sacrifices according to the antient rites, and exhorted all persons to follow his example, and restore to its former lustre the religion of their ancestors ^p. This happened before the death of *Constantius*, who died on the third of *November* 361, since *Gregory Nazianzen* supposes him to have known, that *Julian* had renounced the true religion ^q; and *Libanius* assures us, that before the emperor's death, the *Greeks*, especially the *Athenians*, declaring for *Julian*, had begun to offer sacrifices as formerly, and practise the ceremonies that had been long neglected, which gave occasion to a sedition raised at *Athens* among the sacred families, as *Libanius* styles them, meaning, no doubt, the families of the pontiffs. The same writer adds, that *Julian* wrote several letters, exhorting them to peace and concord ^r. We have mentioned above, what passed in *Gaul* and *Illyricum*, from the time *Julian* was declared emperor to the death of *Constantius*; and shall therefore, without repeating the same events, resume the thread of our history from that period, generally reckoned the beginning of *Julian's* reign. *Constantius* being dead, the eunuch *Eusebius*, and some others, who dreaded the resentment of *Julian*, and the punishment due to their enormous crimes, were for electing another emperor; but no one falling in with them, *Theolai-phus* and *Aliguldus*, both styled counts, were dispatched to *Julian* with the news of the emperor's death, and to assure him, that all the eastern provinces were ready to obey his commands. The two messengers found him at *Naissus* in *Illyricum*, employed chiefly in superstitious inquiries into the entrails of victims, and sometimes promising himself the best,

^m Idem ibid. p. 449. ⁿ AMMIAN. l. xxi. p. 187. ^o Zos. l. iii. p. 711. Soz. l. v. c. i. p. 590. JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 509. ^p LIB. OR. xii. p. 288. ^q GREG. NAZ. OR. iii. p. 68, 69. ^r LIB. OR. xii. p. 288.

at other times apprehending the worst events. But the death of *Constantius* delivered him from all his doubts and apprehensions, and put him in possession of the empire, without striking a blow^f. We are told, that when he received the news of the emperor's death, he burst into tears, appeared the same day in deep mourning, and betrayed an extraordinary grief and concern amidst the repeated acclamations of the soldiery, saluting him with the title of *Augustus*^g. He immediately issued orders for a general mourning, and commanded all possible honours to be paid to the body of the deceased emperor^h. Soon after the messengers, several horsemen arrived from *Constantinople*, assuring him, that the troops in those parts had unanimously acknowledged him emperor^w. He *He is re-* therefore set out without delay for *Constantinople*; and be- *ceived* ing met by almost all the inhabitants of that metropolis at *Heraclea*, he made his public entry on the eleventh of *De-* *joy at Con-* *stanti-* *nople.* *cember* of this year 361, being attended by the senate in a body, by all the magistrates, and by the nobility in their best apparel, every one testifying with loud shouts of joy the satisfaction they felt in seeing such a promising prince; a prince, who had been born, and some time educated, in their city, who had already performed such wonderful exploits, raised to the empire without the least expence of blood or treasure to the republic^x. He was anew declared emperor by the senate of *Constantinople*; and as soon as that ceremony was over, he caused the obsequies of *Constantius* to be performed with the greatest pomp and solemnity imaginable^y. His next care was to form at *Chalcedon* a court of justice, to inquire into the *He erects a* conduct of the ministers of the deceased emperor, and to hear *court of* the complaints of such as had been injured by them. In this *justice to* court presided *Salustius Secundus*, whom *Julian* had created *inquire in-* prefect of the east, in the room of *Elpidius*, and we must *to the con-* take care not to confound with *Salust*, prefect of *Gaul*, of *duct of the* whom we have spoken above: to distinguish them, we shall call *ministers of* the former *Secundus*, following therein *Ammianus* and other *Constanti-* writers. *Julian* reposed in both an intire confidence; and the prefect of the east, though a pagan, is highly commend- ed, even by the ecclesiastic writers, for his prudence, discre- tion, and compassion towards the christians persecuted by *Julian*, whose conduct towards them he loudly condemned.

^f AMMIAN. l. xxi. p. 200, & l. xxii. p. 204. Zos. l. iii. p. 713.
 LIB. or. xii. p. 289. ^g ZONAR. p. 21. ^h Zos. l. iii.
 p. 713. ^w Idem ibid. ^x AMMIAN. l. xxi. p. 205.
^y SOCR. l. iii. c. 1. p. 164. LIB. or. xii. p. 289. Zos. p.
 713.

With him were joined in commission the two consuls elect, *Mamertinus* and *Nevita*, the former prefect of *Illyricum* and the latter an officer in the army, with *Arbetio*, *Agilo*, and *Jovinus*, of whom the latter had been lately created general of the horse in *Illyricum*, and the two others had served under *Constantius*, in quality of generals. *Arbetio* was universally abhorred on account of his haughty and imperious behaviour, and was said to have occasioned the ruin of several innocent persons under the late reign : whence the conduct of *Julian* seemed to all very strange, in appointing one to judge others, who ought himself to have been arraigned as a criminal ; nay, we are told, that the whole authority was lodged in his hands, and that the others were named only for form-sake ⁷ ; which betrayed in *Julian*, says *Ammianus*, no small want either of judgment or vigour ². Be that as it will, by this court were condemned to be burnt alive the famous *Paulus Catena* and the noted informer *Apedemus*, as the chief authors of all the cruelties committed in the late reign. The eunuch *Eusebius* was likewise condemned and executed. These executions were by all the world applauded as just and equitable ; but the death of *Ursula*, a man of great merit and known integrity, was a stain upon the reputation of *Julian*, whom he had supplied with money unknown to the emperor, when he was sent into *Gaul* with the title of *Cæsar*, but without the necessary appointments to support that dignity. What prompted *Julian* to put him to death, we are no-where told ; but all authors agree, that he deserved no such treatment, especially at his hands ; and therefore charge him with the blackest ingratitude in procuring the death of a person to whom he owed the greatest obligations ². *Julian*, to palliate his ingratitude, cruelty, and injustice, pretended, that *Ursula* had been condemned and executed without his knowledge ; but *Ammianus* himself owns this to be but a lame excuse ³. To atone in some degree for this crying injustice, he ordered great part of the estate of *Ursula*, which had been confiscated, to be restored to his daughter, his only child ^c. *Florentius*, who was this year consul, and had, while prefect of *Gaul*, highly disoblinded *Julian*, as we related above, was likewise sentenced to death ; but he found means to make his escape, and appeared no more ^d : whence we must distinguish him from another of the same name, who was taken

Severa of
them con-
demned and
executed.
Ursula,
and others,
condemned
unjustly.

⁷ AMMIAN, l. xxii. p. 206, 207. ² Idem ibid. ^a LIB.
or. xii. p. 298. AMMIAN. ibid. p. 206, 207. ^b Idem ibid.
^c LIB. or. xii. p. 298. ^d AMMIAN. ibid. p. 206.
and

and beheaded with *Procopius* in 369. Two officers, whom *Julian* had discharged, offered to discover *Florentius*, provided they were restored to their rank ; but *Julian* dismissed them, branding them with the name of informers, and adding, that to persecute an unhappy man, who had been obliged to conceal himself, was an action unworthy of a prince ^c. *Taurus*, *Florentius*'s colleague in the consulship, and prefect of *Italy*, was banished to *Vercellæ*, now *Vercelli*, in *Piedmont*, for no other reason but because he had fled when *Julian* entered *Illyricum* ^d. With the same injustice were banished another *Florentius*, who had been *magister officiorum*, under *Constantius*, *Palladius*, who had discharged the same office in the court of *Gallus*, and many others ^e. *Julian*, not satisfied with having punished some of *Constantius*'s ministers, deprived the rest of their employments, without distinction, though there were among them several persons of unblemished characters, who had disapproved, and even opposed, most of the late measures. As the vast number of officers was become an intolerable burden to the public, he thought himself bound to lessen it ; and accordingly discharged all useless persons about court, preferring the frugality and modesty of a philosopher, says *Ammianus*, to the vain magnificence of a prince ^f. He reduced among the rest the officers called *agentes in rebus*, from ten thousand to seventeen ^g, and discharged thousands of cooks, barbers, and such-like vermin, who devoured the substance of the people, and with their large salaries drained the exchequer ^h. Historians relate of him, that having called for a barber, and one appearing in a dress far above his condition, *Julian* looking upon him, and betraying great surprise, *I called for a barber*, said he, *and not for a governor or a senator* ⁱ. The *curiosi*, whose office it was to inform the emperor of what passed in the different provinces, were all discharged, and that employment intirely suppressed ^m. This great reform of officers and offices enabled him to ease the people of the heavy burdens they groaned under ; which he did, abating throughout the whole empire the fifth part of all taxes and imposts ⁿ. He recalled from banishment all the orthodox bishops, but with a design, as is observed both by the pagan and christian writers, to raise disturbances, and sow dissensions in the church.

*He reforms
the court.*

*He eases the
people by
lessening
the taxes.*

^c Idem, l. xxvi. p. 328. & l. xxii. p. 210.

^d Idem, p. 206.

^e Idem ibid.

^f Idem, p. 213.

^g LIB. or. xii. p. 279.

^h AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 206, 207.

ⁱ Idem, l. xxii. p. 213.

ZON. p. 21.

^m AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 207, 208. LIB. or.

xii. p. 293.

ⁿ JULIAN. misop. p. 102.

Deputies
sent from
several ci-
ties and
nations
to congra-
tulate Ju-
lian.

He invites
to court
philoso-
phers, ma-
gicians,
&c. from
all parts.

THE death of *Constantius* was no sooner known, than deputies were sent from the chief cities of the empire, to present the new prince with crowns of gold, and to congratulate him on his accession to the empire. Their example was followed by several foreign nations, among which, however, we find no mention made of the *Persians*. The deputies of the *Goths* cavalling about the oaths they were to take, *Julian* ordered them to return home, and prepare for war; but contented himself with placing strong garisons in the cities of *Thrace*, and on the banks of the *Danube*°. Before he left *Constantinople*, he wrote to the philosopher *Maximus*, who had first inspired him, as we have observed above, with an aversion to the christian religion, inviting to court both him and another pagan philosopher and magician, named *Chrysanthus*. The latter, deterred by some bad omens, could not prevail upon himself to comply with the invitation; but the former readily obeyed, and was received by the emperor at *Constantinople* with such tokens of friendship and esteem, as to *Ammianus* seemed below the dignity of a prince^p, though highly commended by *Libanius*^q. The philosopher, puffed up with the reception he met with from *Julian*, and the respect paid him by others out of complaisance to the prince, grew so proud and haughty, that it was less difficult to have access to the emperor than to him^r. By him *Julian* was persuaded to write a second letter to *Chrysanthus*; nay, he condescended to write privately with his own hand to the philosopher's wife, hoping by her means to draw him to court. But finding him unalterably fixed in his former resolution, he created him high pontiff of *Lydia*^t; which office he discharged with great moderation. Foreseeing, without the assistance of magic, what might happen, he did not take upon him, as others did, to rebuild the temples of the gods; but carefully avoided disoblighing the christians, or doing them the least injury: hence the re-establishment of idolatry in that province was scarce perceptible^t. The encouragement *Maximus* met with from *Julian*, drew to court from all parts swarms of philosophers, magicians, aruspices, and diviners of all denominations, who were kindly received by the emperor, entertained at a great expence, and raised to honourable employments, though many of them had in the late reign been branded with infamy for their notorious impostures, and condemned ci-

° AMMIAN. ibid. p. 210. LIB. or. 10. p. 245. ^p AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 210. ^q LIB. or. xii. p. 299. ^r EUNAP. c. 5. p. 79. ^t Idem ibid. p. 80, 81. ^t Idem, c. 21. p. 148, 149. ther

ther to languish in prison, or to work in the mines. These were *Julian's* chief favourites; these the persons in whom he most confided ^u. But among them *Maximus* and *Priscus* bore the chief sway, assuming a port and authority ill suiting their profession ^w. *Iamblichus* of *Apamea* was likewise importuned by *Julian* to come to court; but he chose rather to lead a retired life, as did the great *Basil*, rejecting with contempt the tender which *Julian*, who had known him at *Athens*, made him of his friendship ^x. The christian writers add, that *Julian's* court was not only crouded with philosophers and magicians, but with infamous women ^y; a charge not denied by *Ammianus* himself, who owns, that he was not undeservedly traduced and ridiculed for carrying about with him troops of women ^z.

THE next consuls were *Claudius Mamertinus* and *Nevita*, or *Nevitta*, who, on the first day of *January*, when they entered according to custom, upon their office, went, before it was light, to wait on the emperor, fearing, says *Mamertinus* in the panegyric he pronounced on this occasion, he should be beforehand with them ^a. *Julian* no sooner heard they were coming, than he hastened to meet them in the utmost confusion, as if he had been wanting in respect to them; kissed them, received them with the greatest regard imaginable, and would by all means attend them in their chariots, walking before them to the senate mixed with the croud ^b. His conduct on this occasion is greatly commended by some, and no less blamed by others, among the rest by *Ammianus*, who looked upon it as too mean, and below the majesty of a prince ^c. It was a usual thing for emperors to accompany the new consuls on that day, but not on foot, it seems, nor blended with the croud. On the third of *January*, *Mamertinus* exhibited the circensian sports, when a troop of slaves being brought into the circus, in order to be declared free by the consul, according to custom, *Julian*, unacquainted with the prerogatives of the several magistrates, declared them free himself; but being told, that he entrenched upon the jurisdiction of the consuls, he begged pardon, and condemned himself to pay a fine of ten pounds weight of gold ^d. *Ammianus* observes, that *Julian* went frequently to

Julian pays great respect to the consuls.

^u Idem, c. 5. p. 80, 81. AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 225. ^w EUNAP. ibid. ^x BASIL. ep. 206, 207. p. 225, 226. ^y CHRYS. in Gent. p. 676. GREG. NAZ. or. iv. p. 221. ^z AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 227. ^a Panegyr. xi. p. 222. ^b Idem. p. 224. ^c AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 209. ^d Idem ibid. the

He enrich-
es the city
of Con-
stantinople
with many
privileges.
He sets out
for Anti-
och.

the senate, and spoke in all debates ; whereas *Constantius* used to command the senators to attend him in the palace, and to signify to them his will and pleasure, without allowing them to sit down in his presence^e. This year, *Julian* appointed one *Prætextatus* governor of *Achaia*, who is mightily commended both by *Ammianus*^f and *Zosimus*^g ; and *Photius* quotes a discourse of the sophist *Himera* on his proconsulship, which office he still held in 364, and 365, under the emperor *Valentinian*^h. Before he left *Constantinople*, he enriched that metropolis, the place of his nativity, with many privileges, formed a large harbour to shelter the ships from the south wind, built a magnificent porch leading to it, and in another porch a stately library, in which he lodged all his booksⁱ. At length he left *Constantinople* in the month of *May*, and set out for *Antioch* : he passed through *Chalcedon*, and from thence went to *Nicomedia*, the ruins of which city, overturned by an earthquake, he could not behold without shedding many tears ; he ordered considerable sums for the rebuilding of it, and then pursuing his journey by *Nice*, he turned out of his way on the borders of *Galatia*, to visit the famous temple of *Cybele* at *Pessinus*, which he enriched with offerings of a great value. He pronounced a discourse on that pretended deity, which he composed in one night, appointed *Calixenes* priests of the temple, and then continued his rout to *Ancyra*, where he was met by the pagan priests carrying with them their idols. As soon as he arrived at the palace, he ordered considerable sums to be distributed among them, and the next day exhibited public sports^k. As he pursued his march, he was met in most places by crowds of people come to lay their complaints before him : he heard them with patience, and decided their differences with equity, not suffering himself to be prejudiced in favour of those who complained, or against such as had given them occasion to complain^l. As he entered *Cilicia*, he was met by the inhabitants of a small village, one of whom accused another of aspiring at the empire, alledging, that he had ordered himself a purple habit, which was actually making. *Julian* heard the informer with great patience, and then told him, that when the purple habit was done, he might supply, if he pleased, the new prince with purple shoes^m. The emperor, passing through *Cilicia*, arrived at length at *Antioch*, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy

^e Idem. p. 210.^f Idem ibid.^g Zos. l. iv. p. 735.^h PHOT. c. 165. p. 353.ⁱ AMMIAN. p. 224. Zos. p. 713.

THEMIST. or. iv. p. 60.

^k LIB. or. x. p. 258. AMMIAN.

l. xxii. p. 220.

^l AMMIAN. ibid.^m Idem ibid.

imaginable.

imaginable. Soon after his arrival, he went up to the top of mount *Casius* in the neighbourhood of that city, and there offered a solemn sacrifice to *Jupiter*. On his return, *Theodotus*, one of the chief citizens of *Hierapolis*, who, it seems, had formerly done something to disoblige him, threw himself at his feet, intreating him to forgive him. *Julian* did not know him; but without inquiring who he was, or what he had done, embraced him with great tenderness, saying, *In what you have disobligeed me, I know not, nor do I care to know; but be it what it will, you have nothing to fear under a prince, whose greatest ambition is to lessen the number of his enemies, and increase that of his friends* ^a. During his stay at *Antioch*, he employed himself chiefly in hearing and deciding causes; in protecting the innocent, without distinction of christian or pagan, says *Ammianus* ^o; and punishing the guilty, without forgetting his usual lenity and moderation. In the administration of justice, he readily hearkened to those who seemed better acquainted with the laws than himself, advising constantly with them before he gave sentence ^p. But notwithstanding his so much boasted equity and moderation, he sentenced to death *Gaudentius*, one of the late emperors's secretaries, and *Julian* formerly vicar, for no other reason but because they had adhered to *Constantius* with great steadiness and zeal ^q; which a generous prince would have rather thought worthy of reward than punishment. He treated in the same manner the son of *Marcellus*, accused of aspiring at the empire; but contented himself with only banishing *Romanus* and *Vincentius*, two officers of distinction, tho' convicted of the same crime ^r. *Marcellus* had highly disobligeed *Julian*, while he commanded under him in *Gaul*, as we have observed elsewhere. The ecclesiastic writers make long descants on the unheard-of cruelties and innumerable murders committed by *Julian*, during his stay at *Antioch* ^s. *Gregory Nazianzen* represents the *Orontes*, on which stood *Antioch*, choaked up with the dead bodies of such as had by his orders been privately murdered, or thrown into that river in the night-time; and adds, that all the ditches, caves, wells, ponds, &c. in the neighbourhood of that city, were filled with the bodies of the young virgins and children whom he had inhumanly sacrificed, hoping to discover future events in their entrails ^t. These abominable practices and barbarous murders

He administers justice with impartiality.

^a AMMIAN. *ibid.* p. 227.

^o Idem *ibid.* p. 222.

^p Idem

ibid. ^q Idem, *ibid.*

^r Idem *ibid.* p. 222, 223.

^s GREG.

NAZ. or. iii. p. 91. CHRYS. in gent. p. 677.

^t GREG.

NAZ. *ibid.*

The empire
afflicted
with many
calamities.

were kept secret, and carefully concealed, during his lifetime, says *Theodoret* ^u; but after his death many chests were found in the palace, filled with the bones of those he had thus inhumanly sacrificed. It is surprising, that such cruelties should have been known only to the christian writers. Both pagan and christian authors observe, that during the short time *Julian* reigned, the empire was constantly afflicted by some grievous calamity or other: dreadful earthquakes were felt in every province; most of the cities of *Palestine*, *Libya*, *Sicily*, and *Greece*, were overturned ^w. *Libanius* writes, that not one city was left standing in all *Libya*, and but one in *Greece*; that *Nice* was utterly ruined, and *Constantinople* greatly damaged ^x. The temples of *Apollo* at *Rome* and *Daphne* were about the same time consumed by fire. The sea in several places broke in upon the land, and destroyed whole cities with their inhabitants. At *Alexandria*, the sea retiring during an earthquake, returned afterwards with such violence, that it laid under water several towns and villages, and drowned an incredible number of people ^y. To these calamities was added a general drought, which lasted till the winter was far spent, and produced an universal famine: the famine was followed by a dreadful plague, and both continued till the death of *Julian*, carrying off great numbers of men and cattle ^z. The ecclesiastic writers observe, that the famine followed *Julian* from place to place; and that, as he continued longer at *Antioch*, than in any other city, it raged there with most violence. *Julian*, to remedy this evil, fixed the prices of corn, and all other provisions, which increased it beyond measure, the merchants conveying privately their corn to other places. By this means that great and populous metropolis was reduced to such miseries as can hardly be expressed ^a.

THE following year, 363, *Julian* entered upon his fourth consulship, having *Salust*, the prefect of *Gaul*, for his colleague; and on that occasion *Libanius* pronounced the panegyric, which is still extant ^b. *Julian*, on the first of *January*, visited the temple of *Jupiter*, and there performed the heathenish sacrifices, which had been long omitted, for the safety of the empire. As the inhabitants of *Antioch* were mostly christians, and besides highly provoked against *Julian*,

^u THEODOR. l. iii. c. 22. p. 659.

^w AMMIAN. l. xxii.

p. 226. SOZ. l. vi. c. 2. p. 639. CHRYS. & GREG. NAZ. ibid.

^x LIB. or. xii. p. 314.

^y AMMIAN. l. xxiii. p. 240. GREG.

NAZ. p. 112. SOZ. p. 639.

^z AMMIAN. ibid.

^a LIB.

or. iv. p. 152. AMMIAN. p. 233.

^b Lib. vit. p. 43, 44.

& or. x. p. 227.

to whose impiety in worshipping the idols they ascribed the famine and the other calamities, with which the whole empire was afflicted, they published several lampoons, reflecting *Julian* on the defects of his person, and exposing him to ridicule on account of his small stature, his forbidding aspect, his long and rough beard, his port and gestures, which were, it seems, somewhat odd and ridiculous. They styled him butcher, by reason of the many victims he was daily immolating; and raillied him, not without reason, says *Ammianus* ^c, for taking pride in carrying himself the utensils for the sacrifices, and acting rather the part of a priest than an emperor. The strange and fantastical figures, which he caused to be engraved on his coins, were, and not undeservedly, one of the topics of ridicule ^d. *Julian*, highly provoked with the railleries of the people of *Antioch*, and severe satires that were daily published against him, and sung publicly in the streets, wrote an ironical invective against the *Antiochians*, styled *The Antiochian* or *Misopogon*, that is, the beard-bater; in which he represents them intirely addicted to their interest, abandoned to luxury, pomp, and lewdness, great admirers of plays, farces, and all sorts of diversions. And truly, that his reproaches were not groundless, is manifest from the homilies which the famous *Chrysostom* preached a few years after in that city. However, *Ammianus* assures us, that, blinded with passion, he mixed with the truth many things that were quite foreign to it. *Elias* of *Crete*, as quoted by *Gregory Nazianzen*, tells us, that, in composing this piece, *Julian* was assisted by *Libanius* ^e. *Maximus* too had, in all likelihood, a hand in it; for to his censure *Julian* used to submit all his compositions ^f. The *Misopogon* was received by some better, by others, especially the christians, worse, than it deserved: it is a continued satire, not without humour; but in many places flat, low, and insipid. He wrote it seven months after his arrival at *Antioch*, that is, about the latter end of *January* of the present year 363 ^h. Though he had been highly provoked by the severe reflections, and biting railleries, of the *Antiochians*, yet in his *Misopogon* he solemnly declares, that none of them shall on that score lose their lives, be beaten with rods, arrested, or imprisoned; but threatens to withdraw from a city, which thus requited, with the utmost ingratitude, the innumerable favours he had heaped upon it, and the extraordinary care he had taken in relieving

^c AMMIAN. p. 227.^d GREG. NAZ. or. iii. p. 82. JULIAN. p. 87. SOCR. p. 390. CANGE. Byz. Fam. p. 39.^e AMMIAN. p. 226.^f GREG. NAZ. p. 133.^g JULIAN.

ep. xvi. p. 131.

^h JULIAN. misop. p. 66.

He designs the citizens, when in the utmost distress ¹. His design was to *to leave* reside at *Tarsus*, and with this view he wrote to *Memor*, *Antioch* governor of *Cilicia*, one of his intimate friends, injoining *and reside* him to get every thing ready for his reception against his *at Tarsus*, return from the *Persian* war, which he was then bent upon ². *Libanius* tells us, that about the time *Julian* wrote his *Misopogon*, ten soldiers, incensed against him on account of his attempting to re-establish the worship of the gods, conspired to murder him while he was exercising his troops. But the plot being discovered by the conspirators themselves, when they were intoxicated with wine, they were all arrested, and brought before *Julian*, who generously forgave them, though convicted of the crime laid to their charge ³.

He prepares *Julian* had, ever since his accession to the empire, shewed *for the Per-* a strong inclination to make war upon the *Persians*, and *fian war.* try whether he could humble that haughty enemy, who had for many years harrassed the eastern provinces in a most miserable manner, and defeated all the attempts of his predecessor. Being advised, soon after his arrival at *Constantinople*, to fall upon the *Goths*, he answered, that he designed to enter the lists with a more formidable enemy ⁴. Before he left that metropolis, he had appointed his generals, and named the officers and soldiers who were to serve under them. *Victor* was created general of the foot, and *Hormisdas* of the horse. The latter was the elder brother of *Sapor*, king of *Persia*; but having been excluded from the crown, and kept some time under confinement, he found means to make his escape, and took sanctuary in the court of *Constantine* in 323 ⁵. *Julian*, during his stay at *Antioch*, pursued his preparations for the *Persian* war, drawing together his troops from all quarters, erecting magazines, making new levies, and, above all, consulting the oracles, the aruspices, magicians, &c. The oracles of *Delphos*, *Delos*, and *Dodona*, assured him of victory ⁶. But the aruspices, and most of his courtiers and officers, did all that lay in their power to divert him from his intended expedition ⁷. But the deceitful answers of the oracles, the confidence he reposed in the magicians, and the desire of adding the *Persian* monarch to the

¹ Idem, p. 101.

² Idem, p. 102.—106. Soz. l. v. c. 19.

AMMIAN. l. xxiii. p. 239.

³ L. B. or. xii. p. 307. & or. iv.

p. 161.

⁴ AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 224.

⁵ Zos. l. iii. p.

713. ABULF. RAG p. 90.

⁶ THEODOR. l. iii. c. 16. GREG.

NAZ. or. p. 114. PHILOSTORG. l. vii. c. 15. LIBAN. p. 252.

⁷ AMMIAN. l. xxiii. p. 245.

many kings he had already seen humbled at his feet, prevailed over all other considerations¹. The *Persians*, according to *Theodoret*, began hostilities², by making inroads into *Mesopotamia*. But *Libanius* tells us, that the king of *Persia* wrote to *Julian*, offering to conclude a peace with him upon such terms as he should think just and reasonable; but that *Julian*, desirous to revenge the many affronts offered to the *Romans* by that haughty prince, tore the letter, and would hearken to no terms³. *Socrates* speaks of ambassadors sent by *Sapor* with advantageous proposals, but dismissed by *Julian* with this answer; that ere it was long he hoped to treat with their master in person⁴. Several nations sent deputies to *Julian*, offering him their assistance, which he refused, saying, *The Romans are to assist their allies, but stand in no need of their assistance*⁵. He likewise rejected, and in a very disobliging manner, the offers of the *Saracens*, answering them, when they complained of his stopping the pension, which was paid to their nation by other emperors, that *a warlike prince had steel, but no gold*; which they resenting, joined the *Persians*, and continued faithful to them to the last⁶. However, he wrote to *Arshates*, king of *Armenia*, injoining him to keep his troops in readiness to execute the orders he should soon transmit to him. Having made the necessary preparations for so important a war, as soon as the season was fit for action, he dispatched orders to his troops to pass the *Euphrates*, with a design to enter the enemy's country before they had the least notion of his march, placing guards for that purpose on all the roads⁷. Before he left *Antioch*, he appointed one *Alexander*, a cruel and passionate man, governor of that city, saying *the citizens deserve no better*⁸. He set out from *Antioch* on the fifth of *March*, and reached the same day *Litarba*, a village in the territory of *Chalcis*, and about fifteen leagues from *Antioch*. The magistrates of that great city, who had attended him thither, wishing him a happy journey, and a triumphant return, he told them in a great passion, that he would never visit them again, being resolved to winter at *Tarsus*⁹. He had told them before the same thing in the presence of *Libanius*, who thereupon wrote two speeches, the one, addressed to *Julian*,

Will bear-
ken to no
terms.

He diso-
blige the
Saracens,

He sets out
from An-
tioch,

¹ Idem, l. xxii. p. 224.

² THEOD. l. iii. c. 16. p. 654.

³ LIB. OR. x. p. 243—245.

⁴ SOZ. l. iii. p. 192.

⁵ AM-

MIAN. l. xxiii. p. 238.

⁶ Idem, l. xxix. p. 238. & l. xxv. p.

298.

⁷ JULIAN ep. xxvii. p. 160

⁸ AMMIAN. l.

xxiii. p. 156.

⁹ EVAGR. l. vi. ii. p. 452. JULIAN. p. 156:

AMMIAN. p. 239.

The conduct of a christian at Berea.

The route of Julian's army.

in favour of the inhabitants of *Antioch*, and the other to the inhabitants themselves ^a. Of these, the first only has reached our times. From *Litarba*, *Julian*, proceeded to *Berea*, where he halted a day, and pronounced a speech before the council of the place, exhorting them to adore the gods of their ancestors. He writes himself that they all heard him with attention, and commended him; but few followed his advice ^b. At the head of the council was a zealous christian, who had not only disinherited, but turned out of doors, his son, for renouncing the christian religion. As *Julian* drew near *Berea*, the son accosting him, acquainted him with the treatment he had met with from his father, and the motives of his indignation. The emperor, pitying his condition, bid him take courage, and be under no concern: *For I will take upon me*, added he, *to appease your father, and reinstate you in his favour*. Mindful of his promise, the same day, he invited the chief citizens of *Berea*, and, among the rest, both the father and the son, to sup with him. The two latter he placed by him; and in the midst of the banquet, turning to the father, *I do not think it reasonable*, said he, *to use any violence in point of religion. Allow your son to profess a religion different from yours, as I allow you to profess one different from mine, tho' I might easily oblige you to renounce it. What!* replied the father, *are you speaking in favour of an impious wretch abhorred by heaven, who has preferred falshood to truth, and renounced the worship of the true God, to fall down before idols?* *Injuries and invectives*, replied *Julian*, interrupting him, *are foreign to our purpose, and therefore I beg you would forbear them*: then turning to the son, *It is incumbent upon me*, said he, *to take care of you, since your father is deaf to my prayers and intreaties in your behalf*^c. He was better pleased with the inhabitants of *Batne*, the next city he came to; for they had, before his arrival, restored the public worship of the gods. There he offered sacrifices, and having immolated a great number of victims, he pursued the next day his journey to *Hierapolis*, the capital city of the province *Euphratesiana*, which he reached on the ninth of *March*. He was met at a great distance by crouds of people; but as he entered the city, fifty soldiers were killed, and a great many more hurt, by the fall of a porch^d. At *Hierapolis* he lodged in the house of one for whom he had

^a LIB. vit. p. 44. JULIAN. ep. xxvii. p. 156. SOCRAT. l. iii. c. 17. p. 190.

^b JULIAN. ep. xxvii. p. 157.

^c THEOD.

l. iii. c. 17. p. 655, 656.

^d JULIAN. ibid. p. 159. LIBAN.

or. xii. p. 311.

a particular esteem and veneration, because he was the son-in-law of *Sopater*, the disciple of *Iamblichus*, and because neither *Constantius* nor *Gallus*, who had both lodged in his house, had ever been able to prevail upon him to renounce the worship of his idols *c*. From *Hierapolis*, *Julian* wrote to *Libanius*, giving him an account of his journey, and of several things he had done at *Hierapolis* *a*; but takes no notice of the death of the fifty soldiers. He left *Hierapolis* on the thirteenth of *March*; and having passed the *Euphrates*, on a bridge of boats with his army, he came to *Batnæ*, a small city of *Osrhoene*, about ten leagues from *Hierapolis*, and different from the city of the same name in *Syria*. There fifty soldiers more were killed by the fall of a stack of straw *b*. From *Batnæ* he proceeded to *Carrhæ*, where, in the famous *He sacrifici.* temple of the moon, he performed some ceremonies with his *ces to the* magicians, says *Theodoret*, which were not known then, but *moon at* were discovered after his death; ; for that writer tells us, *Carrhæ*. that he ordered the gates of the temple to be shut, sealed them with his own signet, and placed guards round the temple with orders to let no one enter it till his return. But when the news of his death was brought to *Carrhæ*, the gates were opened, continues the same writer, when, to the great surprise of the whole city, a woman was seen hanging by her hair, with her arms stretched out, and her belly open *c*. What *Theodoret* writes is not vouched by any other author; but they all agree, that *Julian* privately sacrificed in the temple of the moon at *Carrhæ*, which ceremony being over, he delivered, as we read in *Ammianus*, a purple robe, to his kinsman *Procopius*, the only person whom he had admitted to the sacrifice, in-joining him to seize on the empire, if news should be brought him of his death *d*. This looks as if the omens had not proved favourable. But on the other hand *Libanius* writes, that the gods revealed to him, that he was not to die till he had humbled the *Persians*; and bestows great encomiums upon him for having chosen to hasten his death, rather than to deprive himself of the glory he was to acquire in this war *e*. While he was at *Carrhæ*, news being brought him, that a party of the enemy's horse had broke into the *Roman* territories, he resolved to leave an army in *Mesopotamia* to guard the frontiers of the empire on that side, while he ad-

c JULIAN. ep. xxvii. p. 159. *a* Idem ibid. p. 160. *b* LIB. or. 12. p. 111. AMMIAN. l. xxiii p. 239. 240. *c* THEODOR. l. iii. c. 21. p. 658, 659. *d* AMMIAN. p. 240. *e* LIB. pro. templ. p. 24.

His con-
duct to-
wards the
king of
Armenia.

The order
of his
march.

vanced on the other into the heart of the *Persian* dominions ^f. This army consisted, according to some ^g, of twenty thousand; according to others, of thirty thousand, chosen troops ^h; and was commanded by *Procopius*, and *Sebastian* a famous *Manichean* who had been governor of *Egypt*, and had persecuted there, with the utmost cruelty, the orthodox christians. These two were to join, if possible, *Arfaces* king of *Armenia*, to lay waste the fruitful plains of *Media*, and meet the emperor in *Assyria*. *Julian* wrote to *Arfaces*, acquainting him with his design, but in the most disobliging terms imaginable, treating him as if he had been the meanest of his slaves, reviling the memory of *Constantius*, to whom that prince had been ever greatly attached, and extolling his own abilities and skill in war. As *Arfaces* professed the christian religion, *Julian*, after having threatened to treat him as a rebel, if he did not, with the utmost punctuality, execute the orders laid upon him, added, *And the God you adore will not be able to screen you from my indignation*. Thus *Sozomen*ⁱ. There were two roads leading from *Carrhæ* to *Persia*, the one to the left by *Nisibis*, and through the province of *Adiabene*; the other to the right, through *Assyria*, along the banks of the *Euphrates*. On both these roads *Julian* had caused magazines to be erected, but chose the latter; and after having, from an eminence, viewed his army, consisting of sixty-three thousand men, he set out on the twenty-fifth of *March* for *Davana* or *Dabana* in *Mesopotamia*, and arrived the next day at *Callinifus* or *Callinicum*, where he stopt the twenty-seventh to celebrate the feast of the mother of the gods. The day following, he proceeded on his march, and encamped that night in the fields near the *Euphrates*; where he was met by his fleet, consisting of seven hundred gallees and four hundred ships of burden, commanded by count *Lucillianus* and the tribune *Constantianus*^k. From *Callinicum* he proceeded to *Cercusum*, called also *Circesium*, situated at the conflux of the *Abora* and the *Euphrates*, and reckoned one of the strongest places in *Mesopotamia*, having been fortified by *Dioclesian*, to prevent the sudden irruptions of the *Persians*, who, in his reign, had even surprised *Antioch*. At this place *Julian* passed the *Abora* with his whole army, and then ordered the bridge to be broken down, that his soldiers might not be tempted to desert, seeing they could not return

^f AMMIAN. l. xxiii. p. 240. ^g Zos. l. iii. p. 714. Soz. l. vi. c. 1. p. 634. ^h AMMIAN. p. 240. ⁱ Soz. l. vi. c. 1. p. 634. ^k AMMIAN. l. xxiii. p. 240. Zos. l. iii. p. 314.

home.

home. From *Cercusium* he advanced to *Zaitha*, where the tomb of the emperor *Gordian* was still to be seen. On the seventh of *April*, a soldier and two horses were struck dead by a flash of lightning; and a lion of an extraordinary size, presenting himself to the army, was dispatched in a moment by the soldiers with a shower of darts. These omens occasioned great disputes between the philosophers and the aruspices, the latter looking upon them as inauspicious, and advising the emperor not to proceed on his intended expedition, and the former refuting their arguments with others more agreeable to *Julian's* temper¹. The emperor, after having passed the *Abora*, which parted the *Roman* and *Persian* dominions, encouraged his men with a proper speech to revenge the many injuries and affronts, which of late years had been offered by the haughty enemy to the *Roman* emperors. When he had ended his speech, he ordered large sums to be distributed among them, a hundred and thirty pieces of silver a man, says *Ammianus*. He then proceeded on his march with the greatest order and precaution imaginable. *Nevitta* led the right wing along the *Euphrates*; *Arintheus* and *Hermisda* were in the left, with some troops of horse; *Julian* himself commanded in the centre, and the rear was brought up by *Dagalaiphus*, *Victor*, and *Secundinus*: a body of fifteen hundred horse was appointed to scour the country for intelligence, and to prevent any surprise. To strike the greater terror into the enemy, he ordered his ranks to be widened; by which means the army took up about ten miles, and appeared at a distance far more numerous than it really was^m. Having passed the *Abora*, he entered *Assyria*, says *Ammianus*; but, according to *Libanius*, he crossed vast deserts before he reached that province, which he found very populous, and abounding with all necessaries of life; but he laid it waste far and near, setting fire to the magazines, and destroying the provisions, which he could not carry with himⁿ. By that means he put it out of his power, which was judged very impolitic, to take the same route on his return. Six or seven days after he had passed the *Abora*, he came to a fort called *Annathan*, which capitulated upon the first summons; whereupon *Julian* preferred the officer who commanded there, by name *Puseus*, to the rank of a tribune. He ever after served the *Romans* with great fidelity, and was in the end created duke of *Egypt*^o. Here was found a *Roman* soldier, who falling sick

He enters
the Persian
dominions.

He lays
waste As-
syria.

¹ AMMIAN. p. 244—246. ^m Idem ibid. Zos. p. 715. LIB. or. xii. p. 312. ⁿ LIBAN. ibid. p. 313. Soz. l. vi. c. i. p. 634.

^o AMMIAN. l. xxiv. p. 263. LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 312.

He reduces
several
towns and
strong-
holds.

when *Galerius* invaded *Persia* sixty-six years before, had been left in the enemy's country. Upon his recovery, he listed himself among the *Persian* troops, being then in the flower of his age, and had served with great reputation. When he was brought to *Julian*, he assured him, that he had been often foretold, he should live till he was near an hundred years old, and be buried at last in the *Roman* territories. *Ammianus* supposes the place to have been by him betrayed to the *Romans*^p. *Julian* burnt all the places he found abandoned by the inhabitants; but left several strong-holds behind him, without attempting to reduce them, upon their promising to submit, when he had made himself master of the rest of the country^q. After the army had repassed the *Euphrates*, at a place called *Baraxmalcha*, *Hormisda* would have fallen into an ambuscade laid for him by the enemy, had he not been luckily prevented by a canal, which he could not pass, from advancing to the place, where a body of *Persians* lay in wait for him, under the conduct of *Surena*^r. After this, *Julian* passed with great difficulty an arm of the *Euphrates*, which was swelled to an unusual height by the melting of the snow, and laid siege to *Bersabora* or *Pyrisabora*, next to *Ctesiphon* the strongest place in *Assyria*, being fortified with a double wall and a citadel, and defended by a numerous garison. But *Julian* surmounting all difficulties, reduced it in two days time, in spite of the most vigorous resistance he met with, both from the garison and the inhabitants, who fought to the last like men in despair. He found in the place great store of provisions, and distributed among his soldiers, who began to mutiny, an hundred pieces of silver a head, having with much-ado prevailed upon them to be satisfied with that sum^s. Having thus pacified the army, and set fire to the town, he pursued his march, and entered a country, which the enemy, foreseeing he would pass that way, had laid under water; but the soldiers animated by the example of their leader, waded through it with great resolution, and arriving at *Maiozamalcha*, a place of great strength, which refused to submit, they drew a double line round it, battering the walls night and day without intermission; but the besieged obstinately held out, till the *Romans*, by the means of a mine, got into the city, while the *Persians* were busied in defending the walls. *Ammianus*, who was at this siege, calls *Maiozamalcha* a great and populous city; and his authority is of more weight with us than that of *Libanius* or *Zosimus*, who

^p AMMIAN. p. 264. ^q Idem p. 265. ^r Idem ibid. Zos.
^s 715. ^t AMMIAN. ibid p. 269, 270.

suppose

suppose it to have been only a castle near a large and populous city named *Besuchis*^t. *Julian*, incensed against the governor for not surrendering the place at the time agreed on, and for calling *Hormisdas* a traitor, ordered him to be burnt alive, and gave up the city to be plundered by the soldiers. As the army was now within seven miles of *Ctesiphon*, and *Victor*, who had visited all the roads, assured them they had nothing to apprehend, they advanced to a city, which had been *He advanced* formerly ruined, says *Ammianus*, by a Roman emperor, mean- *ces to Ctesiphon*. ing, according to some, *Seleucia*, ruined by *Lucius Verus*, and, according to others, *Sabata*, about three miles from *Ctesiphon* the great metropolis of the *Persian* empire^u. From this place they advanced to a fort, which was taken by assault, after a short, but vigorous, resistance, *Julian* himself having narrowly escaped being killed by a shower of arrows discharged against him, as he was viewing the walls too near^w. Having razed the fort, he allowed his army some time to refresh themselves; and then, causing the canal to be cleansed, which had been formerly dug by *Trajan* between the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris*, he conveyed by that means his fleet from the former to the latter river. After this, he led his army to *Coche*, a place of great strength, standing on the *Tigris* over-against *Ctesiphon*; but we are not told that he attacked it. All we know is, that he passed the river with no *Puts the* less rashness than courage, in spite of the utmost efforts of the *Persians to* enemy, encamped on the opposite bank, whom he obliged *flight, and* to retire, and shelter themselves within the walls of *Ctesiphon*. *passes the* Some of the *Romans* pursued them to the very gates of the *Tigris*. city, which they would have entered with the enemy, had not *Victor* prudently restrained them. The *Persians* lost on this occasion, according to some, two thousand five hundred, according to others, six thousand, men, and the *Romans* only seventy or seventy-five. Only part of the *Roman* army passed the *Tigris* that day, and made themselves masters of the *Persian* camp. The rest followed the next day, and *Julian* himself, with his guards, three days after^x. *Julian* continued some days encamped before *Ctesiphon*; but not daring to attack it through fear of being repulsed with shame, as it was very strong, well stored with provisions, and defended by a very numerous garison, he contented himself with sending *Arintheus* to lay waste the neighbouring country^y. In the mean time, the king of *Persia* was assembling, on the

^t Idem. p. 271. LIBAN. p. 316. ZOS. p. 721. ^u AMMIAN. ZOS. ibid. ^w AMMIAN. p. 275. ^x AMMIAN. p. 278. LIBAN. p. 319. ZOS. p. 726. ^y AMMIAN. p. 281.

*He rejects
proposals of
peace.*

*He turns
back with-
out making
any at-
tempt upon
Ctesiphon*

*Deceived
by treache-
rous guides,
he burns
his fleet.*

most distant confines of his kingdom, a formidable army, with a design to fall upon *Julian* in his retreat. However, he sent deputies to propose terms for an accommodation, being desirous to put an end to so destructive a war. These applied to *Hormisdas*, as their countryman and their king's brother, who immediately flew to the emperor with the agreeable tidings, as he imagined; but *Julian*, instead of hearkening to the proposals, ordered *Hormisdas* privately to dismiss the ambassadors, and give out, that they were only some of his old friends come to see him; for he apprehended, that both the soldiers and officers would have disapproved of his pursuing so dangerous and troublesome a war, when a peace might have been concluded upon honourable and advantageous terms. The ambassadors being dismissed, *Julian*, contrary to the advice of his officers, resolved to advance farther into *Persia*; but the army had no sooner set out on their march, than, changing his mind, he began to think it more adviseable to turn back, not by the way he came, the country on that side being laid waste, but to take his route along the banks of the *Tigris*; which he did accordingly, without so much as attempting to reduce *Ctesiphon*, though he had lain several days before it. He marched some time along the *Tigris*, which he had on his left, being conducted by guides well acquainted with the country; but who in the end betrayed him: for, as they were natives of *Persia*, they persuaded him to quit the river, and take a quite different route, notwithstanding the remonstrances of *Hormisdas*, and all the officers of the army; who, looking upon the guides as persons sent by the enemy on purpose to lead them into some snare, did all that lay in their power to divert *Julian* from following their advice; but he, reposing in them an intire confidence, resolved not only to leave the *Tigris*, but to burn his fleet, lest the enemy should become masters of it. This resolution alarmed the whole army, but was nevertheless put immediately in execution, only twelve small vessels being spared, which were to be conveyed over land in waggon, to make bridges, if there should be occasion. When the fleet was first set on fire, the army began to mutiny, and cry out with one voice, *That the emperor was betrayed; that the pretended guides were real traitors, sent by the enemy on purpose to lead them to destruction.* *Julian*, to appease the soldiery, ordered the guides to be put to the rack, when they owned themselves to be what they really were, confessing, that, in advising him to burn the fleet, they had no other design but to ruin him and the army. Hereupon great care was taken to extinguish the fire, and save the ships; but the flames could

could by no means be overcome, till the whole fleet, except the above-mentioned twelve vessels, was reduced to ashes *. After this, *Julian* pursued his march through a country, says *Ammianus*, very fruitful in itself, but ravaged and laid waste by the enemy; insomuch, that the *Romans* were reduced to the last extremity for want of provisions, and at the same time harrassed without intermission by strong parties, who, in a manner surrounding them, attacked them sometimes in the front, and sometimes in the rear. *Julian*, not knowing what route to take in a strange country, and finding his army quite dispirited, summoned a council of all the chief officers of the army, when, after many consultations, they resolved to march towards *Corduene*, which lay south of *Armenia*, and belonged to the *Romans*. Pursuant to this resolution, they set forward on the sixteenth of *June*; but had not marched far, when they discovered at some distance a very numerous army advancing in full march against them. This was the *Persian* army, commanded by the king in person, attended by two of his sons, and all the nobility of the kingdom. The *Romans* thought it adviseable to return to their camp, where they were, in a manner, besieged the next day by the numerous troops of the enemy. Several skirmishes happened on that and the ten following days, in which the *Persians* were constantly put to flight. In a sharp encounter on the twenty-second of *June*, almost the whole *Persian* army engaged; but were, after a very vigorous resistance, put to the rout with great slaughter. The *Romans* remained masters of the field; but found little satisfaction in a victory which could not relieve their wants in a strange country, where no provisions were to be had, the corn, grass, and every thing else, being burnt up by the enemy, *Julian* himself laboured under the greatest perplexity and uneasiness imaginable, finding the *Persians* were resolved to oppose his march, and attempt all means to distress him, without ever coming to a general engagement. At length, the night preceding the twenty-sixth of *June*, as he rose, according to his custom, about midnight, and was busied in his tent in reading or writing, he beheld all on a sudden before him, with a countenance full of sorrow, the spectre representing the genius of the empire, which had appeared to him, as we have related elsewhere, upon his being declared emperor. He was somewhat terrified at this unexpected sight, and at other omens which happened at the same time, and were looked upon by the aruspices as portending some

*Is reduced
to great
straights.*

*Puts the
Persians to
flight.*

*But distressed for
want of
provisions.*

* AMMIAN. l. xxiv. p. 281. LIBAN. p. 301. ZON. p. 23.

great

And harassed on his march by the Persian army, and mortally wounded.

great misfortune, if he should undertake any thing that day. But *Julian* despising, contrary to his custom, the predictions of his soothsayers, as soon as it was day, ordered his army to decamp, being probably no longer able to subsist in the same place. On his march he was attacked on all sides by the enemy, who, after they had discharged their arrows, which never failed doing great execution, retired, without giving him an opportunity of revenging the death of those who fell. In one of these sudden onsets, the emperor hastening, without his armour, to repulse the enemy, was mortally wounded by a dart, which, through his arm and side, pierced his very liver. Those who were about him concluding, from his sinking down upon the neck of his horse, that he was wounded, conveyed him with all speed upon a large shield to his tent, where *Oribasius*, a celebrated physician, and his intimate friend, attempted in vain to save him, applying the best remedies his art and skill could suggest. However, as the pain began to abate, he called for his arms and horse, being desirous to animate his men with his presence; but his strength not answering his courage, as he was greatly weakened by the loss of blood, he was forced to continue in his tent, while his men, filled with rage, and breathing revenge, made a dreadful havock of the enemy, till night put an end to the slaughter. Fifty *Persian* lords of great distinction were killed, and an incredible number of other officers and common soldiers. The *Romans* lost *Anatolius*, who was *magister officiorum*, and generally esteemed an officer of great skill and experience. The prefect *Salust* was with much ado saved by his apparitors; but *Phosphorius*, his vicar, was slain, with many others in the right wing, where the emperor commanded. While the fight continued, *Julian* lay languishing in his tent; and being apprised that his end approached, he addressed those about him, who seemed greatly dejected and concerned, in the following terms:

“ I am now, my fellow soldiers, called upon to pay the last
 “ debt of nature, which I do with a willing and chearful
 “ mind, being taught by philosophy, that the state of the
 “ soul is infinitely more happy than that of the body. Upon
 “ this consideration, I embrace death as the greatest blessing:
 “ it exempts me from the many dangers to which my virtue
 “ and reputation were daily exposed. I have lived, first in
 “ a private, and afterwards in an exalted, state, and have
 “ so behaved in both, as not to be conscious to myself of
 “ any action, that gives me at present the least remorse. I
 “ have studied to govern with moderation, and being well ap-
 “ prised, that the end of all government is the happiness of
 “ the

His speech before his death.

“ the people, I have, both in peace and war, endeavoured,
 “ as far as in me lay, to render them happy. I have great
 “ reason to thank Divine Providence, for not having suffered
 “ me to fall by the hand of conspirators ; to languish under
 “ a long and troublesome disease ; or to die like a criminal,
 “ as many innocent and deserving persons have done. I
 “ submit with joy to the eternal and immutable decrees of
 “ the gods, though in the bloom of my age, being sensible,
 “ that he who is fond of life, when he ought to die, is as
 “ great a coward, as he who desires to die when he ought to
 “ live. As for my successor, I decline naming any, lest,
 “ through ignorance, I should pass by a worthy person,
 “ or, by naming one equal to so great a trust, expose him to
 “ those dangers, which would inevitably attend his promo-
 “ tion, if it were not universally approved of. I therefore
 “ leave the choice to the commonwealth, and, like a duti-
 “ ful son, wish her a worthy governor to succeed me.”

Having thus spoken, he disposed of his private estate, dividing it amongst his relations and friends ; and not seeing *Anatolius*, inquired after him. *Salust* the prefect told him he was happy, meaning he was dead, according to the expression then in use ; which seemed greatly to affect him ; but turning immediately to the philosophers *Maximus* and *Priscus*, he began to discourse with them concerning the nature of the soul : then, calling for a glass of cold water, he drank it, and having expressed his desire of being interred at *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, he expired on the twenty-sixth of *June*, a little before midnight. He *Julian dies.* died in the thirty-second year of his age, after having reigned seven years and six months, from the time he had been created *Cæsar* ; about three years since he had taken the title of *Augustus*, and only twenty months, not quite complete, since by the death of *Constantius*, he became peaceable possessor of the whole empire. Thus is his death related by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who served under him in this very expedition, and was an eye-witness of what he wrote ^a. *Theodoret* tells us, that *Julian*, when he was first wounded, filled his hand with blood issuing from the wound, and threw it up into the air, crying out, *Thou hast conquered, O Galilean* ^b. The same thing is related by *Sozomen*, who is of opinion, that our Saviour, whom he intended to insult and blaspheme with the name of *Galilean*, appeared to him when he received his wound ^c. But these as well as other christian wri-

^a AMMIAN. l. xxv. p. 287—295.

^b THEODORET. l. iii.

^c 2. 20. p. 658.

^c Soz. l. vi. c. 2. p. 638.

His character.

ters, have been led, by their aversion to an apostate from the faith, and a persecutor of the church, to believe and relate many things concerning him, which were unknown to the pagans, and have all the appearance of fables. *Libanius* writes, that, at the time of his death, a dreadful earthquake happened in *Palestine*, which intirely ruined several cities ^d. His body was conveyed by *Procopius* from *Mesopotamia* to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, where it was interred with the usual solemnity ^e; but afterwards transferred from thence, according to *Zonaras* ^f and *Cedrenus* ^g, to *Constantinople*, and deposited with that of *Jovian* his successor, in the porch of the church of the *Apostles*. This translation must have happened after the fifth century, since *Zosimus* has not mentioned it. As for the character of *Julian*, he was, without all doubt, endowed with extraordinary parts, a great lover of learned men, and himself well versed in most branches of literature ^h. *Ammianus* greatly extols his moderation and the mildness of his temper, no less opposite to that of his brother *Gallus*, than the temper of *Titus* was to that of *Domitian* ⁱ. He could never endure the title of *dominus* or *lord*, though common to all princes ever since the time of *Dioclesian*, and had even some thoughts of quitting the diadem, which, for many years, had been looked upon as one of the badges of the sovereign power ^k. He made it his chief study to ease the people, lessening the taxes throughout the empire, and exacting no more than was absolutely necessary for the defence and support of the state ^l. All the cities used, pursuant to an antient custom, to present the new prince with crowns of gold, some of which weighed a thousand, and some two thousand, ounces, and upwards; but *Julian* enacted a law, forbidding any city, however rich or populous, to offer a crown weighing above seventy ounces. He would not suffer his officers or ministers to receive presents from the people, upon any consideration whatsoever; nor the soldiers to injure in the least the subjects or allies of the empire, through whose countries they marched ^m. *Libanius* speaks much at length of the extraordinary care he took in regulating the public carriages, in chusing worthy magistrates, in clearing the high-ways of robbers, and in relieving several cities, reduced by heavy

^d Liban. vit. p. 45. & orat. xi. p. 258. ^e AMMIAN. l. xxv. p. 305. ^f ZONAR. p. 24. ^g CEDREN. p. 78. Vide CANGE urb. Constantinop. descrip. l. iv. p. 110. ^h VICT. epit. p. 545. ⁱ AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 63. & l. xxii. p. 221. ^k LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 305. ^l AMMIAN. l. xvi. xvii. xviii. p. 63. 90. 114. ^m LIBAN. p. 305.

taxes to a most miserable conditionⁿ. His bed, says *Mamertinus*, was as pure and chaste as that of a vestal virgin^o; and *Ammianus*, that he was an utter stranger to all unlawful pleasures, and a declared enemy to lewdness and debauchery^p. He was generous, adds the same author, valiant, sincere in his friendship, and kind to all, especially to such as were in distress, and most wanted his assistance^q. *Prudentius* speaks of him as a prince who deserved well of the empire, both as a general and a law-giver^r. He was not, however, even in the opinion of his admirers, without some faults. *Ammianus* owns him to have been of a fickle and changeable temper, ambitious beyond measure of popular applause, elated with the late success, and talkative to such a degree, that his tongue never lay still^s. The same writer accuses him of cruelty and ingratitude, in condemning *Ursula*, to whom he owed the greatest obligations; and *Libanius*, though highly prejudiced in his favour, cannot help allowing him to have been superstitious to excess, inconsiderate on many occasions, and too much addicted to his own sentiments^t. *Ammianus* blames the censorious temper, which he betrayed in a manner unworthy of a philosopher, and below the dignity of a prince, in his *misopogon*, and his *Cæsars*, not sparing even the excellent emperor *M. Aurelius*. The pagan writers themselves, namely *Eutropius*^u, *Themistius*^w, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*^x, own, that his conduct towards the christians was repugnant to the laws of humanity, and deserved to be buried in oblivion; which is more than a christian writer of our days seems willing to allow. As for the christian writers of antient times, they represent *Julian* as one inclined to, and guilty of, the most enormous crimes; but craftily disguising them with a false show of the opposite virtues. In these colours the reader will find his portrait drawn by *Socrates* in his ecclesiastic history^y, and by *Gregory Nazianzen* in the oration he wrote a few days after *Julian's* death^z. But whether the pagans were quite unbiassed by favour, and the christians by prejudice, is what we submit to the judgment of the reader. We will not take upon us to question the truth of what the panegyrist and admirers of *Julian* have written concerning

ⁿ Idem, p. 296—298. ^o Panegy. xi. p. 230. ^p AM-
MIAN. l. xxv. p. 292. ^q Idem ibid. ^r PRUD. apol. c.
4. p. 163. ^s AMMIAN. l. xxi. p. 206. ^t LIBAN. or.
xii. p. 304. ^u EUTROP. p. 589. ^w THEMIST. orat. v.
p. 69. ^x AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 222. & l. xxv. p. 294. ^y SO-
CRAT. l. iii. c. 21. p. 193. ^z GREG. NAZ. orat. iv.
p. 138.

his other virtues ; but, as to his chastity, we are not fully convinced, that it deserved those mighty encomiums, which *Mamertinus* ^a, *Libanius* ^b, and *Ammianus Marcellinus* ^c, have been pleased to bestow upon it ; for on one side it is certain, that by *Helena*, his only wife, he had but one son, whom the midwife, bribed by the empress *Eusebia*, destroyed as soon as born ^d. On the other side, *Julian* himself, in a letter which he wrote in 363, that is, three years after the death of *Helena*, mentions his children, and the person who was charged with the care of their education ^e. *Codin* likewise, in his *antiquities of Constantinople*, takes notice of several statues erected to *Julian*, and his children ^f. His bed therefore, to use the expression of *Mamertinus* ^g, was not perhaps quite so pure and undefiled as that of a vestal virgin. The great *Chrysostom* describes the court of *Julian*, while he resided at *Constantinople*, crowded with aruspices, astrologers, magicians, young debauchees, and public prostitutes. The latter, at least, were not proper attendants for one, who pretended to rival the purity of the vestals. But we will not lay any stress on the testimony of a christian, and consequently, as may be objected, a prejudiced writer, though he solemnly declares, that he himself, and all the inhabitants of *Constantinople*, to whom he appeals, were eye-witnesses of what he advances ^h. As for *Julian's* so much boasted moderation, *Ammianus* himself acknowledges, that it was sometimes owing more to policy, than to the natural mildness of his temper ⁱ. *Libanius* charges him with want of judgment in the choice of ministers, and of due care in watching their conduct ; whence some of them, concludes that writer, brought no small disgrace upon his government ^k. *Libanius* writes, that *Julian* was apprised of, but winked at, their faults, that he might not seem inconstant in his friendship ^l. *Ammianus* owns, that his court was not quite free from bribery and corruption ^m. In what related to the Divinity, says the same writer, he was rather superstitious than religious, sacrificing daily innumerable victims procured at a vast expence ; which proved very burdensome to the state, and at the same time highly prejudicial to the military discipline, the soldiers, with whom he feasted on the victims, returning almost every day drunk to

^a Panegy. xi. p. 230. ^b LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 292. ^c AMMIAN. l. xxv. p. 292. ^d Idem, l. xvi. p. 72. ^e JULIAN. ep. 40. p. 184. ^f CODIN antiq. Const. p. 19. ^g Panegy. xi. p. 231. ^h CHRYS. in gent. p. 676. ⁱ AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 226, 227. ^k EUTROP. p. 589. ^l LIBAN. p. 307. ^m Idem, p. 220.

their quarters ⁿ. Had he returned victorious from his *Persian* expedition, continues the same writer, he would scarce have left a bullock alive in the whole empire ^o. We need not therefore recur to the testimony of the christian writers, to shew, that the many virtues ascribed to him by the pagans, were not without the allay of several vices and imperfections. In short, he did not perhaps deserve the bitter reproaches with which he was traduced as the worst of princes by the christians, nor the mighty encomiums bestowed upon him as the best of princes by the pagans.

THE news of his death was received with inexpressible joy by the christians, and with the deepest concern by the pagans. The messenger who brought it to *Carrhæ*, was either stoned to death by the populace ^w, or with much-ado escaped the fury of the enraged multitude ^x. Several cities placed the image of the deceased prince amongst those of their gods, and paid it the same honours. *Libanius*, transported with grief when he first heard of his death, determined to lay violent hands on himself, not caring to outlive him; but, upon second thoughts, he changed his mind, and chose to live, that he might have the satisfaction, as he himself tells us, of compiling his funeral oration. He wrote two discourses on this occasion, the one to express his own grief ^y, the other to set forth the praises of *Julian* ^z. From the latter, which contains the whole history of *Julian's* life, and from the two orations written much about the same time, and on the same subject, by *Gregory Nazianzen*, an impartial reader will conclude, that both writers were strangely biased and prejudiced, the one in his favour, the other against him. *Julian* not only renounced the christian religion, whence he was surnamed the *Apostate*, but betrayed a mortal hatred to those who professed it, traducing them with the name of *Galileans*, as he impiously styled our Saviour the *Galilean*, debarring them from all honours and employments, both civil and military, and prohibiting them either to teach or learn the sciences, which to *Ammianus* himself seemed inconsistent with the laws of humanity ^a. But we refer our readers to the ecclesiastic writers for a more particular account of the persecution he raised against the church, and of his wild attempt to restore *Judaism*, and rebuild the temple of *Jerusalem*, which is said, by *Ammianus*, and others, to have been miraculously defeated by balls

ⁿ AMMIAN. l. xxv. p. 294. ^o Idem, l. xxii. p. 325. ^w Zos. l. iii. p. 733. ^x LIB. or. xii. p. 330. ^y LIB. or. xi. ^z Idem, or. xii. ^a AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 222. & l. xxv. p. 294.

of fire issuing out of the earth, and destroying both the work and the workmen. Of the several writers who flourished under *Julian* the reader will find a succinct account in note (1).

(1) *Ammianus Marcellinus*, in his history of the emperors, gives us a more particular account of *Julian's* reign, than any other writer. As he was a pagan, he bestows great encomiums upon a prince, who did all that lay in his power to restore paganism. However, he was not so prejudiced in his favour, as not to blame in him what he thought blame-worthy. *Eunapius*, a most zealous stickler for the antient religion of the *Romans*, that is, for idolatry, often mentions, and highly commends, *Julian* in his history of the sophists. He had written the history of his reign in several books (1); but whether that was a different work from his general history of the emperors, is what we are nowhere told. But of *Ammianus Marcellinus* and *Eunapius* we shall speak at the end of the reign of *Valens*. *Callistus*, one of *Julian's* officers, wrote in verse, according to *Socrates* (2), the history of that prince; but his work has not reached our times. *Vossius* tells us, that *Callistus* attended *Julian* in his *Persian* expedition (3), which must be a conjecture of his own; for we find no such thing in *Socrates*, the only writer who mentions him. *Julian* himself deserves to be ranked among the writers of his life; for he wrote the history of his wars in *Gaul* (4), which has been long since lost; and gives us an account of the most remarkable passages of his life in his *Misopogon*, in his letter to the *Athenians* (of which two pieces we have spoken above), and in the writings which he published in the year 362, the one upon *Cybele*, the other against a *Cynic* philosopher, (5). He wrote another discourse against the *Cynics*, particularly against one *Heraclius* or *Heraclitus* (6). From that piece it appears, that he was strangely importuned by those philosophers, and that he entertained no better opinion of them, than of the christian monks, to whom he compares them. His discourse to *Themistius* is, properly speaking, a letter, in which he answers that philosopher, who had written to him from *Constantinople*, magnifying the hopes and expectation of the people, in seeing one raised to the empire, who professed the study of philosophy. *Julian* tells him in his answer, that when he reflects on the duties incumbent on a prince, and the great difficulty of discharging them well, the mighty hopes that the world entertained of him, served rather to dishearten than encourage him (7). This is the whole subject of the letter, which seems to have been written soon after *Julian* was raised to the dignity of *Cæsar*. In the manuscript copy of this letter are se-

(1) *Eunap. c. 5. p. 76, 77.* (2) *Socr. l. iii. c. 21. p. 195.* (3) *Voss. hist. Græc. l. iv. c. 18. p. 486.* (4) *Lib. or. v. p. 178.*
 (5) *Julian. or. vii. p. 382. Suid. p. 1248.* (6) *Julian. ibid. p. 716—718.* (7) *Julian. ad Themist. p. 490, &c.*

veral passages, which seem quite foreign to the purpose, and are thought by some to be fragments of a treatise, containing several instructions, addressed to a pagan pontiff, concerning the duties of his office (8). *Petavius* is of opinion, that they were addressed to *Asfages*, pontiff of *Galatia*, to whom *Julian* wrote his forty-ninth letter (9). But the most famous of all *Julian's* works is that intitled *The Cæsars*, which in reality is a satire on all the emperors from *Julius Cæsar* to *Constantine*, and his children. It begins with a kind of Dialogue (10). From the injurious and abusive manner he speaks of *Constantine*, we may conclude, that he wrote it after the death of *Constantius*, or at least after he had openly declared against him. *Socrates* ascribes to a vanity, unworthy of a prince, his thus ridiculing all his predecessors, without sparing even *M. Aurelius* (11), whom he had proposed to himself for his pattern (12). *Vossius* assures us (13), that, in the antient copies, this work is styled *Saturnalia*, and *the banquet*, a title which well suits it; for it was written during the *Saturnalia*, or the feasts of *Saturn*, that is, about the end of *December*, in 361, or 362; and *Julian*, in the work, introduces *Romulus* entertaining the gods at a banquet in the time of the *Saturnalia* (14). But *Suidas* supposes the *Cæsars* and the *Saturnalia* to be two different works, and quotes some things out of the latter, which are not to be found in the former (15). *Julian* himself speaks of his *Saturnalia* as addressed to *Salust* (16), which cannot be said of his *Cæsars*. He quotes the former work in a discourse, which he wrote on the sun, and likewise inscribed to *Salust*. This piece he composed in three nights, perhaps about the twenty-fifth of *December*, when the pagans celebrated the feast of the sun; for *Julian* honoured that luminary as his chief deity (17). *Suidas* ascribes two other works to him, the one on *the three figures*, which he does not explain, and the other on *the origin of evils*; but both these works, as well as that which he wrote against the christians, have been long since lost. He wrote several letters, of which sixty-four have reached our times, not counting those which, by reason of their length, have been ranked among his discourses. *Libanius*, who pretends to have brought the epistolary style to its greatest perfection, shares that glory with *Julian*, the elegance of whose letters he greatly commends and admires (18). Under *Julian* flourished *Proereses*, a christian sophist, highly esteemed for his learning and eloquence. *Eunapius*, who was his disciple, gives us the following account of him: He was a native of *Armenia*, descended of a noble family, but reduced to poverty; exceeding well-shaped, though of a gigantic stature, and resembling a colossus (19). He left his native country when very young,

(8) *Idem*, frag. p. 528. (9) *Julian ep. xlix.* p. 202. (10) *Idem*, *Cæs.* p. 3—5. (11) *Socr. l. iii. c. 1* & 23. p. 169, 198. (12) *Julian. ad Themist.* p. 457. (13) *Voss. hist. Græc. l. ii. c. 18.* p. 250. (14) *Julian. Cæs.* p. 3—5. (15) *Suid.* p. 1217. (16) *Julian. ibid.* p. 203. & or. iv. p. 294. (17) *Idem. or. iv.* p. 291, 292. (18) *Lib. or. v.* p. 134. (19) *Eunap. c. 1.* p. 102.

and studied first at *Antioch* under one *Ulpianus*, and afterwards at *Athens*, where he was disciple to one *Julian*, who, in dying, bequeathed him his house. He likewise succeeded *Julian* in his employment, and taught eloquence with such reputation and applause, that the other professors, jealous of his great credit, prevailed upon the proconsul to banish him from *Athens* (20); but he was soon recalled by the emperor's order, and restored to his former employment. All those who came from *Pontus*, and the other parts of *Asia Minor*, or from *Egypt* and *Libya*, studied under him (21). Among these we may reckon the great *Basil*, and *Gregory Nazianzen*; for they came from *Cappadocia* to study eloquence at *Athens* while he taught there. He was afterwards invited into *Gaul* by *Constans*, who received him with extraordinary marks of esteem, perhaps because he passed for a christian, says *Eunapius* (22); but *St. Jerom* assures us, that he was truly a christian (23). *Suidas* confounded *Constantine* with *Constans*, when he wrote, that *Constantine* paid him great honours (24). The *Gauls*, says *Eunapius*, who were no judges of his genius, nor capable of relishing his eloquent speeches, admired his stature and mien, and, above all, his patience in bearing the cold of their country, though he used no shoes, and was only defended against the inclemency of that climate by a thin cloak (25). He was afterwards sent by *Constans* to *Rome*, where the senate caused a statue to be erected to him, with this inscription, *Rome, the queen of cities, to the king of eloquence*. When he left *Rome*, about the year 349, to return to *Athens*, *Constans* bestowed great revenues upon him, with the honorary title of general of the *Roman* armies. The *Romans*, upon his departure, begged him to send one of his disciples to teach eloquence at *Rome*. He complied with their request, and sent them one *Eusebius*, a native of *Alexandria*; a person fit to live at *Rome*, says *Eunapius*, because well versed in the art of flattery (26). *Julian*, who had no doubt, been acquainted with *Proereses* at *Athens*, wrote a very kind and obliging letter to him, which is still extant (27). When that prince published the famous edict, forbidding all christians to learn or teach the sciences, he excepted *Proereses*; but he, scorning to accept the favour, resigned of his own accord his professorship; which greatly provoked *Julian*, who, out of pique to *Proereses*, heaped great honours upon *Libanius* (28). The generous conduct of *Proereses*, on this occasion, makes us question the truth of what we read of him in *Eunapius*, viz. that he had recourse to the pontiff of *Eleusine*, to know whether *Julian* was to reign long; and that, being assured his reign would prove short, he took courage, and resolved not to renounce the christian religion (29). *Eunapius* betrays, on all occasions, such an inveterate hatred against the christian religion, that we cannot give credit to any

(20) *Idem*, c. 7. p. 96 — 101. (21) *Idem*, p. 110, 111.
 (22) *Idem*, p. 121, 122. (23) *Hier. ad ann.* 363. (24) *Suid.*
 p. 596. (25) *Idem*, p. 222, 223. (26) *Idem*, p. 25. (27)
Julian. ep. 2. p. 116. (28) *Suid.* p. 596. (29) *Eunap.* c. 8. p. 126.
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thing he writes on that head. After the death of *Julian*, *Proereses* was, it seems, re-instated in his professorship, when *Eunapius* studied under him for the space of five years, and then returned to *Lydia*, his native country. He owns, that *Proereses* instructed him with no less care than if he had been his own son. *Proereses* died soon after, perhaps in 368, being then about ninety-two years old; for he was eighty-seven when *Eunapius* began to study under him, in the end of 363, which was the first of *Jovian's* reign (30). He left no works behind him besides his declamations (31). *Oribasus*, a famous physician, was a native of *Pergamus* in *Asia*, according to *Eunapius* (32): of *Sardis*, according to *Philostorgius* (33) and *Suidas* (34). He studied physic under *Zeno* of *Cyprus*, to whom *Julian* wrote a letter, inviting him back to *Alexandria*, whence *George*, the famous *Arian* bishop, had caused him to be banished (35). When *Julian* was created *Cæsar*, he took *Oribasus* with him into *Gaul*, and reposed such confidence in him, says *Eunapius* (36), as to make him privy to his greatest secrets, that is, to his idolatry; for *Oribasus* was himself a pagan. The same author writes, that *Oribasus* was famous, not only for his skill in physic, but for his other extraordinary talents, which procured the empire to *Julian* (37); but explains himself no farther. *Oribasus*, at the request of *Julian*, abridged first the works of *Galen*, and afterwards those of all the most able physicians. Both these works were inscribed to *Julian*, as appears from the prefaces, which have been transmitted to us by *Photius* (38.). *Photius* prefers the second work to the first; nay, and to all the books of physic which had been published till his time. It consisted of seventy books; but only the first fifteen, with the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth, printed at *Paris* in 1555, have reached our times. *Oribasus* himself, by a second abridgment, reduced his seventy books to nine, which he addressed to his son *Eustathius* (39). The reader will find an abstract of this work in *Photius* (40), who observes, that they may prove very useful to those who are already acquainted with physic, by refreshing the memory of what they have learnt; but may lead new beginners into great mistakes (41). *Oribasus* wrote another abridgment of the same nature in four books, which he inscribed to *Eunapius*, probably the author of the lives of the sophists, at whose request he had undertaken it (42). This work is still extant. To these *Photius* adds four other books of physic inscribed to one *Eugenius*; but so like those addressed to *Eunapius*, that he suspects them to be a supposititious work (43). Besides the works we have already mentioned, *Photius* supposes *Oribasus* to

(30) *Idem*, *ibid.* (31) *Suid.* p. 596. (32) *Eunap.* c. 5. p. 76, & c. 19. p. 139. (33) *Philos.* l. vii c. 15. p. 205. (34) *Suid.* p. 329. (35) *Julian.* ep. xlv. p. 198. (36) *Eunap.* c. 29. p. 140. (37) *Idem*, *ibid.* (38) *Phot.* c. 216, 217. p. 556, 557. (39) *Idem*, c. 218. p. 557. (40) *Idem*, p. 560. (41) *Oribas.* p. 2. (42) *Phot.* c. 219. p. 561. (43) *Idem*, p. 564 & c. 216. p. 564.

have published seven more on the same subject (44). He would not have us to mind the style of that writer, because his works, says he, are abstracts of different authors; and besides, elegance of style is what we must not expect from a physician (45). *Suidas* supposes *Oribasius* to have inscribed to *Julian* seventy-two books, and to have published, besides four books on *the doubts and difficulties of physicians*, a work on *royalty*, and another on *maladies* (46). He adds, that *Oribasius* was created by *Julian* quæstor of the city of *Constantinople*; an employment unknown to other writers. He attended *Julian* into *Persia*, and did all that lay in his power to cure his wound, but without success. After the death of that prince, his patron and benefactor, he was stripped of all his wealth, and banished to the countries of the barbarians (47), or abandoned, to use the expression of *Eunapius*, to the barbarians, who were most noted for their cruelty (48). However, he was greatly respected by them, and honoured by their princes, on account of the art he professed. At length the *Roman* emperors recalled him, and restored to him his estate and all his effects (49). He gave some ease to *Chrysanthus* in his last malady at *Sardis*; but could not cure him (50). He was still living when *Eunapius* wrote the lives of the sophists, that is, about the year 400. Among *Julian's* letters, there is one to him, written about the year 358 (51). *Himeras*, a celebrated sophist in *Julian's* time, was a native of *Bithynia*, and the son of *Aminius*, who taught rhetoric at *Prusa* in the same province (52). *Himeras* and *Proereses*, of whom we have spoken above, were at the same time professors of eloquence at *Athens* and rivals (53). *Photius* supposes him to have likewise taught at *Corinth* (54). *Julian* invited him afterwards to *Constantinople*, and received him upon his arrival with extraordinary marks of friendship and esteem. He continued in court till the death of that prince, and then returned to *Athens* (55). He lived to a great age, in which he lost his sight, and was besides afflicted with a leprosy. He left behind him several declamations, and other pieces of that nature (56). He was, as plainly appears from his writings, a pagan. *Eunapius* commends his style (57), as does likewise *Photius*, who has transmitted to us abstracts of some of his works (58). In the history of *Julian's* reign, we have mentioned the philosopher *Maximus*, who first inclined that prince to idolatry and the study of magic. He was a native, either of *Smyrna*, as we read in *Eunapius* (59); or of *Ephesus*, as *Ammianus* will have it (60); and bro-

- (44) *Idem, ibid.* (45) *Idem, ibid.* (46) *Suid p. 329.*
 (47) *Philosorg. l. vii. c. 15. p. 105.* (48) *Eunap. c. 19. p. 140.* (49) *Idem, p. 141, 142.* (50) *Idem, c. 21. p. 160.*
 (51) *Julian ep. xix. p. 135.* (52) *Phot. c. 165. p. 363.* *Eunap. c. 12. p. 129.* (53) *Eunap. c. 8. p. 119.* (54) *Phot. c. 165. p. 352.* (55) *Eunap. p. 129.* (56) *Idem, c. 12. p. 129.* *Suid p. 1239.* (57) *Eunap. p. 129.* (58) *Phot. c. 165. p. 352. & c. 243. p. 1076, 1144.* (59) *Eunap. c. 5. p. 67. & c. 16. p. 137.* (60) *Ammian. l. xxix. p. 390.*

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ther to the philosopher *Claudianus*, who taught at *Alexandria*, and to the sophist *Nymphidianus*, professor of rhetoric at *Smyrna*, and afterward secretary to *Julian*. *Maximus* must have been well versed in polite learning, since *Julian* submitted all his compositions to his judgment (61); and *Eunapius* has placed his life among those of the sophists, tho' he is commonly styled *Maximus the philosopher*. *Julian* invited him to court about the beginning of the year 362, where he behaved, as *Eunapius* himself owns (62), in a manner altogether unworthy of a philosopher. He returned to his native country, as appears from *Julian's* letters (62) for the recovery of his health; but came again to court, and, together with *Priscus*, attended *Julian* in his *Parthian* expedition (63). These two were, without all doubt, in the number of those obstinate and ignorant philosophers, who, according to *Ammianus*, bore great sway at court, and put the emperor upon that wild enterprise, against the sentiments of the officers of the army (64). Hence, when news of *Julian's* death was brought to *Antioch*, the people, in the transports of their joy, cried out, *Thus are the predictions of the false prophet Maximus fulfilled* (65). *Eunapius* writes, that *Jovian* continued to honour *Maximus*, and the other philosophers, who had followed *Julian* (66). Be that as it will, they were treated in a very different manner by *Valentinian* and *Valens*, who hated all the friends of *Julian*; and, above the rest, these two philosophers accused, as they were addicted to the study of magic, of having brought upon the princes the maladies with which they were both seized about the beginning of *April* in 364 (67). *Priscus*, however, was cleared; but the soldiery and populace were, with much ado, restrained by *Salustius Secundus* from tearing *Maximus* to pieces. Having escaped the rage of the multitude, he was condemned to pay a greater fine than he was able to discharge, and kept a close prisoner till the end of the year 365 (68); when, by the mediation of *Themistius*, who recommended him to *Valens*, in a speech pronounced before that prince, and by the interest of *Clearchus*, a zealous pagan, he was set at liberty, and not only forgiven the fine, but restored to his estate, and suffered to come to *Constantinople*, where he was very well received (69). But his happiness was short lived; for he was accused, with several other philosophers, as a magician in 371, found guilty of magical practices; and, being sentenced to death with the rest, was beheaded at *Ephesus* the same year (70). *Suidas* ascribes to *Maximus*, the master of *Julian* the apostate, several rhetorical and philosophical pieces, some of which were addressed to *Julian* him-

- (61) *Julian* ep. xvi. p. 131. (62) *Eunap.* c. 5. p. 77, 79.
 (62) *Julian.* ep. xv. xvi. xxxviii. (63) *Eunap.* c. 5. p. 81. *Ammian.*
l. xxv. p. 291. (64) *Ammian* l. xxiii. p. 245. (65) *Theo-*
doret. l. iii. c. 22. p. 659. (66) *Eunap.* c. 5. p. 82. (67) *Zof.*
l. iv. p. 734, 735. (68) *Idem.* p. 374. *Ammian* l. xxvi. p. 315.
Eunap. c. 5. p. 83. *Themist.* or. vii. p. 100. (69) *Themist.* *ibid.*
 p. 99, 100. *Eunap.* p. 84—37. (70) *Ammian.* l. xxix. p. 390.
Secr. p. 39. *Eunap.* p. 87.

self; but adds, that he was a native of *Epirus* or *Byzantium* (71): on the other hand, *Socrates* warns us not to confound *Maximus* of *Byzantium*, the father of *Euclid*, with *Maximus* of *Ephesus*, who induced *Julian* to embrace the worship of the gods (72). *Chrysanthus* was a native of *Sardes* in *Lydia*, in which city his father was senator. He studied with *Maximus* under *Edesus* of *Cappadocia*, a *Platonic* philosopher and magician; and then returned to his native city, where he continued, notwithstanding the repeated and pressing solicitations of *Julian* and *Maximus*, inviting him to court. *Julian* created him pontiff of *Lydia*, in which employment he had the prudence not to disoblige the christians, as we have observed already; and therefore was suffered by the christian emperors to live unmolested (73). He lived to the age of eighty (74). After his death, *Eunapius*, who was his wife's cousin, and had been his disciple, wrote his life, and frequently mentions him in his history of the sophists, which he had undertaken at his request (75). *Suidas* likewise speaks of him, but does not inform us whether or no he left any works behind him (76). *Priscus* was born in the country of the *Molossi*, or *Thesproti*, in *Epirus*; and studied under *Edesus*, with *Maximus* and *Chrysanthus*. Afterwards he retired to *Greece*, whence he was invited by *Julian* to court, and complied with the invitation. He was perhaps more esteemed by that prince than *Maximus* himself. He attended the emperor to *Antioch* and there prevailed upon him to admit *Libanius* to his presence, and even to receive him in a friendly manner, though he was not a little prejudiced against him (77). He followed *Julian* into *Persia*, and was accused, with *Maximus*, of magical practices under *Valens*; but discharged, and suffered to return to *Greece*, where he lived to the age of ninety, and upwards (78); and was killed, with many others, by the barbarians (79), that is, we suppose, by the *Goths*, who, in 395, or 396, ravaged *Greece* under the conduct of the famous *Alaric*. *Julian* in his letters, bestows great commendations on one *George*, a receiver of the public revenues; on the philosopher *Eugenius*, whom some take to be the father of *Themistius*; and on *Ecebolus*, under whom he studied rhetoric (80). As the celebrated sophist *Libanius* lived long after *Julian*'s time, we shall speak of him in a more proper place.

- (71) *Suid* p. 92. (72) *Socr. l. iii. c. 1. p. 165.* (73) *Eunap. c. 5. p. 69, 80. & c. 12. p. 144—149.* (74) *Idem, p. 152.*
 (75) *Idem, p. 153.* (76) *Suid p. 1155.* (77) *Eunap. c. 5. p. 69. Lib. vit. p. 42.* (78) *Eunap. ibid. c. 81. Ammian l. xxv. p. 291.* (79) *Eunap. c. 5. p. 75.* (80) *Julian. ep. viii. p. 121, 314. ep. liv. p. 218 ep. xviii. p. 135. ep. xix. xliii. p. 136, 196.*

C H A P. XXVII.

The Roman history, from the death of Julian, to the death of Valens.

THE death of *Julian* was no sooner known, than the chief officers of the army assembled, and, with one consent, chose *Jovian* to succeed him ^b, who was accordingly saluted with the title of *Jovianus Augustus*, the day after *Julian*'s death; that is, the twenty-seventh of *June* of this year 363. He was the only surviving child of *Verronianus*, who was a native of *Singidunum* in *Pannonia*, or rather in *Mæsia* ^c; and had lately resigned the eminent post of *comes domesticorum*, to lead a private and retired life. He was reckoned one of the best commanders of his time, and the reputation, which he had acquired in the army, greatly contributed to the promotion of his son ^d. The first thing *Jovian* did after his election was to name him for his colleague in the consulship against the ensuing year; for *Verronianus* was said to have been foretold in a dream, that his son should be one day raised to the empire, and he to the consulship; but he died before he had the honour of discharging that office, or the satisfaction of seeing his son emperor, though he had been informed of his promotion ^e. *Jovian*, or *Flavius Claudius Jovianus*, as he is styled on an antient coin, was born about the year 331, and married *Carito*, the daughter of *Lucillianus*, a commander of great renown, often mentioned by *Ammianus*. By her he had, according to *Philostorgius* ^f, a son named *Verronianus*, who was born about the time *Jovian* was created emperor, and a daughter, of whom we find no further mention; nay, *Zonaras* tells us in express terms, that *Verronianus* was his only child ^g. As *Jovian* was not only a true, but a pious, and zealous christian, we shall not copy his character from the christian writers, who may be suspected of partiality, but from the pagans, who

^b AMMIAN. l. xxv. p. 226.^c VICT. epit.^d AMMIAN.

ibid. p. 308. THEMIST. orat. v. p. 65.

^e AMMIAN. THE-

MIST. ibid. SOCRAT. l. iii. c. 26. p. 205.

^f PHILOSTORG. l.

viii. c. 8. p. 112.

^g ZON. p. 25.

Jovian's
character.

cannot be thought to have been biased in his favour. Among these *Eutropius* commends his affable, mild, and generous temper; and adds, that no one could, with justice, accuse him of neglect or imprudence in the discharge of his duty ^h. *Ammianus Marcellinus* ⁱ and *Victor* the younger ^k, describe him as well-shaped in his person, of a majestic air, of a gay and agreeable aspect, of an even, affable, and courteous, temper, naturally inclin'd to mercy, and a great encourager of learning, being himself pretty well acquainted with the sciences. From the few officers he preferred during his short reign, we may judge, adds *Ammianus*, how careful and circumspect he would have been in the distribution of offices, had he lived longer. *Themistius* bestows upon him still greater encomiums ^l; but we lay no great stress upon them, as coming from a panegyrist. On the other hand, *Suidas* ^m paints him in quite different colours, following therein, as we imagine, *Eunapius*, who, by his implacable hatred to the christian religion, was often led into gross mistakes. *Ammianus* does not forget to mention his vices, as well as his virtues, telling us, that he was naturally timorous, a great eater, and much addicted to wine and women ⁿ. The same author observes, that *Jovian* had a great respect and veneration for the law of the christians ^o; and truly he had always made an open profession of the christian religion, even in the reign of *Julian*, despising both his threats and promises ^p. *Socrates* ^q, *Suidas* ^r, and *Nicephorus* ^s, tell us, that *Julian* having ordered all the christian officers in his army, either to renounce their religion, or quit the service, *Jovian*, at that time tribune, resigned his post without the least hesitation; but *Julian* would not suffer him to retire, nay, he afterwards employed him in the *Persian* war; for he was, at the emperor's death, the first among those officers who were styled *domestici* ^t. *Zosimus* writes, that he was raised to the empire by the chief officers, at the request of the whole army ^u; for *Suidas* himself owns him to have been an excellent commander, though, at the time of his election, he was scarce thirty-two years old ^w. His promotion was no-ways agreeable to the pagans, as appears from the manner in which

^a EUTROP. p. 589.

ⁱ AMMIAN. p. 296.

^k VICT. p.

79.

^l THEMIST. orat. v. p. 63.

^m SUID. p. 1244.

ⁿ AMMIAN. p. 300, 308.

^o Idem. l. xxi. p. 201.

^p THEO-

DOROT. l. iv. c. i. p. 660.

^q SOCRAT. l. iii. c. 22. p. 195.

^r SUID. ibid.

^s NICEPH. l. x. c. 38. p. 94.

^t AMMIAN.

l. xxv. p. 226.

^u ZOS. l. iii. p. 729.

^w SUID. ibid.

Ammianus



Ammianus Marcellinus speaks of it. *Rufinus* ^a, *Socrates* ^y, *Sozomen* ^z, and *Theodoret* ^z, assure us, that he would not accept the empire, and the command of the army, till all the soldiers had declared themselves christians, and solemnly renounced the impious ceremonies which they had practised under *Julian*; on which account he is honoured by *Rufinus* with the title of *confessor*. It is not therefore probable, that he paid any regard to the answer of those, who, having consulted, surely without his consent, the entrails of the victims, promised safety, if the army decamped; but inevitable destruction, if they continued in the same place ^b. The army was, as we have related above, in a strange country, far from home, with a provoked enemy round them, quite destitute of necessaries, and consequently reduced to the necessity of perishing, either with hunger, or by the arms of the incensed *Persians*. *Jovian*, who was obliged to struggle with two such formidable enemies, did not so much dread the latter as the former; nay, he repulsed the *Persians* with great slaughter as often as they ventured to attack him, as *Ammianus* tells us in express terms ^c; which is sufficient to refute what *Libanius* writes of the great advantages gained over *Jovian* by the *Persians* ^d. But the valour and experience of *Jovian* was no proof against the famine which raged in his camp, and would not have left one man alive in the whole army, had not heaven unexpectedly declared in his favour, to use the expression of *Ammianus*, by inclining the enemy to offer conditions of peace at so critical a conjuncture ^e. That writer is of opinion, that the *Persians*, out of mere pity and compassion, set on foot a treaty ^f; and *Libanius* cannot conceive what could induce them to think of a peace, when they had reason to promise themselves the greatest advantages from the continuation of the war ^g. The negotiations lasted four days, which proved more insupportable to the *Romans*, says *Ammianus* ^h, than the greatest torments, by reason of the famine which raged in the camp. Besides the dreadful extremity to which the army was reduced, *Jovian* was apprehensive, and not without reason, of the designs of *Procopius*, *Julian's* kinsman ⁱ. No wonder therefore that he submitted to a peace upon terms dishonourable, we own, in themselves, but ab-

The army
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Jovian ob-
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the terms
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sians.

^a RUF. l. xi. c. i. p. 177.

^y SOCRAT. l. iii. c. 22. p. 195.

^z SOZ. l. vi. c. 3. p. 635.

^z THEODOR. l. iv. c. i. p. 660.

661.

^b AMMIAN. p. 297.

^c Idem ibid. & p. 298.

^d LIB. OR. xii. p. 324.

^e AMMIAN. p. 299.

^f Idem.

ibid.

^g LIB. pro templis, &c. p. 24, 25.

^h AMMIAN.

ibid.

ⁱ Idem. l. xxiii. p. 240.

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Jovian not
to be blam-
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peace con-
cluded
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Persians.

solutely necessary to extricate himself, and so many brave men, out of the difficulties, into which the temerity and imprudence of *Julian* had led them. A peace was agreed on for thirty, or, as *Rufinus* will have it ^k, for twenty-nine, years, upon *Jovian's* promising to abandon and yield up to the *Persians* the five provinces on the *Tigris*, which had been taken from them in the reign of *Dioclesian*, with several castles, and the cities of *Nisibis* and *Singara*. To this article was added another, in itself no less, if not more, shameful, which was, not to lend any assistance to *Arsaces* king of *Armenia* against the *Persians*, though *Arsaces* was a faithful friend and ally of the empire. *Jovian* however, with much-ado, prevailed upon the king of *Persia* to suffer the inhabitants of *Nisibis* and *Singara* to withdraw with their effects into the *Roman* territories ^l. The loss of *Nisibis*, which was the bulwark of the empire against the *Persians*, chiefly affected the *Romans*; and *Ammianus* takes great pains to exaggerate that loss, in order to raise the public odium against *Jovian*, to whom he is favourable on no occasion. Both that writer ⁿ and *Eutropius* ^o observe, that, from the foundation of *Rome*, no consul or emperor had ever yielded to the enemy an inch of ground. But therein they are certainly mistaken; for *Adrian* abandoned to the barbarians a far greater extent of country than *Jovian*. *Aurelian* relinquished all the countries conquered by *Trajan* beyond the *Danube*; and *Dioclesian* an immense tract towards the borders of *Egypt* and *Æthiopia*, as *Tiberius* had done long before the large provinces, conquered at a vast expence of blood and treasure by the brave *Drusus*. 'Tis true, that these countries were not given up in virtue of a treaty, but because they could not be kept without an immense charge. However, if it was thought commendable in those princes to abandon them on that score, we ought not to join *Ammianus* and *Eutropius* in condemning *Jovian* for abandoning, even by treaty, provinces which he could not keep without exposing, to certain death or captivity, the flower of the whole forces of the empire, when the enemy would with great ease have conquered more than they acquired by the treaty. His giving up by treaty what others had abandoned of their own accord does not render the action less necessary, nor consequently less prudent. *Ammianus* pretends, that *Jovian* might have reached the province of *Corduene* belonging to the empire, in the four days which he spent in negotiations ^p. But

^k RUF. p. 177. ^l AMMIAN. p. 300. ZOS. p. 730. RUF. p. 177. GREG. NAZ. orat. iv. p. 118. ^m AMMIAN. l. xxv. p. 303. ⁿ Idem, p. 205. ^o EUTROP. p. 731. ^p AMMIAN. p. 300.
between

between them and that province flowed the *Tigris*, which, even after the peace, and when opposed by no enemy, they passed with the utmost difficulty, and not without the loss of many persons, who were carried away by the violence of the stream, as *Ammianus* himself informs us^a. *Zosimus* supposes them to have passed the *Tigris* before the treaty^r; but his authority is of no weight when he disagrees with *Ammianus*, who^s served in this expedition. Between the *Tigris* and *Corduene* lay a desert seventy miles in extent, destitute of all sorts of provisions, even of water, which reduced them to the necessity of feeding upon their horses, and consequently of leaving behind them great part of their baggage and arms^t. *Libanius* owns, that most of them returned without either arms or money^u. What therefore must have become of them, had they at the same time been incessantly harrassed by a formidable enemy? *Agathias*, who lived two hundred years after, writes, that *Jovian*, impatient to get out of the *Persian* dominions, betrayed *Nisibis*^v; but *Eutropius*, who was an eye-witness of what he writes, does not indeed approve of the peace; but owns, that it was necessary^w: and *Philostorgius*, a christian writer, but an *Arian*, and consequently no-ways favourable to *Jovian*, tells us, that there was no other means of saving the army, already reduced to the tenth part^x. The only thing *Eutropius* blames in *Jovian*, is his faithfully observing the articles, to which necessity alone obliged him to submit, instead of following the example of the antient *Romans*, who never scrupled to break a disadvantageous treaty, extorted from them by force or fear^y. But his religiously executing the articles of a treaty, however disadvantageous, when he was under no other restraint but that of his oath, reflects no less honour on him, than glory on the religion which he professed. He was not acquainted with the maxim, which, to the great disgrace of our religion, prevails now-a-days with the most christian princes, that no treaties, how solemnly soever entered into, are binding, when the least advantage may be reaped from the breach of them; as if perjury were not a crime of as deep a dye in the greatest prince, as in the meanest of the people. We shall now resume the thread of our history.

He observes the articles with great exactness.

Jovian, after the conclusion of the treaty, pursued his retreat; and having passed the *Tigris* and the above-

^a Idem, p. 301, 302.

^r Zos. p. 730.

^s AMMIAN.

ibid.

^t LIB. ORAT. xii. p. 325.

^u AGATH. l. iv. p. 135.

136.

^w EUTROP. p. 589.

^x PHILOST. l. viii. c. i. p.

106.

^y EUTROP. p. 589.

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Jovian
pursues his
march to
the Roman
dominions.

mentioned desert, without being in the least molested by the enemy, he arrived at *Ur*, a *Persian* fortress, between the *Tigris*, and the city of *Nisibis*, where he was met by *Cassianus* governor of *Mesopotamia*, and *Mauritius* a tribune, with such provisions as the army commanded by *Procopius* and *Sebastian* could spare them; for he had sent the two former officers to acquaint the latter with the extremity to which he was reduced ^a. From *Ur* he dispatched messengers into *Illyricum* and *Gaul*, with the news of *Julian's* death, and his own promotion. At the same time he appointed *Lucillianus* his father-in-law commander in chief of the horse and foot in *Illyricum* and *Italy*, and *Malericus* general of the troops in *Gaul*, in the room of *Jovinus* ². Then, continuing his march, he entered at last the *Roman* territories at a place called *Thisalphata*, and was there met by *Procopius* and *Sebastian*, who commanded the army which *Julian* had left in *Mesopotamia*. The emperor received them in a very obliging manner, and soon after sent *Procopius*, who was *Julian's* kinsman, to attend the corpse of that prince to *Tarsus*, in the suburbs of which city he was buried, pursuant to the orders he had given a little before he expired. When the funeral ceremonies were over, *Procopius* privately withdrew from *Tarsus*; and, tho' diligent search was made after him in all parts of the empire, he never could be heard of, till he assumed the purple in 365 ^b. From *Thisalphata* the emperor advanced to *Nisibis*; but encamped without the walls, though greatly importuned by the inhabitants to lodge in the palace, as his predecessors had always done. He was ashamed, says *Ammianus*, to enter a city, which he was about to deliver up to the enemy ^c. The next day *Bineses*, a *Persian* lord of great distinction, who attended *Jovian* in the quality of an hostage, demanded the city to be delivered up to him, pursuant to the articles of the treaty. The inhabitants did all that lay in their power to divert the emperor from complying with his demand; they earnestly entreated him to give them leave to defend the place of their nativity, which they undertook to do, without putting the public to the least charge, telling the emperor, that they were well acquainted with the fatigues of a siege, and knew how to check the *Persian* pride. But *Jovian* insisting upon the faith of the treaty and the obligation of his oath, *Bineses* was, by his order, admitted into the city, of which he took possession in his master's name, by setting up the *Persian* standard. At the

Nisibis de-
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to the
Persians.

^a AMMIAN. l. xxv. p. 301. Zos. l. iii. p. 730.
MIAN. p. 302: ^b Idem, p. 303—306.

^c Idem ibid.
same

same time, the inhabitants were ordered to quit their native city, and retire elsewhere, with what effects they could carry with them. This order occasioned the most melancholy sight, says *Ammianus*, the sun ever beheld ^c. *Chrysostom* likewise describes their departure in a very affecting manner ^d. But the emperor, alledging the sanctity of his oath, was deaf to their cries, entreaties, and lamentations; so that the city was evacuated in three days time, every one cursing, as they departed, a peace, which had proved more fatal to them than the most bloody wars. All the roads were crouded with these forlorn exiles, loaded with what they could carry; but greatly grieved for the loss of many valuable things, which, for want of convenient carriages, they had been obliged to leave behind them. Most of them retired to *Amida*, and were placed by the emperor in the suburbs of that city, which, by this means, repaired all the losses it had sustained in the time of *Constantius*, and by degrees became the metropolis of what remained to the *Romans* in *Mesopotamia* ^e. *Jovian* did not leave *Nisibis*, according to *Ammianus* ^h, till all the inhabitants were retired. Others tell us, that he marched away in the night, after he had been two days encamped before it; two months, we read in *Suidas*, which must be a mistake in the transcriber ⁱ. He then continued his march to *Antioch*, passing through *Edessa*, where he was on the twenty-seventh of *September*, as appears from the date of one of his laws ^k. *Zosimus* writes, that he was no-where received with the demonstrations of joy usual on such occasions ^l. However, it is not unlikely that his arrival was agreeable to the people of *Antioch*, who hated *Julian*, and consequently must have been pleased to see his successor arrive in their city. During his stay at *Antioch*, which was not long, he revoked all the laws that had been enacted by *Julian* against the christians, and made it his chief study to restore the christian religion to its former lustre ^m. *Themistius*, a pagan philosopher, tells us, that he published a law, granting to every one full liberty to hold what religion he pleased; and, after having bestowed great encomiums upon him, on that score, he adds, that he suffered the temples to be opened, and the usual sacrifices and ceremonies to be performed in them ⁿ. On the other hand, *Sozomen* assures us, that, by a law enacted at *Antioch*, *Jovian* re-
vokes all
the laws a-
gainst the
christians.]

^c Idem, p. 304.^f CHRYS. in gent. tom 1. p. 696.^g AMMIAN. ibid. Zos. p. 733. Chron. Alex. p. 696. ^h AMMIAN. p. 305. ⁱ SUID. p. 1244. ^k Cod. Theod. chron. p. 67. ^l Zos. p. 733. ^m RUF. l. xi. c. 1. p. 177. Soz.

l. vi. c. 3. p. 640.

ⁿ THEMIST. p. 57, 63.

tiach, he suppressed all religions, except the christian, ordered the temples to be shut up, and prohibited, under severe penalties, the offering of victims, and all manner of idolatrous worship^o; insomuch, that the pagans were obliged, according to *Socrates*^p, to creep into holes and corners, and those who, in *Julian's* time, had wore the philosophical cloak, to quit it, and to appear in the common attire. What the two latter authors write, is confirmed by the pagan sophist *Libanius*, who says, that, after the death of *Julian*, those were heard with applause, who inveighed against the gods; that the pontiffs and philosophers were dragged to the tribunals as criminals; that they were obliged, by the most exquisite torments cruelty itself could invent, to confess what sums they had received from *Julian* for the worship of their gods, and forced either to restore what they had received, or to languish in dungeons; that the temples were pulled down, and the sophists, who, in *Julian's* reign, had been entertained with the greatest respect by the governors of provinces, were now driven away from their gates like criminals and homicides^q. The emperor was even advised to put *Libanius* to death, for commending *Julian*; but a *Cappadocian*, who had a great ascendant over *Jovian*, advised him to take no notice of such trifles^r. As for the christians, *Jovian* wrote to all the governors of provinces, strictly injoining them to take care, that they were not disturbed in their usual assemblies. He restored to the churches, to the ecclesiastics, to the virgins and widows, all the privileges, immunities, and exemptions, which had been granted to them by *Constantine* and his children; but lately revoked by *Julian*^s. He likewise ordered the yearly allowance of corn, which had been given by *Constantine* to the churches, for the support of the poor, to be continued to them; but as the famine still raged, only the third part of *Constantine's* donation could be spared. *Jovian* promised them the other two parts as soon as the famine abated: but he dying in the mean time, his successors did not make good his promise; whence the churches thenceforth received only one third of what *Constantine* had allotted to them^t. *Jovian* likewise restored the *labarum*, or the standard with the cross, and obliged one *Magnus*, a *comes* or count, to rebuild at his own expence the church of *Berytus*, which, by his order, had been burnt; nay, the emperor had com-

^o Soz. l. vi. c. 3. p. 640.^p SOCRAT. l. iii. c. 25. p. 205.

& c. 24. p. 202, 203.

^q LIB. OR. xii. p. 327.^r LIB. vit.

p. 46.

^s Soz. l. vi. c. 3. p. 604.^t THEODOR. l. i. c. 10.

p. 552. & l. iv. p. 664.

manded his head to be cut off, but was with much-ado prevailed upon by his friends to spare him ^u. As in *Julian's* time several sacred virgins had married, some by choice, others by constraint, *Jovian*, by a law addressed to the prefect *Salustius Secundus*, declares those guilty of death, who shall mention marriage to the sacred virgins, or utter a single word in their presence repugnant to the rules of modesty ^w. This law is still extant, and dated from *Antioch*, the nineteenth of *February* of the ensuing year 364 ^x; which is a gross mistake, it being certain, that *Jovian* was dead before that time, and that he left *Antioch* before the end of the present year. *Jovian* not only espoused the cause of the christians against the pagans, but that of the orthodox believers against the *Arians*; for by the first law he published after he had entered the *Roman* dominions, he commanded the churches to be everywhere restored to those, who had inviolably adhered to the faith of the council of *Nice*, and recalled all the bishops who had been banished on that score, and *Athanasius* in particular, to whom he wrote with his own hand a very obliging and friendly letter ^y, which has reached our times ^z. Some time after he wrote a second letter to him, desiring him to draw up and send him a rule of faith, by which he might regulate his belief in the great variety of opinions that prevailed then in the church. *Athanasius* readily complied with the emperor's request, and sent him a creed or rule of faith, supposed to be that which still passes under his name, approved of and subscribed by all the bishops of *Egypt* ^a. *Jovian* soon after invited *Athanasius* to court, received him, upon his arrival at *Antioch*, with the greatest demonstrations of esteem and veneration imaginable, often conferred with him touching the articles of religion then in debate, and was by him thoroughly confirmed in the doctrine defined and established by the council of *Nice* ^b. After this, *Athanasius* took his leave of the emperor, and returned to his diocese. *Socrates* ^c tells us, that the emperor no sooner entered the *Roman* dominions upon his return from *Persia*, than he was met by the leading men among the *Arians*, *Macedonians*, *Acacians*, and other sectaries, all striving to ingra-

He espou-
ses the cause
of the or-
thodox
christians
against the
Arians.

^u Idem, l. iv. c. 19. p. 689. ^w Soz. p. 640. ^x Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 25. leg. 2. p. 197. ^y THEODOR. l. iv. c. 2. p. 661. GREG. NAZ. p. 394. SOCR. p. 202. ^z ATHAN. tom. 2. p. 33, 34. ^a THEODOR. p. 661. RUF. l. xi. c. 1. p. 177. GREG. NAZ. p. 394. ^b THEODOR. l. iv. c. 3. p. 661—664. EPIPHAN. c. 10. p. 726. SOZ. l. vi. c. 5. p. 642. ^c SOCR. l. iii. c. 24. p. 202. & c. 25. p. 205.

He sets out
for Con-
stantino-
ple.

A tumult
in Gaul.

Jovian en-
ters upon
his first
consulship.

tiate themselves with the new prince, and prepossess him in their favour ; but that he received them coldly, telling them, that he was an enemy to contention, and should esteem and countenance those only who promoted unity and concord. However, as *Jovian* himself openly professed the faith of the council of *Nice*, that doctrine was embraced by many, who, till that time, had been very sanguine in opposing it, and was soon after solemnly confirmed in a council held at *Antioch* this year ^d. *Jovian*, after a short stay at *Antioch*, set out for *Constantinople*, tho' the winter was already far advanced, to prevent the disturbances, which he had reason to apprehend in the west. As he passed through *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, he ordered some ornaments to be added to the tomb of *Julian* ; on which account he is blamed by some christian writers ^e. From *Tarsus* he proceeded to *Tyana* in *Cappadocia*, where he was informed, that *Malericus*, whom he had appointed general of the troops in *Gaul*, having declined that post, *Lucillianus*, the emperors's father-in-law, and general of the troops in *Illyricum* and *Italy*, had hastened into *Gaul* ; and taking upon him there, when matters were not yet settled, to examine the accounts of some officers, one of them, conscious of his frauds, had fled for protection to the *Batavians* who served in the *Roman* army ; and by persuading them that *Julian* was still alive, had so incensed them against *Lucillianus* as a traitor, that in a tumult they killed him, and a tribune, by name *Seniauchus*, whom he had brought with him into *Gaul*. *Valentinian*, afterwards emperor, but then only tribune, and one of the attendants of *Lucillianus*, narrowly escaped undergoing the same fate. This tumult which happened at *Rheims*, did not prevent the troops in *Gaul*, nor their general *Jovinus*, from declaring for *Jovian*, and proclaiming him emperor. They even sent deputies to him, to congratulate him upon his promotion, and acquaint him, that they were ready to obey his commands. The deputies met the new emperor at *Aspona* in *Galatia*, who received them in a very obliging manner, and continued *Jovinus* in the post of general, charging him not to suffer the death of *Lucillianus* to go unrevenge. From *Aspona* *Jovian* pursued his journey to *Ancyra*, the metropolis of *Galatia*, where he took upon him his first consulship. We have observed above, that he had named his father for his colleague ; but he dying in the mean time, he took in his room his own son, whom, though then only an infant, he distin-

^d Idem ibid.
ann. 364.

^e Idem. l. iii. c. 26. p. 205. BARON. ad

guished

guished with the title of *nobilissimus*, or *most noble* ^f. The discourse which *Themistius* is said to have pronounced on occasion of the emperor's consulship, has reached our times ^g; but *Socrates* assures us, that he pronounced it six weeks after at *Dadaстана*, and a second time at *Constantinople* ^h. *Jovian*, hastening to reach the latter city, left *Ancyra*, and continued his journey, though the cold was then so severe and intense, that some of his retinue died on the road. Upon his arrival at *Dadaстана*, a town on the borders of *Galatia* and *Bithynia*, but belonging to the latter province, he was met by *Themistius*, and other persons of distinction, sent by the senate of *Constantinople* to attend him. But before he left that place, *He dies at Dadaстана* he was found dead in his bed, on the sixteenth or seventeenth of *February* of this year 364, after he had lived thirty-three years, and reigned seven months and twenty days ⁱ. His sudden death gave occasion to various reports; some ascribe it to the dampness of his chamber, which had been newly plaistered; others say, he was stifled with the vapours of charcoal placed in the room to dry it. Some write, that he died of a surfeit; others, that his death was owing to bad and poisonous mushrooms. *Socrates* says, he was carried off by an obstruction; and *Chrysostom*, that he was either poisoned or murdered by his guards. *Ammianus* likewise seems to have believed, that he died a violent death; for he compares his end with that of *Scipio Æmilianus*, who was strangled in his bed; and adds, that no inquiry was made after the death of either of them ^k. But *Jovian* had not yet disobligened any man, nor does it appear, that he had any enemies, except perhaps *Procopius*, who took no advantage of his death, nor even shewed himself on that occasion. The body of the deceased emperor was carried to *Constantinople*, and there interred with the usual solemnity in the church of the *Apostles*, where his tomb was to be seen many years after ^l. His wife was coming to meet him, according to *Zonaras* ^m, with her son *Veronianus*, and a retinue worthy of an empress, when she received the news of his death. *Cædrenus* likewise tells us, that she never saw him after his promotion ⁿ; but *Themistius* writes, that the son, and consequently, in all likelihood, the mother

^f AMMIAN. l. xxv. p. 306, 307. SOCRAT. l. iii. c. 26. p. 205. ZOS. p. 733. ZONAR. p. 25. ^g THEMIST. OR. v. p. 71.

^h SOCRAT. *ibid.* p. 205.

ⁱ AMMIAN. p. 308. SOCRAT. *ibid.* ZOS. *ibid.* ZONAR. *ibid.*

^k AMMIAN. p. 308. ^l PHILOST. l. viii. p. 113. ZONAR. *ibid.* DU CANGE, *urb. Constant. descript.* l. iv. p. 110. ^m ZONAR. *ibid.* ⁿ CÆDREN. p. 309.

too, was with the emperor at *Dadaflana*; and adds, that by his crying and struggling when he was to be carried, according to custom, in the consular chariot, he seemed to portend what happened soon after, that is, the death of his father ^o. The empress was still living in 380^p, and was buried after her death by her husband ^q. Of her son we shall speak hereafter. *Jovian* is greatly commended by all the ecclesiastic writers, among whom *Theodoret* says, that heaven raised him to the sovereignty to reward, even in this life, his virtue; but that the world did not deserve to enjoy long so great a blessing^r.

Jovian being dead, the chief officers, both civil and military, assembled in order to chuse a new emperor, when some proposed *Equitius*, tribune of the first company of the shieldmen of the emperor's guard; and others *Januarius*, a kinsman of the deceased emperor, at that time commander of the troops in *Illyricum*: but the former was rejected on account of his surly and rustic temper, and the latter because he was at too great a distance^s. *Zosimus*, ever favourable to the pagans, tells us, that the electors, with one voice, named to the empire *Salustius Secundus*, prefect of the east; a man, says he, of great worth and long experience in war, by religion a pagan, but no great enemy to the christians. He adds, that *Salust*, excusing himself on account of his old age and infirmities, they were for naming his son; but that the father opposed his election, alledging, that he was too young, and consequently not equal to so great a charge^t. At length, after an inter-regnum of nine or ten days, *Valentinian* was, by universal consent, chosen emperor; which unanimity *Ammianus* ascribes to a particular inspiration from heaven^u. The prefect *Salustius Secundus*, *Arintheus*, one of the generals of the army, *Dagalaiphus*, general of the horse, and *Datianus*, a patrician, who had been consul in 358, are said to have been the chief authors of his election^w. The latter had been left by *Jovian* on account of his old age, and the severity of the winter, in *Galatia*; whence he wrote to the army, advising them to chuse *Valentinian*, as a man well qualified for that high station^x. This election was made at *Nice*, the metropolis of *Bithynia*, whither the army that attended *Jovian*, had, after his death, removed from *Dadaflana*^y. *Valentinian* was the son of *Gratianus*, a native of *Gibale* in *Pannonia*:

Valentinian is chosen emperor.

His parentage, education, employments, &c.

^o THEMIST. OR. v. p. 71. ^r CHRYS. ad vid. junior. tom. iv. p. 463. ^q ZONAR. p. 25. ^s THEODORET. l. iv. c. 4. p. 664, 665. ^t AMMIAN. l. xxvi. p. 310. ^u Zos. l. iii. p. 734. ^w AMMIAN. p. 310. ^x PHILOSTORG. l. viii. c. 8. p. 113. ^y AMMIAN. ibid. his

his ancestors were no-ways conspicuous ; but *Gratianus* himself being admitted into the army on account of his extraordinary strength, and great address at all manner of exercises, raised himself by degrees to the dignity of count of *Africa* ; of which honourable employment he was afterwards deprived, upon a suspicion of his having embezzled the public money. However, he was many years after appointed commander of the troops in *Britain* ; in which office he acquitted himself with great reputation. On his return from thence, he withdrew to his estate in the country, leading there a retired life, till it was confiscated by *Constantius*, incensed against him for having entertained *Magnentius* as he passed that way, with a design to usurp the empire. But he continued, notwithstanding his disgrace, to be greatly beloved and esteemed by the army ^a ; and the esteem and affection they all had for the father did not a little contribute to the promotion of the son ^a. The senate of *Constantinople* decreed him a statue in the beginning of the reign of *Valens* ^b. We do not find, that he had any other children besides *Valentinian* and *Valens*, who are supposed to have been both born in the city of *Gibale*, the birth-place of their father. The former is styled on some medals *c* *Flavius*, which prænomen became common to all those who, after *Constantius*'s time, were raised to the empire. *Valentinian* had by his first wife, named *Valeria Severa*, the emperor *Gratian*, born in the year 359. Of his second wife, *Justina*, the mother of *Valentinian II.* and of three daughters, we shall speak hereafter. *Valentinian* was baptized, as we read in *St. Ambrose* ^d, and held the doctrine of the council of *Nice*, though that of *Arius* generally prevailed in *Pannonia* ^e. He is said by most writers to have been altogether illiterate ; and *Themistius* seems to insinuate, that neither he, nor his brother *Valens*, had any knowledge of the *Greek* tongue ^f. But *Ausonius* allows him some erudition ^g. He betook himself early to the profession of arms, and on several occasions gave remarkable proofs of his courage, prudence, and experience ^h. In *Gaul* he commanded a body of horse, in quality of tribune ; but that command was taken from him by *Constantius*, as we have related in the reign of that prince, upon a false charge brought against him by *Barbetio*. *Philostorgius* writes, that while he was in *Gaul*,

^a AMMIAN. l. xxx. p. 428. VICT. epit. p. 545.
ibid.

^b THEODORET. p. 171. THEMIST. or. vi. p. 81.

^c BIRAG. p. 501. 505. ^d AMEROS. ep. xiii. p. 204.

^e SOCR.

l. iv. c. 1. p. 210.

^f THEMIST. or. vi. p. 71.

^g AU-

SON. idyll. xxviii. p. 339.

^h ZOS. p. 734.

His stead-
iness in the
christian
religion,
and aver-
sion to ido-
latry.

it was conjectured from some omens, that he should attain one day to the empire; which induced *Constantius* to send him into *Mesopotamia*, to serve there against the *Persians*¹. Under *Julian* he was tribune of one of the bands of the guards, called *Joviani*, who constantly attended the emperor^k. We are told, that being one day obliged, as tribune of the guard, to attend the emperor into a temple, and the minister of the idols sprinkling those who entered with water, which was supposed to purify them, *Valentinian*, who was a zealous christian, seeing a drop of it upon his habit, not only reviled and upbraided the pontiff as an impostor, but struck him, and, in the presence of *Julian*, cut out that part of his habit on which it had fallen, and threw it contemptuously on the ground. This provoked *Julian* to such a degree, that he immediately ordered *Valentinian* either to sacrifice to the gods, or lay down his employment: he chose, without hesitation, the latter; but *Julian*, not satisfied therewith, confined him, according to *Philostorgius*, to *Thebes* in *Egypt*; according to *Sozomen*, to *Melitene* in *Armenia*, charging him with some neglect of duty, to deprive him of the glory which he was apprised would accrue to him from suffering on account of his religion^l. If what these authors write be true, *Julian* must have recalled him soon after, perhaps to employ him in the *Persian* war; for he is supposed to have been banished in 362, and on the other hand it is plain from *Ammianus Marcellinus*^m, that, at the death of *Julian*, he served in the army in quality of tribune. Upon the promotion of *Jovian*, *Lucillianus*, father-in-law to that prince, took him with him into *Gaul*, as one capable of establishing, by his prudence and known abilities, the authority of the new emperor in that province. *Lucillianus* was killed, as we have related above, in a tumult at *Rheims*; and *Valentinian* narrowly escaped undergoing the same fate. Upon his return into the east, *Jovian* preferred him to the command of the second company of the *scutarii*, or shield-men of the guard; and left him at *Ancyra*, when he set out from thence on his march to *Constantinople*, with orders to follow him some time afterⁿ. *Valentinian* was still at *Ancyra*, when *Jovian* died at *Dadastana*; and he was chosen, in the manner we have related above, to succeed him. Upon his election messengers were immediately dispatched to acquaint him with it; and in the

¹ PHILOST. l. vii. c. 7. p. 93. ^k THEODOR. l. iii. c. 12.

^l SOZ. l. vi. c. 6. p. 644. PHILOSTORG. p. 93. THEODORET. p. 650. ZOS. l. iv. p. 735. OROS. l. vii. c. 32. RUF. l. ii. c. 2. p. 178. ^m AMMIAN. l. xxv. p. 302. ⁿ Idem ibid.

mean time *Equitius* and *Leo* ordered to prevent disturbances or tumults in the army. *Valentinian*, soon after the arrival of the messengers, set out from *Ancyra*, and reached *Nice*, where the army then was, on the twenty-fourth of *February*; but did not appear abroad till the twenty-sixth, perhaps because he was in suspense, whether he should accept the empire or no, as we read in *Victor* the younger^o. This, at least, seems more probable to us than the conjecture of *Amianus Marcellinus*^p, viz. that out of superstition he avoided transacting any thing on the twenty-fifth, that being the *bissextile*, and consequently an unlucky day. Be that as it will, orders were given in the evening, by the advice of the prefect *Salustius Secundus*, that no person who might, on account of his post or quality, be supposed to aspire at the empire, should, on pain of death, be seen abroad the next morning. As soon as it was light, the whole army was drawn up in a plain near the city of *Nice*; and *Valentinian*, appearing at their head, was desired to ascend the tribunal; which he had no sooner done, than he was, with loud shouts, saluted *Valentinianus Augustus*, and adorned, in the sight of the whole army, with all the ensigns of sovereignty, that is, with a purple robe and a diadem^q. When this ceremony was over, the new emperor was preparing to harangue the army, according to custom, and had already stretched out his hand to begin his speech, when he was stopped by a seditious noise of the soldiery, requiring him to take that instant a colleague in the sovereignty, that the empire might not for the future remain, as it had happened twice in a few months, without a head. *Valentinian*, though a man of great resolution and intrepidity, was at first somewhat alarmed; but soon resuming his usual courage, he first reproved, with an air of authority, those who appeared the most forward and seditious; and then, without any interruption, addressed himself to the army in the following terms: "It was in your power a few days ago to chuse for your emperor whom you pleased; but since you have raised me to that high station, I must tell you, that power is no longer in your hands: you are not to prescribe laws to your sovereign; it is my province to command, and yours to obey: I am to judge, and not you, what may be useful and conducive to the public welfare. However, I do not say, that I will not take a colleague; but in an affair of such importance, I must proceed with the utmost care and precaution imaginable, lest

He is saluted by the army with the title of Augustus.

His firmness and intrepidity in quelling a tumult in the army.

^o *VICT. epit.* p. 545.

ibid. *Zos.* l. iii. p. 724.

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^p *AMMIAN.* p. 312.

T t 3

^q *Idem*

^o both

“ both you and I may hereafter have occasion to repent of our rashness.” This resolute speech, uttered with all the authority of a sovereign, stopped the mouths of the mutineers; and no one daring to oppose a man, who seemed born to command, he was again, with a general acclamation, saluted with the title of *Augustus*, and conducted, or, as *Philostorgius* will have it, carried on a large shield, to the imperial palace^r.

He declares
his brother
Valens his
colleague
in the em-
pire.

Valentinian being thus declared emperor at *Nice* on the twenty-sixth of *February* of this year 364, left that city on the twenty-eighth of the same month, and set out for *Constantinople*. His march was very expeditious; for he made his public entry into *Nicomedia* on the first of *March*, and there created his brother *Valens præfectus stabuli*, that is, according to the modern phrase, master of the horse, with the title of tribune; and after his arrival at *Constantinople*, declared him his colleague in the empire on the twenty-eighth of *March*, according to the most probable opinion. This ceremony was performed at a place called *Hebdomon*, or the *seventh*, because it was seven miles distant from *Constantinople*. In this place, which was a village, with an imperial palace, and several churches, the emperors who succeeded *Valens* were commonly crowned, and that prince embellished it with several edifices, and with a stately tribunal or throne; whence it took the name of *the tribunal*^r. *Ammianus* tells us, that *Valentinian* having summoned a council at *Nice*, as soon as he was declared emperor, to deliberate about a colleague; and the other officers being all silent, through fear of disobliging the emperor, *Dagalaiphus* addressing him with great liberty, *If you are partial*, said he, *to your own family, you will make choice of your brother; but if you love your people, you will prefer some other.* *Ammianus* adds, that when he named *Valens*, his choice was universally applauded, because no one dared to disapprove or oppose it^r; which shews, that no great advantages to the state were expected from *Valens*. However, *Ammianus*, who neither condemns him as a bad prince, nor thinks him worthy of a place among the good ones^u, observes to his praise, that he ever kept up a good understanding with his brother; that he undertook nothing without his advice, and obeyed him not only as his elder brother, but as his sovereign^w. Some time after, both

^r AMMIAN. p. 312. THEODORET. l. iv. c. 5. p. 665. SOZOM. p. 647. PHILOSTORG. p. 113. ^r DU CANGE urb. Const. descript. l. ii. p. 140. ^r AMMIAN. p. 314. ^u Idem. l. xxx. p. 428. ^w Idem, l. xxvi. p. 315.

princes were seized with a violent fever, which was by some ascribed to the magical practices of *Julian's* friends, especially of the philosophers *Maximus* and *Priscus*, who thereupon were apprehended, with many others, and carried in chains to *Constantinople*. *Priscus* was soon discharged; but *Maximus*, who was universally hated, and supposed to have stirred up *Julian* against *Valentinian*, on account of his zeal for the christian religion, was condemned to pay a heavy fine, and to lie in prison till he had paid it. Many eminent persons were accused on this occasion; but the prefect *Salustius Secundus*, with his usual address, prudence, and good-nature, stifled such accusations, and put a stop to all further inquiries^{*}. The two emperors were no sooner recovered, than they left *Constantinople*; and passing through *Adrianople*, where they were on the twenty-ninth of *April* arrived at *Philippopolis*; whence they proceeded to *Sardica*, and from that city to *Naissus* in *Dacia*, where they were on the third of *June*, and seem to have continued till about the eighteenth of the same month, partly at *Naissus*, partly at a castle named *Mediana*, about three miles from that city^z. As the empire was threatened with a general invasion from the barbarous nations that surrounded it, *Valentinian*, the better to make head against them, thought it adviseable to divide the provinces between himself and his brother; and accordingly made this famous partition at *Mediana*, committing to the government of *Valens* the east, that is, all *Asia*, with *Egypt* and *Thrace*, and reserving to himself *Illyricum*, *Italy*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Britain*, and *Africa*, that is, all the west. After this partition, both princes repaired to *Sirmium*, where they parted, *Valentinian* for *Milan*, and *Valens* for *Constantinople*^z. In the mean time the barbarians broke into the empire from all quarters, the *Germans* into *Gaul* and *Rhetia*, the *Sarmatians* and *Quadians* into *Pannonia*, the *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Scots*, and *Atacotti* into *Britain*, and the *Austurians*, with other *Moorish* nations, into *Africa*. But the latter province was not so much harrassed by the barbarians as by *Romanus*, who had been sent by *Jovian* to protect it; for the *Austurians* had in his reign made frequent inroads into *Libya Tripolitana*, and the neighbouring countries. *Romanus* surpassed the barbarians themselves in oppressing and pillaging that unhappy province, and even refused to march a-

He punishes
some of
Julian's
friends.

He divides
the empire
with his
brother
Valens.

Libya
Tripolita-
na harrassed by the
Austurians
and oppressed by
Romanus.

^{*} Zos. l. iv. p. 735. EUNAP. c. 5. p. 82, 83.

MIAN. l. xxvi. p. 315. Cod. Theodof. Chron. p. 69.

dem ibid.

^z AMMIAN. p. 316. Cod. Theodof. chron. p. 69, 70.

gainst the enemy, who, roving up and down the country, committed every-where dreadful ravages, because the inhabitants would not comply with his exorbitant demands; for he required, besides immense sums, no fewer than four thousand camels, without which, he said, he could not take the field. The *Africans* finding they could have no protection from *Romanus*, charged the deputies, whom they sent with the usual presents to *Valentinian* upon his accession to the empire, to lay before the new emperor the miserable state of their affairs; which they did accordingly, offering to prove the particulars contained in the memorial, which they presented to the emperor; but *Remigius*, who was then *magister officiorum*, and shared with *Romanus*, his kinsman and confident, the spoils of the province, by representing things in a quite different light, managed his friend's cause with so much cunning and address, that the emperor, not knowing whom to believe, referred the matter to a further inquiry; which *Remigius* got easily put off from time to time, as there was then a great hurry of business at court. However, they prevailed upon the emperor to give the command of the troops to *Ruricius*, governor of *Libya Tripolitana*; but, by the interest of *Remigius*, it was soon after restored to *Romanus*. In the mean while, the *Austurians* came down in greater numbers than ever, laid waste the fruitful territories of *Leptis* and *Oea*; from which cities, and that of *Sebrata*, the province is said to have been named *Tripolis*, that word importing *three cities*. As *Romanus* continued the whole time unconcerned and inactive, the barbarians scoured the country without meeting with the least opposition, ravaged it in a most miserable manner, put many persons of all ranks to the sword, took an incredible number of prisoners, and had even the confidence to lay siege to *Leptis*, a strong and populous city, but were not able to reduce it. The noise of these devastations reaching the emperor's ears, he dispatched *Palladius* to pay the troops their arrears, and bring him a true account of the state of the province. *Romanus*, being immediately acquainted by his friend *Remigius* with the errand on which *Palladius* was sent, persuaded the principal officers of the army, with whom he maintained a good understanding, to present *Palladius*, whom he represented as a man of great authority at court, with a great share of the money which he had brought to pay them. *Palladius* accepted the present, and proceeded to *Leptis*, where he heard the complaints of the inhabitants, and was by them conducted to view the country, that he might be an eyewitness of the miserable condition to which it was reduced, and of the dreadful havock the barbarians had made, without being in the least curbed or restrained.

Romanus
accused but
continued in
his com-
mand.

Palladius
sent to in-
quire into
the state of
the pro-
vince.

trained. *Palladius*, at that sight, could not help exclaiming against *Romanus*, telling him in plain terms, that he would not fail to acquaint the emperor with his unaccountable conduct, and upbraiding him with his cruelty and avarice. But *Romanus* soon stopt his mouth, by upbraiding him in his turn with converting to his private use the money with which he was to pay the soldiers, and threatening to let the emperor know he had betrayed his trust. This put *Palladius* into such a fright, that he agreed with *Romanus* to conceal the whole from the emperor, whom accordingly he assured on his return, that the city of *Leptis*, and the *Tripolitan* province, complained without reason; which was believed, *Palladius* being generally esteemed a man of great integrity, and above all bribery and corruption. Nay, the emperor was by him so misled, and shamefully imposed upon, that he sent him back into *Africa* to try and punish the authors of the supposed calumnies and false informations brought against *Romanus*. In the discharge of this scandalous office, he tampered so cunningly with the inhabitants of *Leptis*, that they disowned the complaints which *Jovinus*, one of their deputies, had laid before the emperor in their name, maintaining that they had given him no such commission. *Jovinus* himself, to gain the favour of *Palladius* and *Romanus*, and by that means avoid the danger that threatened him, owned he had made a false report to the emperor, who thereupon ordered him to be put to death, with some of the chief citizens of *Leptis*, and the governor *Ruricius*, who had confirmed the truth of the informations brought against *Romanus*. The latter was executed at *Stephæ* in *Mauritania*, and the others at *Utica*. *Erethius* and *Aristomenes*, two other citizens of *Leptis*, who had complained of *Romanus*, were condemned to have their tongues cut out; but they found means to make their escape, and lay concealed till the reign of *Gratian*, when this scene of iniquity was brought to light.

THE following year, 365, both princes entered upon their first consulship, the one at *Milan*, the other at *Constantinople*. *Valentinian* seems to have continued at *Milan* till the month of *August*, and then to have visited several cities of *Italy*, viz. *Verona*, *Aquileia*, and *Luceria*. From *Italy* he passed into *Gaul*, and was either at or near *Paris* in his way to that city in the latter end of *October*, when he received certain intelligence that the *Germans* had made an irruption into that province; and that *Procopius* had revolted in the east. Of the

^a AMMIAN. l. xxvi. p. 316. & l. xxvii. p. 347—380.
Theodof. chron. p. 75.

^c Cod.

latter

But retire
at the ap-
proach of
the emperor

latter we shall speak in the reign of *Valens*. As for the *Germans*, they had sent ambassadors to congratulate *Valentinian* upon his accession to the empire ; but *Ursacius*, then *magister officiorum*, having received them in a very disobliging manner, and sent them back with far less presents than were usually given them, they had thrown them away with scorn and indignation ; and upon their return, stirred up their nation to take arms, and revenge the affront that had been offered them. They broke therefore into *Gaul*, and laid waste the country bordering on the *Rhine*. *Valentinian* dispatched *Dagalaiphus* against them, and advanced in person as far as *Rheims* to support him. But the *Germans* retiring at his approach, he returned to *Paris*, and there took up his winter-quarters ^d. He was for returning into *Illyricum* to make head there against the rebel *Procopius* ; but his friends, and the deputies that were sent to him from all the cities in *Gaul*, earnestly intreating him not to leave that province exposed to the inroads of the *Germans*, he complied with their request, considering, says *Ammianus*, that *Procopius* was only an enemy to his family, whereas the *Germans* were declared enemies to the whole *Roman* empire ^e. Being therefore resolved not to stir out of *Gaul*, he dispatched *Neotherius*, at that time only a notary, but afterwards, that is, in 390, consul, into *Africa*, to prevent *Procopius* from making himself master of that province ; and at the same time enjoined *Equitius* to cover *Illyricum*, and watch the motions of the usurper on that side ^f. *St. Jerom* writes, that *Equitius* abused his authority in oppressing and plundering the people whom he was sent to protect ^g. *Equitius* was already *comes* or count, to which dignity the emperor added on this occasion that of *magister* or general ^h.

The Ro-
mans de-
feated by
the Ger-
mans.

THE next consuls were *Gratian* and *Dagalaiphus* ; the latter was general of the horse, and had been *comes domesticorum* under *Julian* : his name gives us room to believe, that he was by birth a barbarian. As for his colleague, he was the son of the emperor *Valentinian*, and then an infant ; whence in the dates of the laws enacted this year he is marked thus NB. P. that is, *Nobilissimus Puer*. The *Germans*, who had made an irruption into *Gaul* the preceding year, and retired at the approach of the emperor, as we have observed above, returned this year, 366, and having passed the *Rhine* on the ice, defeated the *Romans* in a pitched battle, took the standards of the *Batavians* and *Heruli*, and killed the two counts *Cha-*

^d AMMIAN. l. xxvi. p. 315—317.

^e Idem ibid.

^f Idem ibid.

^g HIER. ad. ann. 373.

^h Idem, l. xxvii p. 334.

ⁱ AMMIAN. ibid.

rietto and *Severianus*, says *Zosimus*, who commanded the Roman forces ¹. That the Romans were defeated, and *Severianus* killed, is owned by *Ammianus* ^k; but *Charietto* must have escaped, since we find a law dated the seventeenth of *May* addressed to him ^l; whereas this battle was fought in the depth of winter, when the *Rhine* was frozen over ^m. *Zosimus* adds, that *Valentinian*, who, according to him, was present at this battle, highly provoked against the *Batavians* for having given ground the first, ordered them to be cashiered and sold for slaves, but suspended the execution of his orders, upon their promising to retrieve their reputation by some signal enterprise; which they did accordingly, attacking the enemy's camp in the dead of the night, and committing there a dreadful slaughter ⁿ. What *Zosimus* writes touching the *Batavians* may be true; but as for *Valentinian*, it is plain from *Ammianus*, that when this battle was fought, he was at *Paris*; whence he immediately dispatched *Dagalaiphus*, to prevent the evil consequences that were likely to attend the defeat of the other generals. *Dagalaiphus*, pretending he had not sufficient strength to engage the enemy, who were roving about the country in several great bodies, did not so much as offer to restrain them. Hereupon he was recalled, and *Jovinus*, general of the troops in *Gaul*, was sent in his room; who, having carefully informed himself of the motions of the barbarians, fell upon one of their parties at *Jovinus* a place called *Scarponna*, between *Toul* and *Metz*, and cut gains a them all off, without losing one man. Being attended with complete the like success against another party, which he surprised, he victory advanced with incredible expedition against the main body of over the their army, attacked them, though far superior to him in Germans. number, and after a long and bloody contest, put them to flight. The fight continued the whole day, and the Romans were once in great danger of being utterly defeated, the sudden flight of a tribune, named *Balchobaudes*, who was a great boaster, and consequently, as it generally happens, a downright coward, having disanimated the troops under his command. However, *Jovinus*, inspiring them, more by his example than by words, with fresh courage, led them on to the charge, while they were ready to turn their backs; and, pressing with great resolution and intrepidity upon the enemy, obliged them to give ground, and betake themselves to a disorderly flight. On the enemy's side, six thousand

¹ Zos. l. iv. p. 740.^k AMMIAN. l. xxvii. p. 334.^l Cod. Theodof. l. v. tit. 5. leg. 1. p. 440. ^m AMMIAN.& Zos. ibid. ⁿ Zos. ibid.

were killed upon the spot, and four thousand wounded; and of the *Romans* only two hundred killed, and as many wounded *. The enemy withdrew in the night-time, but were intercepted in their retreat by several parties sent out by *Jovinus* for that purpose; insofmuch, that few of them had the good luck to escape. *Jovinus* followed them the next morning with the whole army; but finding he could not overtake them without harrassing his troops, he returned to his camp, where he was informed, that their king, who had been taken by a party sent to plunder their camp, had been hanged in his absence. Being greatly provoked at so base an action, he resolved to punish with death the tribune, who commanded the party; but he found upon examination, that the soldiers had done it in the height of their rage, which the tribune had in vain attempted to restrain †. *Valentinian* had advanced as far as *Rheims* to support *Jovinus*, as we conjecture from several laws enacted this year in that city, and dated the seventh of *April*, the seventeenth of *May*, and the fourteenth of *June* ‡: but he must have returned to *Paris* before the end of the campaign; for *Jovinus* marching back to *Paris* with his victorious army, the emperor, to do him honour, went out to meet him, and for his eminent services named him consul for the ensuing year †. The public joy for the happy successes of this glorious campaign was greatly heightened by the arrival of messengers from *Valens*, with the head of *Procopius*, killed in *Asia* on the twenty-seventh of *May*, as we shall relate hereafter. *Valentinian* was returned to *Rheims* on the twenty-seventh of *November* †, and seems to have continued there all winter †. He made it his chief study to fortify the banks of the *Rhine*, causing a great number of forts to be erected on the *German*, as well as on the *Roman* side of that river; by which means, and by augmenting his forces, he prevented the barbarians, says *Zosimus* †, from ever breaking into the *Roman* territories during the nine remaining years of his reign. But that writer must be understood of the *Alemans*; for we shall have soon occasion to speak of the irruptions of the *Franks* and *Saxons* into *Gaul*.

Valentinian fortifies the banks of the Rhine.

THE next consuls were *Lupicinus* and *Jovinus*, both generals, the former under *Valens* in *Syria*, and the latter under *Valentinian* in *Gaul*. *Jovinus* is by the ablest critics thought to be the same person with *Valens Jovinus*, general of the horse, who was succeeded in that employment by

AMMIAN. p. 334, 335.
dof. chron. p. 77.
chron. p. 77, 79.

† Zos. ibid.

‡ AMMIAN. ibid.

‡ Idem ibid.

§ Cod. Theod.

‡ Cod. Theodof.

¶ Zos. l. iv. p. 742.

Theodosius

Theodosius in 370, as we read in *Ammianus* ^w. He was sent this very year into *Britain*, and attended *Valentinian* in his expedition against the *Germans* in 368 ^x. *Flodard*, in his history of the church of *Rheims*, produces the epitaph of one *Jovinus*, who had been twice general of the *Roman* horse and foot, and yet was more illustrious for his piety than his employments ^y. He was baptized and buried at *Rheims*, in the church of *St. Agricola*, now the abbey of *St. Nicaise*, or *St. Nicaise*, as the natives call it. The stately tomb, still to be seen there, is thought to have been his ^z. The epitaph seems to insinuate, that he was the founder of that church, which, in the last will of the holy bishop *Rhemigius*, is styled the *Jovinian church* ^a. Most authors take this *Jovinus* to be the consul of this year, which we can hardly believe, since in the epitaph no notice is taken of the consulship, a dignity far superior to the others mentioned in it. Besides, we are nowhere told, that *Jovinus*, the consul of this year, was a christian; nay, from *Julian's* preferring him to the first employments both civil and military, we may well conclude, that he did not profess the christian religion, at least in that prince's reign. All the laws of this year to the third of *June* are dated from *Rheims* ^b; a plain proof, that the emperor continued there till that time: one dated the sixth of *August* was enacted at *Nemaesia*, said to have been a place in the neighbourhood of *Rheims* ^c. From *Nemaesia* the emperor removed to *Amient*, as appears from a law dated the eighteenth of *August*, and addressed to *Prætextatus*, prefect of *Rome* ^d. He was probably *Valentinian* kept so long at *Rheims* by a violent distemper, with which an *fall* he was seized this year. As his recovery was despaired of, *ill*, the great officers of the court began to form cabals, and to think of naming him a successor. The chief candidates for the imperial dignity were *Rusticus Julianus* and *Severus*, both dreaded on account of their severity and rigour, but the former much more than the latter: he afterwards betrayed a most cruel and savage temper, when he was proconsul of *Africa* in 371, and 372. *Symmachus* is thought to have addressed to him the first fifteen letters of his third book. As for *Severus*, he was, in the judgment of *Ammianus*, in every respect preferable to *Julianus* ^e. But the emperor's unexpected recovery put an end to the hopes and intrigues of the court-
But recovery, and creates his

^w AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 369.^x Idem, l. xxvii p. 346. *for Gratian*^y FLODARD. Remens. eccles. hist. l. i. c. 6. p. 33.^z MARLOT. an emperor.

metropol. Remens. hist. l. i. c. 28. p. 101.

^a FLODARD. p.

32, 33.

^b Cod. Theodof. chron. p. 78, 79.^c Idem

ibid.

^d Idem ibid.^e AMMIAN. l. xxvii. p. 342.

tiers; for he, being probably informed of what had been transacted, resolved to prevent any farther disputes, by raising his son *Gratian* to the empire. Having therefore beforehand gained the soldiery, he assembled them in the neighbourhood of *Amiens*; and, with their consent and approbation, declared him his colleague in the empire, vesting him with the purple, and other ensigns of sovereignty, amidst the loud acclamations of the multitude ^f. Thus was *Gratian* created emperor on the twenty-fourth of *August*, 367, at the city of *Amiens*, for which he is said to have ever shewed a very particular regard: he was then about eight years old, having been born in 359, on the eighteenth of *April*, or, as others will have it, on the twenty-third of *May*. Every one was surprised, says *Ammianus*, at the emperor's raising him at once to the sovereignty, instead of creating him first *Cæsar*, pursuant to the custom, which had prevailed till that time ^g. *Victor* writes, that he was induced thereunto by his mother-in-law and his wife. Of the former, we find no farther mention in history. As to the latter, she was, without all doubt, the mother of *Gratian*, *Valentinian's* first wife, called by *Socrates*, *Severa* ^h, and stiled on some medals *Valeria Severa Augusta* ⁱ. That princess was then certainly at court, and in favour; but seems to have been soon after disgraced. We read in the chronicle of *Alexandria*, that the empress *Severa* having purchased an estate at a very low rate, the emperor, suspecting some foul dealing, was so provoked, that, not satisfied with obliging her to restore the estate to the former owner, he drove her out of the city ^k. Be that as it will, it is certain, that *Valentinian* divorced her, and married *Justina*, a native of *Sicily* ^l, and the daughter, as is supposed, of one *Justus*, whom *Constantius* ordered to be put to death, while he was governor of *Picenum*, because he had bragged, giving credit to some omens, that he should one day be the father of an emperor. *Zosimus* writes, that she had been married before to *Magnentius*, killed in 352 ^m. She favoured the doctrine of *Arius*, but craftily concealed her sentiments in the emperor's life-time ⁿ. She had two brothers, viz. *Constantianus*, who was raised to the dignity of *tribunus stabuli*, but killed by a band of robbers in 369, and *Cerealis*, on whom the emperor

He divorced *Severa* and marries *Justina*.

^f Idem ibid. p. 343. Zos. l. iv. p. 742. Socr. l. iv. c. 11. p. 219.
^g AMMIAN. ibid. ^h Socr. l. iv. c. 31. p. 249. ⁱ GOLTZ. p. 132. ^k Chron. Alex. p. 702, 704. ^l Socr. p. 249.
^m Idem ibid. JORN. p. 652. Zos. ibid. p. 746. ⁿ RUFIN. l. ii. c. 15. p. 184.

conferred

conferred the same dignity after the death of his brother ^o. By *Justina* the emperor had four children, viz. *Valentinian II.* *Justa*, *Grata*, and *Galla*, of whom the latter was married to the emperor *Theodosius* ^p. *Socrates* writes, that the empress *Severa* having taken *Justina*, upon the death of her father, under her protection, and brought her up at court, the emperor was so taken with her charms, that he resolved to marry her; but on the other hand, being unwilling to divorce his wife *Severa*, he caused a law to be published in all the cities of the empire, allowing his subjects to have two wives at a time: he adds, that *Valentinian* himself being the first who made use of his own licence, married *Justina* without dismissing *Severa* ^q. Thus *Socrates*. But as neither *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who is no-ways favourable to *Valentinian*, nor *Zosimus*, an avowed enemy to all the christian princes, take any notice of such a remarkable law, we cannot help looking upon the account of *Socrates* as an arrant fable. *Jornandes* indeed relates the same thing ^r; but he copied it from *Socrates*, whom, for the most part, he follows. About the close of this year, the city of *Mentz* was unexpectedly attacked, taken, and plundered, by *Rhando*, one of the princes of the *Alemanns*, while the emperor, says *Ammianus*, was employed in some other expedition ^t; but in what expedition, we are no-where told. The same writer observes, that *Rhando* surprised the place, while the inhabitants, for the most part christians, were celebrating a solemn festival. The *Romans*, to revenge this insult, had recourse to treachery, and caused *Vithicabius*, a prince of the same nation, to be assassinated by one of his own people, whom they had gained over by their emissaries. *Vithicabius* was the son of *Vadomarius*, king of the *Alemanns*, of whom we have had frequent occasion to speak in the reign of *Constantius*. The death of *Vithicabius*, who was a prince of great address, intrepidity, and resolution, put a stop for some time to the incursions of the *Alemanns* ^u. *Valentinian*, soon after the promotion of *Gratian*, left *Amiens*, and repaired to *Treves*, in which city he passed the winter, as appears from the dates of several laws of this and the following year ^v. Before he reached that place, he was alarmed with dismal tidings from *Britain*, viz. that the *Picts*, *Scots*, and other northern nations, had broke into the *Roman* territories; and having

The city of
Mentz
taken and
plundered
by the Ale-
manns.

The trea-
chery of the
Romans.

The Picts
and Scots
break into
the Roman
territories

^o AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 367. ^p SOCR. p. 150. ^q SOCR.
l. iv. c. 32. ^r JORNAND. reg. c. 40. p. 652. ^t AMMIAN.
l. xxvii. p. 349. ^u Idem ibid. ^v Cod. Theodof. chron.
p. 81.

killed *Nectaridus*, count of the maritime tract, and *Fullofaudes*, who is distinguished with the title of *dux* or *duke*, had committed every-where dreadful ravages, and reduced the province to a most deplorable condition. Hereupon the emperor immediately dispatched into *Britain* *Severus*, at that time *comes domesticorum*; but receiving still worse news of the state of affairs in that island, he soon after recalled him, and sent *Jovinus* in his room, who having acquainted the emperor with the miserable condition to which the island was reduced, and the still greater evils with which it was threatened, if a powerful reinforcement both of horse and foot were not sent with all possible expedition to its relief, *Valentinian* made choice of *Theodosius*, father to the emperor of the same name, and committed to him the whole management of this troublesome war. *Theodosius*, who was an officer of great experience and known abilities, hastened to *Boulogne*, and embarking there, landed at *Rutupiæ*; whence, as soon as his forces arrived from the continent, he marched to *Lundonium* or *London*, which *Ammianus* styles an ancient city; and there dividing his troops into several parties, he advanced against the enemy, who were roving up and down the country, cut great numbers of them in pieces, obliged them to quit the booty and prisoners they had taken, and recovered an entire province, which they had seized and held as their own. To this province which comprised the southern parts of *Scotland*, the emperor gave the name of *Valentia*, perhaps from his brother *Valens*. Thus was the number of the provinces in this island increased, *Valentia* being added to the four former, which were *Britannia Prima*, *Britannia Secunda*, *Maxima Caesariensis*, and *Flavia Caesariensis*^w. *Theodosius*, at the same time, crushed in its very beginning the revolt of *Valentine* or *Valentinian*, who, being banished into *Britain*, prevailed upon some of the inhabitants to proclaim him emperor; which *Theodosius* no sooner understood, than he marched against the usurper, and having got him and some of his confederates into his power, he delivered them up to the civil magistrates; but would not suffer them to be examined concerning their accomplices, lest that should give occasion to new troubles^x. The same year, the *Franks* and *Saxons* broke into *Gaul*, but were repulsed with great slaughter by *Theodosius*, on his return from *Britain*^y: it was probably on account

But are
repulsed by
Theodo-
sius.

The revolt
of Valen-
tine in Bri-
tain sup-
pressed.

^w AMMIAN. l. xxvii. p. 346. & l. xxviii. p. 368. USHER. Britannicar. ecclesiast. antiq. p. 588. ^x AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 368. Zos. l. iv. p. 742. ^y Idem, l. xxvii. p. 346.

of the advantages gained on this occasion, that *Valentinian* assumed the title of the conqueror of the *Franks*, which is given him in an inscription of the year 369^a. *Ammianus*, among the other transactions of this year 367, relates several instances of the excessive severity and injustice of *Valentinian*, who had hitherto with great care concealed the cruelty of his *Instances* temper. He condemn'd *Diocles*, who had been *comes largi-* of *Valen-* *tionum* in *Illyricum*, to be burnt alive for very inconsiderable *nian's cru-* faults; and ordered *Diodorus*, who had been *agens in rebus*, *elty*. to be put to death, with three apparitors of the vicar of *Italy*, for no other reason, but because *Diodorus* had commenced a suit against a count, who was going to court, and the apparitors had, pursuant to their office, summoned him to appear. The memory of *Diodorus*, and the three apparitors is still honoured, says *Ammianus*, by the christians at *Milan*, who call the place where they were buried *the innocents*^a. To this probably the quaestor *Euphraxius* alluded, when, upon the emperor's commanding another person to be put to death for causing the sentence of a lawful judge to be executed, he told him, that the christian religion honoured those as martyrs whom he condemned as guilty b. *St Jerom* tells us, that this year, in the country of the *Atrebates*, now the *Artois*, *wool* fell from heaven mixed with rain c. *Orosius* adds, that it was true *wool*^d; and *Bucherius*, that some of it is still to be seen at *Arras*, where it is called *manna*^e.

THE following year, the two emperors, *Valentinian* and *Valens*, were consuls for the second time. The former enact- *Several* ed this year several excellent laws; and among the rest one *lawus enac-* commanding all pleaders, or lawyers, to forbear, in pleading, *ted by Va-* abusive terms, invectives, and injuries, and to content them- *lentinian*. selves with such fees as their clients shall be pleased to give them, without making any bargain or agreement beforehand: as for such lawyers as have been honoured with any public employment, he will have them to be satisfied with the glory of protecting the innocent, without debasing themselves to accept of any other reward f. By another law, he establishes a physician in each of the fourteen quarters, into which the city of *Rome* was divided, who was to take care of the poor, and be maintained at the public expence. By this

^a VALES. rer. Fran. l. i. p. 46. ^b AMMIAN. l. xxvii. p. 345. ^c Idem ibid. ^d HIER. chron. ad ann. 367. ^e OROS. l. vii. c. 32 p. 218. ^f BUCH. Belg. p. 349. ^g Cod. Theodof. l. ii. tit. 10. leg. 2. p. 140. & cod. Just. l. ii. tit. 6. leg. 6. p. 187.

law the physician is allowed to accept what his patient shall think fit to give him, when intirely recovered, but not what he had promised during his illness^g. By a third law, he commands some soldiers to remove from a synagogue, where they were quartered, that being contrary to the respect due to a place set apart for the worship of God^h.

Valentini- *Valentinian*, having spent the winter at *Treves* in making vast
an enters preparations, with a design to attack the *Alemanns* in their
the territo- own country, took the field on the seventeenth of *June*;
ries of the and, having assembled all his troops, crossed the *Rhine*, at-
Alemanns. tended by his son *Gratian*, by the two generals *Jovinus* and
Severus, and by count *Sebastian*, a man notorious in the ec-
 clestiaftic history for his cruelty to the orthodox christians in
Egypt, while he was governor of that province. The em-
 peror was, as appears from the date of one of his laws, at
Worms on the thirty-first of *July*ⁱ. From thence he ad-
 vanced into the enemy's country, and marched some days
 without meeting with the least opposition, though he com-
 mitted every-where most dreadful ravages. At length he
 came to a place called *Solicinium*, where the *Alemanns* had posted
 themselves on a high and steep mountain, which seemed inac-
 cessible on every side, except that which looked to the north;
 and thither he sent *Sebastian* to intercept them in their flight,
 if he should have the good luck to dislodge them from any
 other quarter. As he advanced to view their situation, he
 narrowly escaped falling into an ambuscade; but being with
 much difficulty got safe to the main body of his army, he
 led them on to the attack. The *Romans* on this occasion
 behaved with such courage and resolution, as can hardly be
 expressed: they were several times repulsed, the *Alemanns* de-
 fending themselves with equal courage and bravery. But the
Whom he *Romans*, notwithstanding the disadvantage of the place, and
defeats the despair of the enemy, gained at length the top of the
with great mountain, and put all to the sword who opposed them. Some
slaughter. of the *Alemanns* made their escape by favour of the night; but
 the far greater part were cut in pieces, either in the fight or
 the pursuit, *Sebastian* having cut off their retreat^k. This
 memorable battle was fought, as we have hinted above, at
Solicinium, which the modern geographers take to be the
 city of *Sultz* on the *Neckar*, at a small distance from the
 head of that river, in the dutchy of *Virtemberg*^l. As the season

^g Cod. Theodof. l. xiii. tit. 3. leg. 8. p. 34.
 l. i. tit. 9 leg. 4. p. 101.

3. p. 94.

^k AMMIAN. p. 250—252.

^h Cod. Just.

ⁱ Cod. Theodof. l. xiii. tit. 6. leg.

^l BAUD. p. 209.

was

was already far advanced, after this victory, the soldiers were sent into winter-quarters, and the emperor returned with his son *Gratian* to *Treves*, which he entered in a kind of triumph ^m. *Bucherius* describes at length the route, which he supposes the emperor to have taken on his return from *Germany* ⁿ. We find no laws dated from *Treves* till the first or the second of *December*; but one published at *Cologne* the thirtieth of *September* ^o; whence we conjecture *Valentinian*, on his return from *Germany*, to have marched against the *Franks*, who had broken into *Gaul*, as we have observed above.

Valentinian seems to have spent the greater part of the following year, when *Valentinian* the son of *Valens*, and *Victor*, ^{He fortifies the banks of the Rhine.} one of that prince's generals, were consuls, in fortifying the banks of the *Rhine* with an incredible number of forts, towers, and castles, from the mouth of that river quite to *Rhætia*, where it rises ^p. He even built some castles on the other side of that river in the enemy's country, and one among the rest at the conflux of the *Rhine* and the *Neckar*, where the present city of *Manheim* stands ^q. He likewise ordered a fort to be built on a hill called by our historian *Piri* ^r; which *Bucherius* takes to be the hill of *Heidelberg*. But the *Germans*, after having by their deputies intreated the emperor in vain to forbear that undertaking, fell upon the soldiers who were employed in the work, and cut them in pieces, with the two dukes, *Arator* and *Hermogenes*, who commanded them. *Syagrus*, a notary or secretary, the only person who escaped the general slaughter, brought the news of it to the emperor, and was on that account disgraced ^s; but soon after taken again, it seems, into favour; for we shall see him consul in 381. The emperor, to animate with his presence the soldiers in carrying on the above-mentioned works for the defence of the *Rhine*, and the safety of *Gaul*, passed great part of the present year on the banks of that river, as appears from several laws of different dates enacted at *Marciaticum*, which most geographers take to be *Manheim*; at *Altrip*, between *Manheim* and *Spire*, and at *Brisac* ^t. This year, the emperor ^{Several persons put to death by the emperor's orders.} caused several senators, governors of provinces, judges, and other officers, to be put to death for receiving bribes, and oppressing the people committed to their care, and among the rest the eunuch *Rhodanus*, his chief chamberlain, whom upon the complaint of a widow named *Berenice*, whose estate the

^m Idem, l. vii. p. 352.

^o Cod. Theod. chron. p. 89.

966.

767.

^q Buch. Belg. p. 353.

^r Idem ibid.

ⁿ Buch. Belg. p. 351—353.

^p AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p.

^r AMMIAN. p. 766,

^s Cod. Theod. chron. p. 85, 86.

eunuch

eunuch had seized unjustly, he caused to be immediately apprehended, and to be burnt alive in the circus, where the people were assembled to behold the sports^u. The next consuls were the two emperors *Valentinian* and *Valens*, both the third time. The former continued all this present year 370, as appears from the dates of several laws, partly at *Treves*, partly at *Alteia*, which is supposed to have been an imperial palace or country seat near that city. In an inscription of this year, which is still to be seen at *Vienna* in *Austria*, we read, that *Equitius*, general of the troops in *Illyricum*, erected by the emperor's orders a fort in that country; and from another inscription of the following year found near *Strigonium* or *Gran*, in *Lower Hungary*, it appears, that another fort was built by his orders in that neighbourhood, for protecting the trade carried on by the subjects of the empire in those parts^w. The emperor caused likewise a bridge to be built this year over the *Tiber* at *Rome*, which was then called the bridge of *Gratian*, afterwards the bridge *Cestius*, and is by the present inhabitants styled *Ponte di S. Bartolomeo*, or the bridge of St. *Bartholomew*, being near the porch of St. *Bartholomew's* church^x. In the inscription it is said to have been built in the seventh year of the tribuneship, that is, of the reign, of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, and the third of *Gratian*, which was the present year: nevertheless the two former princes are marked there consuls the second time; whereas it is certain, that, in the seventh year of their reign, and the third of *Gratian's*, they were both in their third consulship. *Valentinian* and *Valens* are, in the same inscription, styled emperors for the seventh time, and *Gratian* for the second, and are all three honoured with the title of *conquerors of the Germans, Alemanns, Franks, and Goths*; which shews, that each of them shared with his colleagues the glory of his victories and conquests. Their victories, or rather the victories of *Valentinian*, over the *Franks*, must have been very inconsiderable, since *Ammianus* takes no notice of them. This year is remarkable in history for an irruption of the *Saxons*, who dwelling on the coasts of the ocean amongst inaccessible marshes, left their country in great numbers, and landing on the *Roman* territories, committed there dreadful ravages. Count *Nauneinus*, who commanded in those parts, endeavouring to make head against them, was dangerously wounded, and put to flight. Hereupon the emperor dispatched *Severus* against

The Saxons break into the empire.

^u ZONAR. p. 26. CHRON. ALEX. p. 700. SUID. p. 706, 707.
^w Cod. Theod. tit. 5. p. 291. ^x GRUTER. p. 160. BARON. ANN. 312.

them,

them who, as he was an officer of great experience and address, so distressed and harrassed them, that they were forced to sue for peace; which was granted them, with leave to return unmolested into their own country, after the *Romans* had picked out their best men to serve among their troops. But as they were returning, without the least apprehension of any danger, the *Romans*, falling upon them unexpectedly, cut them all to a man in pieces. Though the *Saxons* were no-ways on their guard, yet they fought with incredible bravery, and such presence of mind and resolution, that victory for some time inclined to their side *. *Ammianus Marcellinus* is not ashamed to style this black piece of treachery a successful attempt. But for such breaches of the public faith, and violations of the right of nations, practised by the *Romans* more frequently under the christian than the pagan princes, we shall see them abandoned by heaven to those very barbarians, whom they thus treacherously endeavoured to crush and utterly suppress. The *Saxons* were thus slaughtered, according to St. *Jerom*[†] and *Orosius*[‡], on the territories of the *Franks*, at *Deufona*, says the former, which was a castle on the other side the *Rhine*, over-against *Cologne*, and is now known by the name of *Tuits* or *Duits*. The same year the *Burgundians*, to the number of eighty thousand fighting men, appeared on the banks of the *Rhine*, being invited thither by *Valentinian*, who maintained a private intelligence with their kings, and had promised to pass the *Rhine*, and, in conjunction with them, fall upon the *Alemanns*, with whom they were then at variance on account of some salt-pits. But the emperor being thus busied in building the above-mentioned forts, and not caring to interrupt that work, and join them, as he had promised to do, they put to the sword all the prisoners they had taken, and returned to their own country, highly enraged against the emperor, by whom they had been thus disappointed and deluded[§]. However, *Theodosius*, general of the horse, to which post he had been raised for his gallant and prudent conduct in *Britain*, taking advantage of the consternation the *Alemanns* were in, made an irruption into their country, and returned with a considerable number of captives, to whom the emperor allotted lands and settlements on the banks of the *Po*^{||}. *Ammianus*, in speaking of the *Burgundians*, informs us of several particulars relating to their government and religion. He seems not to doubt but they were descended from the *Romans*;

Are treacherously cut off by the Romans.

An army of 80,000 Burgundians on the banks of the Rhine.

* AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 375. OROS. l. vii. c. 32.
 chron. † OROS. p. 219. ‡ Idem, p. 377.
 ibid.

† HIER.
 ‡ Idem

and *Orosius* speaks of them as the descendants of those *Romans*; who were left by *Tiberius* and *Drusus*, the adopted sons of *Augustus*, in the castles and boroughs of *Germany*; nay, he supposes them to have been named *Burgundiones*; from the *Latin* word *burgus*, signifying a borough^c. But from the word *burgus* they ought perhaps to have been called *Burgiones*, as *Valesius* observes^d. *Pliny* the elder takes them to be originally a *German* nation; sprung from the *Vindili*, that is; as is generally supposed, of the *Vandals*^e. *Valesius* distinguishes the *Burgundiones* of *Germany* from those of the same name, who dwelt more to the east on the banks of the *Da-*

The great
cruelties of
Maximi-
nus at
Rome.

nube f. *Ammianus* gives us a pathetic account of the horrible cruelties practised this year at *Rome* by *Maximinus*; or, as others style him, *Maximus*, a man of a most inhuman and savage temper. He was brother-in-law to *Valentine* or *Valentinian*, who attempted to usurp the sovereignty in *Britain*; but nevertheless of a mean descent, and by birth a barbarian. However, he raised himself by degrees to the first employments in the state. He was made first governor of *Corfica* and *Sardinia*, and afterwards of *Tuscia* or *Tuscany*. From the latter government he was preferred to the honourable employment of *præfectus annonæ* at *Rome*, whose province it was to supply the city with provisions; which he did at first with great prudence and moderation, but in the end betrayed a most cruel, inhuman, and revengeful temper; which he began to do on the following occasion: One *Chilo*, who had been vicar to the præfects, and his wife *Maxima*, having accused *Sericus*, *Asbolius*, and *Campensis*, three persons of mean condition, before *Olybrius*, præfect or governor of the city, for having, by magical practices and enchantments, endeavoured to take away their lives, *Olybrius* began to inquire into this matter; but he falling sick, the complainants, impatient of delay, petitioned and obtained, that the cause might be referred to the *præfectus annonæ*, who readily undertook it, being glad of any opportunity that offered to satisfy his cruel temper, no more capable of pity or moderation, says *Ammianus*, than that of a wild beast let loose upon the prey. He had scarce begun his examinations, when he wrote to the emperor, that innumerable persons were guilty of magical practices, but could not be convicted without racks and tortures. Hereupon the emperor, who was himself naturally inclined to cruelty, appointed

^c OROS. l. vii. c. 32. p. 219.
P. 48.

^e PLIN. l. iv. c. 14. p. 86.

^d VALES. rer. Francic.

^f VALES. ibid.

Maximinus

Maximinus vicar to the prefects in the room of *Aginacius*, and impowered him by an edict to put such persons, if thought necessary, to the rack, as had been by other princes exempted from it on account of their rank, or only subjected to it in cases of treason. With *Maximinus* he joined in commission one *Leo*, at that time only a notary, but afterwards raised to the dignity of *magister officiorum*. He was by birth a *Pannonian*, of mean parentage, but no less blood-thirsty, according to *Ammianus*, than his colleague *Maximinus* ^b. These two implacable judges executed their commission with that cruelty which every one may imagine: persons of all ranks and ages were dragged to their tribunal, tortured without mercy, and either executed like public malefactors, or stripped of their estates, and sent into banishment. Among the former were *Marinus*, a famous pleader, *Cethegus*, *Paphius*, and *Cornelius*, all three senators, and many other eminent persons of both sexes. *Alypius*, a young nobleman of great distinction, was, for a very small fault, sent into exile. *Lollianus*, the son of *Lampadius*, who had been governor of *Rome* in 366, and *præfectus prætorio* under *Constantius*, being accused of having copied, when he was yet very young, a book of magic, his father, finding *Maximinus* inclined to condemn him to banishment, advised him to appeal to the emperor; which he did accordingly; but *Valentinian* having referred the cause to *Phalangus* governor of *Bætica*, who surpassed *Maximinus* himself in cruelty, the youth was by him sentenced to death, and publicly beheaded. As *Maximinus* continued raging without distinction of sex, age, or condition, the senate dispatched deputies to the emperor, earnestly intreating him, as he tendered the lives of his innocent subjects, to revoke the power he had given to *Maximinus*. *Valentinian* complied with their request, which put an end for the present to those bloody executions. *Maximinus* was called to court, and received with great marks of esteem and affection by the emperor, who two years after created him prefect of *Gaul*, in which office he continued at least three years (for he was still prefect in 376); but soon after put to death by *Gratian*, with some of the ministers of his cruelty ^a.

Persons of
all ranks
tortured
and executed.

THE following year, when *Gratian* and *Sex. Petronius Probus* were consuls, the emperor enacted several remarkable laws, and among the rest one dated the eleventh of February, and addressed to *Viventius* prefect of *Gaul*, enacting, that such players and comedians as should have received at the point of

Laws enacted by
Valentinian.

^a AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 358---360.

X x x 2

^b Idem, p. 361---366.

death

death the sacrament of baptism, should not be obliged, if they should recover, to act again on the stage¹. From this law it appears, that the profession of a player, always deemed infamous among the *Romans*, was under the christian princes, thought inconsistent with christianity; and likewise, that it was not free and voluntary, but servile, and hereditary in certain families. By another law, dated the seventh of *September*, the emperor declares, that the daughters of players shall not be obliged to follow the profession of their mothers, if they have behaved in any other calling so as to deserve a good character². By a third law, dated the twenty-ninth of *May*, and addressed to the senate, he allows the free exercise of the pagan religion; and by a fourth, dated the twenty-eighth of *June*, several privileges are granted or restored to the pagan pontiffs, and the same honour and respect is ordered to be paid to them as to the *comites* or counts¹. It is surprising, that an emperor, who is said to have been not only an orthodox, but a zealous, christian, should have thus favoured the pagan pontiffs and religion. By a law dated the seventeenth of *May*, he exempts from all civil offices, such as had been admitted among the clergy before his time; but obliges the rest to discharge them, notwithstanding the privileges and immunities granted by other princes to all ecclesiastics. All the laws enacted this year before the twenty-eighth of *June*, are dated from *Treves*, whence he removed to *Cantionacum*, a place unknown to geographers, but which must have been but at a small distance from *Treves*, since the emperor was in that city on the twenty-eighth of *June*, and the very next day at *Cantionacum*, where he staid till the fifteenth of *August*. On the sixth of *September* he was at *Mentz*, probably on his march into the country of the *Alemanns*: for this year he undertook an expedition against them, hoping to surprise *Macrianus* their king, a brave and resolute prince; but he, having received timely notice of his approach, saved himself by flight; and the emperor, greatly concerned for his disappointment, returned to *Treves*, after having laid waste the country round *Mentz* belonging to the *Alemanns* called *Bucinobantes*, to whom he gave one of their own nation, by name *Fraomarius*, for king, who soon after exchanged his new dignity for the command of some of his countrymen then quartered in *Britain*. *Valentinian* was returned to *Treves*, with his two generals, *Severus* and *Theodosius*, on the sixth of *De-*

He attempts to surprise the king of the Alemanns.

¹ Cod. Theod. I. xv. tit. 7. leg. 1. p. 361.
² Idem ibid. p. 363.

¹ Idem ibid. p.

ember^m. *Ammianus Marcellinus*ⁿ and St. *Jerom*^o observe, Other in- among the transactions of this year, that *Octavianus*, who *stances* had been proconsul of *Africa* under *Julian*, having concealed of his se- himself, while he was pursued by the officers of justice, in the verity. house of an ecclesiastic, the magistrates commanded the ecclesiastic to deliver him up; which he refusing to do, was by the emperor's orders beheaded at *Sirmium*. The same year *Hymecius*, who had been vicar of *Rome* under *Julian*, and raised by *Valentinian* to the proconsulship of *Africa*, being accused of evil practices (our historian explains himself no farther), was brought to *Ocrinum*, about thirty miles from *Rome*, to be tried there by *Ampelius*, governor of that city, and his vicar *Maximinus*. A letter was produced against him, written with his own hand to a pagan priest, named *Amantius*, desiring him to offer sacrifices to the gods, that the cruel and avaricious emperor might in the end be reconciled to him; for part of his estate had been already confiscated for some real, or, as *Ammianus* believed, supposed, crime. When this letter was produced, *Hymecius*, well apprised of the cruelty of *Maximinus*, appealed to the emperor, who referred the whole affair to the senate, by whom *Hymecius* was banished to the island of *Boas* on the coast of *Dalmatia*. The emperor was highly dissatisfied with the senate for not sentencing him to death; but did not think it advisable to make the least alteration in their decree^p. The next consuls were *Modestus* and *Arintheus*, during whose administration nothing happened in the west, which authors have thought worthy of transmitting to posterity. From the dates of several laws it appears, that the emperor passed the whole year, partly at *Treves*, and partly at *Naxonacum*, which stood at a small distance from that city^q.

THE next consuls were *Valentinian* and *Valens*, both for the fourth time. This year *Maximinus* was created prefect of *Gaul*; and the first against whom he exerted his new authority, was a person guilty of no less enormous crimes than himself, viz. *Remigius*, who, being *magister officiorum*, had screened his kinsman *Romanus* from the punishment due to the many cruelties, murders, and extortions which he had committed in *Africa*, as we have related above. *Leo*, upon his return from *Rome*, where he had been joined in commission with *Maximinus*, being raised to the post of *magister officio-*

^m AMMIAN. l. xxix. p. 397. & l. xxx. p. 398. Cod. Theod. p. 89. ⁿ AMMIAN. l. xxiii. p. 238. & l. xxix. p. 396. ^o HIER. chron. ^p AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 359. ^q Cod. Theod. chron. p. 90, 91.

Remigius
and Palladius, the
accomplices
of Romanus, strangle them-
selves.

run, *Remigius*, who held it before him, retired to his estate in the neighbourhood of *Mentz*, his native city, to lead there a retired life. But *Maximinus*, despising him now that he was out of power, seized and put to the rack one of his domestics, by name *Cæsarius*, in order to make him discover the evil practices of his master, and what sums he had received of *Romanus* to defend and support him at court. This *Remigius* no sooner understood, than, overcome by fear, he strangled himself, to avoid a public and more ignominious death^r. *Palladius*, who was no less guilty than *Remigius*, had been, it seems, disgraced before, for some other misdemeanour, though he ascribed his misfortune chiefly to his having imposed upon the emperor in an affair of such importance. Of this *Valentinian* had some suspicion, and therefore ordered him to be arrested; but while the soldiers who guarded him were passing the night (no doubt the eve of some festival) in a church, he ended his life in the same manner as *Remigius* had done his^c. *Romanus* himself was then under arrest, for having, by his unaccountable conduct, driven *Firmus* a *Moorish* prince, to revolt. *Theodosius*, who was sent to suppress the rebellion, had seized *Romanus* with all his domestics and papers, among which were found some relating to the affair of *Leptis*. Upon this *Palladius* had been arrested; but both he and *Remigius* having laid violent hands on themselves, *Romanus* was some time after set at liberty, and the matter dropped for the present, but resumed under *Gratian*, when *Romanus* was convicted of high misdemeanours; but nevertheless, by the interest of *Merabaudus*, allowed to come to court to plead his own cause before the emperor^t. What was the issue of this affair, we are no-where told. *Firmus*, whom we have mentioned above, was the son of *Nubel*, the most powerful of all the *Moorish* princes, who looked upon him, though subject to the *Romans*, as their king and sovereign. He left several sons behind him, and among the rest *Firmus* and *Zamma*. The latter being privately murdered by his brother *Firmus*, *Romanus*, with whom *Zamma* lived in great intimacy, to revenge the death of his friend, did all that lay in his power to incense the emperor against *Firmus*, being backed therein by his kinsman *Remigius*, then *magister officiorum*. Hereupon *Firmus*, apprised of the danger that threatened him, and no longer able to bear the haughty and insolent behaviour of *Romanus*, and the officers of the army, resolved to revolt in his own defence; and accordingly, having ani-

^r AMMIAN. l. xxx. p. 417. ^c Idem, l. xxviii. p. 381. & l. xxix. p. 399. ^t Idem, l. xxviii. p. 381, 382.

mated the other *Moorish* nations to shake off the yoke, under which they had long groaned, he assumed the purple and the other ensigns of royalty, with the title of *king*; a *Roman* tribune, who had taken part with him, laying his collar upon the head of the new king instead of a diadem *. Some antiquaries will have this to be the *Firmus*, who, on an antient day, bears the title of *Augustus* †; but their opinion is rejected by others. *Firmus*, finding himself in a short time at the head of a considerable body of *Moors*, who flocked to him from all quarters, ravaged the provinces of *Africa* and *Mauritania* without opposition, and even made himself master of *Cæsarea*, now *Alger*, the metropolis of *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, where he found a considerable sum belonging to the exchequer, but left in the hands of the magistrates of that city. The officers of the treasury sued the magistrates for the money which had been left with them in trust; but were ordered by the emperor to drop the prosecution, *Clemens*, bishop of the place, having prevailed upon him to issue that order, and by that means saved his country from certain ruin ‡. The famous *Symmachus*, of whom hereafter, wrote on this occasion to *Titianus*, then vicar of *Africa*, pressing him to cause the order which the bishop had obtained to be put in execution §. *Firmus* took likewise the city of *Rucata*, betrayed to him, as was believed, by the bishop of the *Donatists*, upon his promising not to molest any of that sect ¶. The *Donatists* looked upon *Firmus*, not as an usurper, but a lawful prince; whence they were in those parts styled *Firmiani* †. The emperor was no sooner informed of the revolt of *Firmus*, than he dispatched against him *Theodosius*, the best general of his time, with the troops that were quartered in *Pannonia* and *Upper Mæsia*, and a detachment out of those that attended the court, and were thence called *comitatenses*. *Theodosius* embarked at *Arles* in the latter end of the year 372, or the beginning of 373, and having had a favourable passage, landed soon after at a place called *Igilgitanum* in *Mauritania Sitifensis*. His first care, upon his arrival, was to arrest *Romanus*, who, by his haughty and arbitrary conduct, had, as it were, forced the *Moors* to revolt. *Firmus*, in the mean time, hearing that so renowned a commander was sent against him, began to despair of success; and thereupon dispatched deputies to *Theodosius*, declaring, that he had been

*Firmus
revolts in
Africa.*

Takes Cæsarea and other places.

Theodosius is sent against him.

Firmus pretends to submit.

* Idem, l. xxx. p. 429. OROS. l. vii. c. 33. ZOS. l. iv. p. 744. † SPANH. l. vii. p. 599. ‡ Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 389. SYMMACH. l. i. epist. 58. p. 39. § SYM. ibid. ¶ AV-
GUST. ep. 164. p. 296. * Idem in par. l. i. c. 10, 11.

Theodo-
sius defeats
some na-
tions in al-
liance with
Firmus.

Firmus
pretends
anew to
submit.

in a manner forced to revolt ; that he did not pretend to justify what he had done, but, on the contrary, was ready to submit, and quit the ensigns of royalty, provided the emperor would forget his past conduct. *Theodosius*, thinking it advisable to admit of his submission and excuse, assured him of his pardon, upon his delivering up to him some of the chief men among the *Moors*, by way of hostages. This *Firmus* promised to do ; but as he put off from day to day the execution of his promise, *Theodosius*, suspecting his sincerity, marched from *Panchariana*, the place of the general rendezvous, to *Tubusuptius*, in the neighbourhood of mount *Ferratus*, where *Mascezel*, brother to *Firmus*, lay encamped with a considerable body of *Moors*. He was there met by a second embassy from *Firmus* ; but, as the deputies brought no hostages along with them, he would not so much as admit them to his presence, but fell unexpectedly upon the *Tyndenses* and *Massinenses*, two *Moorish* nations, commanded by *Mascezel* ; and having defeated them with great slaughter, he laid waste the country, razed the castle of *Petra*, which had been lately built, and made himself master of another strong-hold, which he made choice of for a magazine, storing it with all sorts of provisions, that they might be nearer at hand, in case he should think fit to penetrate farther into the country. In the mean time, *Mascezel*, having rallied his broken forces, ventured a second engagement, in which he was attended with no better success than in the former, great numbers of his troops being cut off, and he himself narrowly escaping. Hereupon *Firmus* sent at last the promised hostages, and with them some bishops to intercede with *Theodosius* in his behalf. The *Roman* general received them with the utmost civility and respect, and upon their promising in the name of *Firmus*, that the booty and prisoners he had taken should be restored, and the *Roman* army supplied with provisions, he granted a general pardon to him and all his followers ; which so encouraged the *Moor*, that he came in person to wait on *Theodosius* ; and, bemoaning his folly and rashness, promised to make amends for both by his future conduct and fidelity. *Theodosius* received him in a most obliging manner, gave him all the encouragement he expected or desired, and dismissed him extremely pleased with his reception. *Firmus*, at his departure, left some of his relations behind him for hostages ; and two days after delivered up to the *Romans* a place called *Icosium*, with the prisoners, military ensigns, and the booty he had taken. From thence *Theodosius* advanced to *Tipasa*, where he was met by the ambassadors of the *Maxices*, a nation inhabiting the eastern parts of *Mauritania Casariensis*, who

who had joined *Firmus* in his revolt. They came to submit in the name of the whole nation, and to beg pardon for their revolt; but *Theodosius* returned them no other answer, than that their perfidy deserved to be punished with the utmost severity. From *Tipasa* he proceeded to *Cæsarea*, now *Alger*, which *Firmus* had taken in the beginning of the rebellion, and delivered up to be plundered by his soldiers. There he received certain intelligence, that *Firmus* was preparing under-hand for war; that he had never had any real intention of concluding a peace with the *Romans*; and that he only watched an opportunity of falling upon them at the best advantage. Hereupon *Theodosius*, leaving at *Cæsarea* the first and second legions, who were to repair the fortifications, and secure it in the best manner they could against any farther attempts of the enemy, marched to *Sugabbari*, a town of *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, where he surpris'd a *Roman* cohort, who had joined the rebels. Their tribunes he put to death; but contented himself with condemning the common soldiers to the meanest offices in the army. From thence he advanced farther into the country; and having made himself master of *Gaionatis* and *Tingitanum*, two places of great strength, he pass'd the mountain *Ancorarius*, and entering the country of the *Mazices*, gained a signal victory over them. They made at first a vigorous resistance; but were at length utterly defeated, and almost all put to the sword. But, notwithstanding this victory, the *Moors* poured down upon him from all quarters in such multitudes, that he thought it advisable to retire, rather than to penetrate farther into the country, his army being only three thousand five hundred strong. But the enemy, apprised of his design, not only har-
rass'd him incessantly on his march, but, by stopping up all the passes, cut off his retreat; insomuch, that the whole army must inevitably have perished, had not the *Moors* unexpectedly betaken themselves to flight, and left the passes open, at the sight of a great body of their own countrymen, whom they mistook, observing some *Roman* deserters at their head, for a reinforcement coming to relieve *Theodosius*. The *Romans*, having thus, by a happy mistake, escap'd death or slavery, retired in good order to *Muzucanum*, and from thence to *Tipasa*, where *Theodosius*, reflecting on the posture of his affairs, resolv'd to manage the war after another manner, and to try, whether he could, by menaces or promises, prevail upon the nations in alliance with *Firmus* to make a separate peace, and deliver him up to the *Romans*. With this view he dispatch'd embassadors to the several nations that had joined him; which *Firmus*, who was well acquainted

But prepares for war.

Theodosius gains great advantages over his confederates.

Firmus
abandons
his army,
and flies to
the Isa-
flenses.

Who are
defeated by
Theodo-
sius.

Firmus
strangles
himself.

with the fickle temper of the *Moors*, no sooner understood, than, dreading the issue of such negotiations, he abandoned his army; and, taking the advantage of a dark night, retired privately to the mountains called *Caprarienses*, which, by reason of the rocks and precipices, were deemed inaccessible. The multitude, struck with amazement at his unexpected flight, and now without a head, soon dispersed; and *Theodosius*, seizing their camp, made himself master of the neighbouring countries, without the least opposition, placing such governors over them, as had given him evident proofs their fidelity. He then marched without delay in pursuit of *Firmus*, who, as he was informed, had taken of sanctuary in the country of the *Isaflenses*. That warlike nation refusing to deliver him up, several battles were fought, in one of which *Mazaca*, *Firmus's* brother, was taken prisoner; but died the same day of the wounds he had received. *Evastus*, a person of great authority among the *Isaflenses*, and his son *Florus* fell likewise into the hands of the *Romans*; and as they had been remarkably zealous in the cause of *Firmus*, they were both, by *Theodosius's* orders, burnt alive. The *Romans*, overpowered with numbers, were often reduced to great straits; but having in the end utterly defeated the enemy in a battle which lasted from morning to night, some nations, that had joined the *Isaflenses*, began to be weary of the war, and desert them. Hereupon *Igmazen*, prince of the country, finding himself abandoned by his allies, and no-ways in a condition to make head against the *Romans* with his own forces alone, privately agreed with *Theodosius* to betray *Firmus* into his hands, and accordingly ordered him to be secured, while he was preparing to make his escape. But *Firmus*, to avoid the disgrace of the punishment, which he apprehended from the *Romans*, strangled himself while his guards were asleep, to the great grief of *Igmazen*, who had proposed to ingratiate himself with the *Romans*, by carrying him alive to their camp. However, he immediately sent the body to *Theodosius*, who received it with great joy, and soon after returned to *Sitifis*, which city he entered in a kind of triumph. The several *Moorish* nations that had sided with *Firmus* sent deputies to sue for peace; which *Theodosius* readily granted them, upon their delivering up to him some of their leading men, whom he caused to be put to death⁹. In this war *Gildo*, one of *Firmus's* brothers, took party with the *Romans*, and gave signal proofs

⁹ AMMIAN. l. xxix. p. 398---408. Zos. l. iv. p. 744.

of his fidelity ; but afterwards revolted under *Honorius*, and was attended with no better success than his brother. When the war was ended, *Theodosius* wrote to *Symmachus* ; but in his letter he spoke only in general terms of his victory, referring him to public fame for a more particular account of it. *Symmachus*, in his answer, commends his modesty, which to him seemed the more worthy of praise, as *Theodosius* was no less qualified for writing than fighting^r.

THE following year, when *Gratian* was consul the third time with *Equitius*, many eminent persons of both sexes were cruelly racked and put to death by *Simplicius*, vicar of *Rome*, who being raised to that employment by the interest of *Maximinus*, put, under various pretences, all those to death to whom his patron bore the least grudge, and among the rest *Aginacius*, a patrician of an illustrious and antient family, who had been consular or governor of *Byzacene* under *Julian*, and vicar of *Rome* in the present reign. He was accused of adultery ; and though the informer could not make good the charge, yet he was sentenced to death, and executed with *Anepfia*, a lady of great distinction, who, being accused of the same crime, had impeached *Aginacius*, hoping by that means to ingratiate herself with *Simplicius*, and escape the danger that threatened her^r. As for the emperor he passed the winter at *Milan*, as appears from the dates of several laws, but was again at *Treves* on the twenty-first of *May*, and the twentieth of *June*^r. From thence he marched into *Germany* ; and, after having ravaged the country bordering on the *Rhine*, returned to *Basle*, in the neighbourhood of which city he ordered a fort to be built named *Robur* : from this fort we find a law dated the tenth of *July*^u. While the emperor was encamped there, news was brought, that the *Quadi* had with great violence broken into *Illyricum*, upon the following provocation : *Valentinian*, perhaps over-careful in fortifying the borders of the empire, had ordered some forts to be built beyond the *Danube*, in the territories of the *Quadi*, who, alarmed thereat, prevailed upon *Equitius*, then general of the troops in *Illyricum*, to suspend the work till he received further orders from the emperor, to whom they had sent some of the chief men of their nation to complain of that violence. But in the mean time, *Maximinus*, prefect of *Gaul*, upbraiding *Equitius* with cowardice and irresolutino, bragged that, in spite of the *Quadi*, the forts

The Quadi
and Sar-
matians
break into
Illyricum.

^r SYM. l. x. epist. i. p. 389.

^r AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p.

363---366.

^r Cod. Thodof. chron. p. 93, 94.

^u Idem

ibid.

Gabinus,
king of the
Quadi,
murdered
by the Ro-
mans.

The Quadi
invade
Pannonia,
and commit
dreadful
ravages.

should be soon finished, provided his son *Marcellianus*, though yet very young, was but created duke of *Valeria*, a province of *Illyricum*. *Marcellianus* being accordingly advanced to that dignity, upon his arrival in *Illyricum*, ordered the work, which had been for some time discontinued, to be carried on a-new, without taking the least notice of the complaints of the *Quadi*. Hereupon *Gabinus*, their king, came in person to wait upon him, intreating him, with the greatest modesty and respect imaginable, not to give any motives of jealousy or misunderstanding between his people and the subjects of the empire. *Marcellianus* received him in a very obliging manner; and pretending to hearken to his just remonstrances, invited him to a banquet, during which he caused him, without any regard to the sacred laws of hospitality, or the rights of nations, to be inhumanly murdered. This black piece of treachery alarmed and incensed both the *Quadi* and their neighbours the *Sarmatians*, who, flying to arms, passed the *Danube* in the utmost rage; and falling upon the reapers, it being then harvest-time, cut most of them in pieces, laid waste the country to a great distance, and returned loaded with an immense booty. In this confusion, *Constantia*, the daughter of *Constantius*, who was then passing through *Illyricum*, in order to be married to *Gratian*, had fallen into their hands, had not *Messala*, governor of the province, who attended her, put her into a chariot in great haste, and conveyed her with all possible speed to *Sirmium*^w. *Constantia* was born after the death of her father, and therefore was at that time in the thirteenth or fourteenth year of her age^x. She is styled on the antient coins *Flavia Maxima Constantia*. *Probus*, the prefect of *Illyricum*, resided then at *Sirmium*; but as he was a man of no courage, though descended of an illustrious family, he was so alarmed at the report of the many murders and unheard-of cruelties committed by the incensed enemy, that he had already provided himself with swift horses to make his escape; but being with much-ado prevailed upon to stay, more out of regard to his own safety, than the public good, he took all imaginable care to put the city in a condition to withstand the efforts of the barbarians; who thereupon, instead of laying siege to it, resolved to pursue *Equitius*, whom they looked upon as the chief author of the murder of their king. He had fled into *Valeria*, and thither they followed him, committing dreadful ravages in the countries through which they passed. In their way

^w AMMIAN. l. xxix. p. 408, 409: Zos. l. iv. p. 745;
^x CHRYS. ad vid. junior. p. 463.

they

they met two legions, the *Pannonian* and the *Mælian*, who had been sent to oppose them, and were of sufficient strength to restrain their fury, had they not fallen into an unseasonable contention about precedence, each of them claiming the honour of charging the first. The barbarians, apprised of their disagreement, without waiting for the signal of battle, fell first with great fury upon the *Mælian* legion, before they had time to put themselves in a posture of defence; *They defeat* and having cut most of them in pieces, attacked, and in *two Roman* like manner put to the sword, the other legion, only a small number of them by flight escaping death or captivity ^{manlegions}.

Thus all the open country was abandoned to the barbarians, the *Romans* remaining masters only of the fortified places, where they committed, says *Zosimus* ², as great disorders as the barbarians themselves in the other parts. But the *Sarmatians*, having entered *Upper Mæsia*, were repulsed with incredible slaughter by *Theodosius*, afterwards emperor, but at that time very young, and only duke of *Mæsia*. The barbarians who were infinitely superior to them in number, thought to have over-powered him; but he, with a courage and conduct far above his years, made such a dreadful havock of them, as to satiate with the bodies of the slain, to use the expression of *Ammianus*, the birds of prey, and the most ravenous among the wild beasts ³. The *Sarmatians*, despairing of success against so brave a leader, sent deputies to sue for peace; which they obtained, and for some time observed, being kept in awe by some troops, which *Valentinian* had sent into *Illyricum* upon the first notice of the irruption of the barbarians into that province. He was for leaving *Gaul*, and marching in person against them: but as the autumn was already far spent, and *Macrianus* king of the *Alemanns*, with other princes, seemed ready to break into *Gaul* upon the departure of the emperor, he was with much-ado prevailed upon to put off his march to a more convenient season. However, as he was determined to leave *Gaul* early in the spring, and march into *Illyricum*, he invited *Macrianus*, whose valour he chiefly dreaded, to an interview in the neighbourhood of *Mentz*. *Macrianus* complied with his invitation, and though at first he betrayed a great deal of pride in seeing his friendship thus courted by the *Roman* emperor, yet in the end he accepted the advantageous terms that were offered him, and continued to his death a faithful friend to the *Romans* ⁴. He was

The Sarmatians defeated by Theodosius.

The emperor concludes a peace with the king of the Alemanns.

¹ AMMIAN. & Zos. ibid. ² Zos. p. 745. ³ AMMIAN. p. 410, 411. ⁴ Idem, l. xxx, p. 417, 418,

And
marches
into Illy-
ricum.

in the end killed by *Merobaudes* king of the *Franks*, whose dominions he had invaded *c*. *Valentinian*, having thus concluded a peace with the brave king of the *Alemanns*, returned to *Treves*, where he passed the winter^d; and the following spring set out from thence for *Illyricum*, attended by his wife *Justina* and *Valentinian* her eldest son. *Gratian* was left at *Treves*, with a numerous body of troops, to keep the *German* nations in awe. The present year 375, is marked in the *fasti* thus; *the year after the third consulship of Gratian and his colleague Equitius*. *St. Jerom* writes, that no consuls were named this year, on account of the disturbances raised in *Pannonia* by the *Sarmatians*^e. The emperor was still at *Treves* on the ninth of *April*^f; but left that city soon after^g. He was met on his march by ambassadors from the *Sarmatians*, who throwing themselves at his feet, earnestly intreated him not to give credit to the reports that had been spread abroad concerning the ravages and cruelties said to have been committed by those of their nation; they assured him, that, upon examination, he would not find them guilty of the crimes that were by their enemies urged against them: The emperor answered, that he would determine nothing for the present; but suspend his judgment till his arrival in those parts, which had most suffered by their late irruption. Having thus dismissed the ambassadors, he pursued his march; and arriving in *Illyricum*, took up his quarters at *Carnuntum*, once a flourishing city, but then in decay. Most geographers take it to be the city of *Hainburgh* on the *Danube* in *Austria*, about thirty-three miles east of *Vienna*. The emperor chose it, as being most conveniently situated for the defence of the country, and continued there three months, making the necessary preparations for his intended expedition against the *Quadi* and *Sarmatians*^h. He was still at *Carnuntum* on the twelfth of *August*ⁱ. *Ammianus* blames him for not inquiring how *Gabinus* king of the *Quadi* came to be murdered, nor punishing those, who, through treachery or cowardice, had abandoned the defence of the frontiers; both which things were expected from a prince of his exactness and severity^k. *Probus* the prefect was the only person against whom he shewed any resentment; for he, to satisfy the avarice of the emperor, had, according to *Ammianus*, oppressed the people committed to his care in a manner hardly to be expressed, putting to death,

The people
of Illyri-
cum op-
pressed by
Probus.

^c Idem ibid.

^d Cod. Theod. chron. p. 64.

^e Hier. chron.

^f Cod. Theod. chron p. 94.

^g AMMIAN. l. xxx. p. 418.

^h Idem ibid.

ⁱ Cod. Theod. chron. p. 94.

^k AMMIAN.

P. 425.

banishing,

banishing, or condemning to dungeons, the most wealthy among them, that he might seize their estates; insomuch, that all the persons of rank in the country, dreading the avarice and unheard-of cruelties of their governor, had privately disposed of their effects, and abandoned their country. All this the emperor learned of a philosopher, by name *Iphicles*, who had been sent by the *Epirots* his countrymen, to thank *Probus* for his prudent and mild administration. The emperor, informed of the errand on which he was sent, asked him, whether his countrymen were really satisfied with their governor? and whether their thanks and commendations were sincere? They thank and commend him, answered frankly the philosopher; but with tears in their eyes, and sore against their will. Hereupon *Valentinian* made a strict inquiry into his conduct, and, finding him guilty of most enormous extortions, and unheard-of barbarities, resolved to depose him; but was prevented by death from putting his design in execution¹. Thus *Ammianus*. But *St. Jerom* writes, that *Illyricum* was plundered, and tyrannically oppressed, by *Equitius*, without so much as mentioning *Probus*^m; and *Ammianus* himself owns, that *Leo*, then *magister officiorum*, exasperated the emperor against *Probus*, hoping to be made prefect in his roomⁿ. *Probus* was descended from one of the most illustrious families in *Rome*, and reckoned amongst his ancestors the emperor *Marcus Aurelius*. The families of the *Probi*, of the *Anicii*, and of the *Olybrii*, were, according to *St. Jerom*^o, *Ausonius*^p, and *Prudentius*^q, the most conspicuous in *Rome*. *Probus*, who had embraced the christian religion, with his whole family^r, lived in great intimacy with *St. Ambrose*, the celebrated bishop of *Milan*. When the latter was by the emperor appointed governor of *Liguria* and *Æmia*, *Probus*, in taking his leave of him, gave him the following memorable advice: *Acquit yourself in your office, not like a governor, but like a bishop*^s. *St. Ambrose* was then by profession a pleader or advocate. *Probus* was first proconsul of *Africa* in 358, afterwards four times prefect of *Italy* or *Gaul*, and in 371, *Gratian's* colleague in the consulship. He was no less famous for his wealth, than his birth and employments; for he is said to have owned immense possessions in all the provinces of the empire^t. *Paulinus Diaconus* tells us, that two *Persian* lords of great distinction, being come to *Milan* to visit *St.*

An account
of the fa-
mily of
Probus.

¹ Idem ibid. ^m Hier. chron. ⁿ Ammian. l. xxx. p. 424, 425. ^o Hier. ep. 8. p. 63. ^p Auson. ep. 3. p. 422.
^q Prud. in Sym. l. i. p. 221. ^r Idem ibid. ^s Ambros. vit. p. 79. ^t Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 352.

Ambrose,

Ambrose, went from thence to *Rome*, on purpose to behold the grandeur and pomp in which *Probus* lived^u. He died, as appears from *Claudian*, before the end of the year 394, being then in the sixtieth year of his age^w, after having received the sacrament of baptism; and was buried in a magnificent monument near the church of *St. Peter* at *Rome*, of which monument some remains were still to be seen in the time of pope *Nicolas V*^x. Several letters written to him by *Symmachus* have reached our times^y, and a poem addressed to him by *Ausonius* in 372. *Ammianus* commends him in several places of his history, but more frequently taxes him with great vices, perhaps because he professed the christian religion^z. *Claudian*, though a pagan as well as *Ammianus*, highly commends him; but it is in a panegyric on his children^a. Both writers agree in extolling his generosity. His wife *Proba*, named in the ancient inscriptions *Anicia Faltonia Proba*, was no less esteemed on account of her birth and extraordinary qualities, than her husband, being adorned with every virtue becoming her sex, and descended from the *Anician* family, equalled by *Cassiodorus*^b, *St. Austin*^c, *St. Jerom*^d, and *St. Ambrose*^e, to the imperial families. Some of her ancestors bore the first employments in the times of the republic; and one of them is said to have been honoured with a triumph for reducing *Illyricum*^f. *Ammianus*^g and *Zosimus*^h take notice of their immense wealth; and *St. Jerom*, writing to *Demetrias* the grand-daughter of *Probus*, says, that it was the peculiar prerogative of her family to possess riches, and despise themⁱ. *Anicius Julianus*, on whom *Symmachus* bestows great encomiums^k, was the first *Roman* senator that embraced the christian religion^l. *Ammianus* observes, that, in the reign of *Constantius*, the *Anicians* bore the chief sway in *Rome*^m.

Faustinus during his stay at *Carnuntum*, caused *Faustinus*, nephew to
executed. *Viventius*, a few years before prefect of *Gaul*, to be first inhumanly racked, and afterwards publicly executed, being accused of magical practices, and of having answered one *Ni-*

^u AMBROS. vit. p. 83. ^w CLAUD. de consulat. Olyb. & Proba. p. 2. ^x BARON. ad ann. 395. ^y SYM. l. iii. epist. .50—55. p. 36. ^z AMMIAN. l. xxvii. p. 352, 353. l. xxviii. p. 362. l. xxxii. p. 423, 424. ^a CLAUD. ibid. ^b CASSIOD. l. x. ep. 12. p. 162. ^c AUGUST. ep. 179. p. 305. ^d HIER. ep. 11. p. 162. ^e AMB. ep. 33. p. 263. ^f AUSON. p. 422. ^g AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 68. ^h ZOS. l. vi. p. 828. ⁱ HIER. ep. 8. p. 68. ^k SYM. p. 299. ^l PRUD. in Sym. l. i. p. 221. ^m AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 68.

grinus, desiring him in jest to make him a notary, *Make me first emperor*. They were joking; but the joke cost both of them their lives. From *Carnuntum* the emperor dispatched *Merobandes* and count *Sebastian*, with a party of foot, to lay waste the enemy's country, while he, with the main body of the army, advanced to *Acincum*, now *Gran*, or, as others will have it, *Buda* in *Lower Hungary* ^a. There he passed the *Danube*, and having ravaged the enemy's country far and near, destroying all with fire and sword, he returned to *Acincum*, when the autumn was already far advanced. Being desirous to find out some convenient winter-quarters in that frozen climate, he proceeded from thence to *Sabaria*, now *Servar*; but that place not answering his expectation, he pursued his march along the *Danube* to *Bregetio*, which some take to be a village now called *Bregnitz*, and others a place in the isle of *Schut*, where the present city of *Komare* stands, or a little below that of *Markelhaz* ^o. There he gave audience to the ambassadors of the *Quadi*, come to sue for peace; but while he was speaking to them with great warmth, and threatening to extirpate their whole nation, he all on a sudden fell to the ground, as if his life and voice had failed him at once. He was conveyed into his chamber by those who attended him, where he was seized with convulsion fits, and violent contorsions of all his limbs, in the agonies of which he expired on the seventeenth of *November* of this year 375, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, after having reigned twelve years, wanting an hundred days ^p. *Victor* writes, that he died of a surfeit ^q. *St. Jerom* ascribes his death to a violent vomiting of blood ^r. *Socrates* tells us, that being affronted at the meanness and beggarly appearance of the ambassadors of the *Quadi*, he asked them, if their country afforded men of no better quality to appear before him? They answered, That the first men in the nation were in his presence. Hereupon he fell into a great passion, upbraiding their whole nation with arrogance, for presuming to insult the majesty of the *Roman* emperor and people. He delivered this with so much heat and violence, that, his veins bursting, he was instantly suffocated in his own blood ^s. The reader will find in *Socrates* part of the speech which he made, or is supposed to have made, to the ambassadors ^t. His death was presaged, according to *Ammianus*, by several omens: A blazing star, which, in the opinion of that writer,

Valentini-
an ravages
the country
of the
Quadi

He dies sud-
denly.

Several e-
mens pre-
ceding
Valentini-
an's death.

^a Vide BAUDR. p. 55.

^o Vide SANS. & BAUDR. p.

129, 130.

^p AMMIAN. l. xxx. p. 427. VICT. epit. Phil-

lost. l. ix. c. 16. p. 130.

^q VICT. epit.

^r Hier ep.

3. p. 26.

^s SOCR. p. 248, 249.

^t Idem ibid.

ever forebodes the death of some great personage, had appeared a few days before: at *Sirmium* the palace, court, and forum, were consumed by lightning: the night before he died, he saw, or imagined to see, his wife then absent, sitting by him in a melancholy posture and in a mourning dress, with her hair dishevelled. This *Ammianus* takes to have been his genius forsaking him^u. On the day he died, his horse, while he was about to mount, rearing with great fury, his *strator* or equerry, striving to place the emperor in the saddle, happened to give him a blow; which he resenting, with his usual brutality, ordered the equerry's hand to be cut off; but *Cerealis*, *tribunus stabuli*, or master of the horse, put off the execution of so cruel and unjust an order at the peril of his own life^w. The year before, the *Tiber* overflowed its banks, and laid all the lower parts of *Rome* under water, the inhabitants being obliged to save themselves upon the hills, where they had perished with hunger, had not *Claudius*, prefect of the city, sent them a seasonable supply of provisions in boats. These overflowings of the *Tiber* were generally looked upon as the forerunners of some public disaster. The body of the deceased emperor was embalmed, and sent to *Constantinople*, to be interred there amongst the other christian princes. It arrived in that city on the twenty-eighth of *December* of the ensuing year 376, but was not buried till the twenty-first of *February* of the year 382, when *Theodosius* paid it that last duty^x. Some pretended in 1174, to have discovered his body at *Andernach* on the *Rhine*; but it is evident from history, that he was buried at *Constantinople*. As to his character, *Ammianus* taxes him with several vices. He was, according to that writer, naturally inclined to cruelty, punishing even the smallest faults with the utmost severity, and suffering his ministers, or rather encouraging them, to exercise unheard-of cruelties. He was covetous to a great degree, using all possible methods to raise money; which, however, some excuse in him, as he found, on his accession to the empire, the exchequer quite exhausted by his predecessors, especially by *Julian*, who had spent immense sums in the *Persian* war. He had a mighty opinion of his own accomplishments and abilities, and therefore hated all who were eminent for learning, valour, skill in the military art, or any other prerogative; nay, even such as had a genteel fancy in dress. He pretended to be a great enemy to cowards, and nevertheless, on several occasions, betrayed more fear than was

His character.

^u AMMIAN. p. 426.
MARC. CHRON.

^w Idem ibid.

^x Idem, p. 433.

becoming

becoming a man, who, from his infancy, had borne arms ; infomuch, that his ministers, who were well acquainted with his temper, when he was in a passion, and they could by no other means appease him, used to pretend certain intelligence from the frontiers, that the barbarians were up in arms, and ready to break into the empire ; which never failed to allay his wrath, and make him appear, to use the expression of *Ammianus*, as mild as ever was *Antoninus Pius* ¹. He suffered himself to be strangely imposed upon by his ministers, reposing an intire confidence in those who deserved it the least ; whence the provinces were often oppressed, and the people reduced to beggary, while he, misled and deceived by those about him, believed they enjoyed an intire happiness². Had he not been deceived in the choice of his ministers, says *Victor*, he would have reigned with great glory, and been ranked after his death amongst the best princes³. And truly he was, even according to *Ammianus*, a writer no-ways partial to him, or any of the christian princes, endowed with many excellent qualities ; well acquainted with the military art, and no less with the art of governing ; careful in protecting the subjects of the empire against the incursions of the barbarians ; an exact observer of the military discipline ; enured from his infancy to hardships, and no-ways biassed by favour in disposing of the great offices. Tho' he had many relations, who, upon his advancement, expected great preferments, yet he employed none of them, except his brother *Valens*, whom he assumed for his colleague, and with whom he reigned in perfect concord. In his entertainments he was splendid, but not profuse ; in his person comely, and well-shaped ; in his conversation agreeable ; of an extraordinary memory, and ready elocution, knowing well how to accommodate himself to all times and occasions ⁴. He suffered no places to be bought or sold during the whole time of his reign ; and tho' he was often mistaken in the choice of his officers and ministers, yet his intention was to prefer only the most deserving, and for that reason he neglected his own relations. He abated the taxes, and eased his people, as far as the state of his affairs would allow, of the heavy burdens laid upon them by his predecessors ⁵. He was an utter stranger to debauchery and unlawful pleasures, which he endeavoured to restrain by several excellent laws ⁶. As to his religion, in the great variety of opinions, which at that time divided the world, he inviolably

¹ AMMIAN. l. xxx. p. 431, 432.

² Idem ibid.

³ AMMIAN. p. 433.

⁴ VICT. epit. p. 345.

⁵ Idem p. 423.

⁶ VICT. p. 651.

adhered to the orthodox faith ; but, avoiding all disputes, he allowed to the rest of his subjects, even to the pagans, an intire liberty of conscience. He is blamed by the ecclesiastic writers, for suffering his brother *Valens* to persecute the orthodox christians ; but some alledge in his defence, that the condition of his affairs would not allow him in prudence openly to oppose *Valens*, since that perhaps might have kindled a civil war, which, at that time, would have proved fatal to the empire. To conclude, he was endowed, according to *Ammianus*, with such excellent qualities, that had they not been allayed with the mixture of the above-mentioned vices, especially with that of cruelty, he had been no-ways inferior to the excellent emperors *Trajan* and *M. Aurelius*. Amongst his other laws he enacted one addressed to *Maximus* vicar of *Rome*, relating to the stature or size of such as were to be admitted into the army, which was not to be under six foot seven inches ^d.

The reign
of *Valens*
in the east.

WE shall now proceed to the history of the reign of *Valens* in the east, which, to avoid confusion, we have thought proper to deliver separately, there being no other connection, but that of time, between the reigns and transactions of the two princes. After the division of the provinces made at *Mediana* in the neighbourhood of *Naissus* in *Dacia* in 364, *Valens* returned to *Constantinople*, where he enacted a law dated the twenty-sixth of *December*, forbidding the messengers of good news to exact, according to the abuse which then prevailed, or even to accept, any thing of the people ; but allows them to receive what persons of rank and fortune shall think proper to offer them of their own accord ^e. The following year 365, *Valens* was still at *Constantinople* on the nineteenth of *March* ^f ; but soon after set out for *Syria*, the *Persians* being in motion, with a design, as was apprehended, to break the peace which they had lately concluded with *Jovian*. Being informed, as he entered *Bithynia*, that the *Goths* were ready to invade *Thrace*, he dispatched messengers to his officers in those parts, warning them to be upon their guard, and pursued his march to *Casarea* in *Cappadocia*, where he was on the fourth of *July*, and continued there till the latter end of the summer ^g. During his stay in that city, a dreadful earthquake happened, which was felt in most provinces of the empire, and overturned several cities in *Sicily*, *Palestine*, and above all in the island of *Crete*, where the shock was

^e AMMIAN. p. 432.

^d Cod. Theod. l. iii. de tyronib.

^f Cod. Theod. l. viii. tit. 11. leg. 1. p. 602, 603.

^f Cod.

Theod. chron. p. 73.

^g Idem, p. 74. AMMIAN. p. 322. most

most violent ^a. When *Valens* was upon the point of departing from *Cæsarea*, news was brought him of the revolt of *Procopius*, who, after having paid the last duty to the body *Procopius* of his kinsman *Julian*, had privately withdrawn, through *revolts*. fear of *Jovian*, into *Chersonesus Taurica*; but not trusting those barbarians, and finding himself destitute even of the necessities of life, he left that inhospitable country, and returning in disguise into the territories of the empire, he reached undiscovered the city of *Chalcedon*, where he was received by one *Strategius*, his trusty friend, and by him carefully concealed at his country-house. From thence he went frequently in a mean dress to *Constantinople*; and finding that the people there were generally dissatisfied with the present government, on account of the cruelties practised by *Petronius*, whose daughter, *Albia Dominica*, the emperor had married, he resolved to improve that dissatisfaction to his own advantage. Having therefore gained over an eunuch of great wealth, by name *Eugenius*, lately disgraced by *Valens*, and some of the officers who commanded the troops that had been sent into *Thrace* against the *Goths*, and were then quartered at *Constantinople*, he boldly ventured to discover himself, and lay before the people and soldiery the title he had to the empire, as being nearly related to *Julian*. Hereupon the officers, whom he had gained before-hand, proclaimed him emperor; and the rest, following their example, saluted him with the title of *Augustus*, and carried him in triumph to the imperial palace, whither he was attended only by the dregs of the people. However, the next and the following days, several persons of distinction joined him, and at length the whole city of *Constantinople*¹. The news of this revolt struck *Valens* with such terror and dismay, that he was for quitting the imperial purple and resigning the empire; but being, with powerful arguments, persuaded by his friends not to part with the imperial dignity, he detached some troops against his new rival, hoping to crush him before he was in a condition to make any resistance. This detachment met *Procopius* at *Mygdus* in *Phrygia*, attended by a promiscuous multitude of fugitive slaves, deserters, and persons of desperate fortunes, who, upon the approach of the emperor's forces, put themselves in a posture of defence. But *Procopius*, distrusti g their courage, while both parties were ready to engage, stepped boldly forward, as if he designed to challenge one of the adverse party to a single

And is acknowledged by the city of Constantinople.

^a AMMIAN. p. 331, 333. HIER. chron. p. 258. ¹ AMMIAN. p. 320. Zos. l. iv. p. 737. THEMIST. p. 91.

combat;

He is joined by a party of the emperor's troops.

Valens obliged to raise the siege of Chalcedon.

Procopius seizes on Cyzicus, and the treasure lodged there.

combat ; and taking *Vitalianus*, one of the officers, by the hand, mildly upbraided him and his fellow-soldiers, for siding with a *Pannonian* robber against one allied to the family of *Constantine the Great*. His speech made such a deep impression upon them, that they immediately passed over to his party, and, with loud acclamations saluting him emperor, carried him in triumph to the imperial pavilion ^k. This defection brought a very seasonable accession of strength to *Procopius*, who thereupon detached a strong party, under the conduct of *Rumitalca* a tribune, to seize on *Nice* ; which they did accordingly without the loss of a single man ^l. *Valens*, alarmed at the usurper's unexpected progress, dispatched *Vadomarius*, formerly king of the *Alemanni*, to recover that important place, while he went in person to lay siege to *Chalcedon*, from which city one of his laws is dated the first of *December* ^m ; but he met with so vigorous a resistance, that he was obliged to give over the enterprise, the besieged insulting him from the walls as he retired, and reviling him with the nickname of *Sabaiarius*, that is, *Beer-drinker*, *sabaia* being a kind of small drink made of barley, and common in *Pannonia*, where *Valens* was born. *Rumitalca*, who commanded in *Nice*, being informed of his retreat, sallied out with great boldness, and bearing down all before him, had utterly defeated the emperor, had not *Valens*, upon timely notice of his approach, taken a quite different route by the lake *Sunona*, and the windings of the river *Gallus* ⁿ. Thus was the emperor obliged to abandon *Bithynia* to the enemy, and retire with all expedition to *Ancyra*, where he continued waiting the arrival of the troops which *Lupicinus* was leading out of the east to his assistance. In the mean time, *Arintheus*, one of his chief commanders, an officer of great prowess and renown, meeting a party of the rebels, commanded by one *Hyperechius*, formerly an apparitor, and scorning to enter the lists with such a contemptible enemy, commanded, with an air of authority, *Hyperechius*'s own men to bring to him in chains their vile and despicable leader ; which they did accordingly, struck with the awful and majestic mien of that renowned commander ^o. But, in the mean time, *Procopius*, being informed, that the money allotted for the pay of the soldiers who served in the east, was lodged in the city of *Cyzicus*, hastened thither, laid siege to the place, and in the end reduced it, though defended with great resolution and intrepidity by *Seronianus*, at

^k AMMIAN. l. xxvi. p. 322, 324.

^l Idem, p. 325.

^m Cod. Theod. chron. p. 75, 76.

ⁿ AMMIAN. ibid. SO-

CRAT. l. iv. c. 8. p. 216.

^o AMMIAN. ibid.

that

that time comes *domesticorum*, who found means to make his escape, as *Zosimus* informs us ^p; but was afterwards taken in *Lydia*, carried prisoner to *Nice*, and there by *Marcellus* governor of the place, put to death. *Procopius* being, by the reduction of this place, become master of the *Hellepont*, he appointed *Hormisdas* governor of that province, with the title of proconsul. He was the son of *Hormisdas*, brother to *Sapor* king of *Persia*, who, as we have related elsewhere, had, in the year 323, taken refuge in the court of *Constantine the Great*, and ever after served the *Romans* with great fidelity. *Procopius* spent the best part of the winter in endeavouring to draw over to his party the cities of *Asia*; but his designs were in great measure defeated by *Clearchus* vicar of that province, and more by his own conduct; for having hitherto behaved with great moderation and humanity, he all on a sudden grew proud, haughty, and tyrannical, loading the provinces that had submitted to him with exorbitant taxes, tho' he knew, that their aversion to *Valens* was chiefly owing to that prince's avarice. But nothing more prejudiced the people against him, than his commanding the house of *Arbetio* to be stripped of the moveables of inestimable value, and of the immense riches, which that ancient and brave commander had amassed under *Constantius*. He gave him this unseasonable proof of his indignation, tho' he had formerly lived in great friendship with him, upon his declining to wait upon him, on account of his great age, and the infirmities attending it ^q. The following year 366, *Valens*, upon the arrival of the troops from the east under the command of *Lupicinus*, left *Galatia*, whither he had retired from before *Chalcedon*, and marched into *Lycia*, with a design to put the whole to the issue of a battle. As the soldiers of *Procopius* were greatly animated by the presence of *Faustina*, *Constantius's* widow, and her little daughter *Constantina*, whom *Procopius* carried about with him, and often exposed to the view of the army, *Valens*, to defeat that artifice, prevailed upon *Arbetio*, who had commanded the forces under *Constantius*, and was beloved by the soldiery, to join him, not doubting, but the presence and interest of one of that prince's chief commanders, would draw great numbers of the rebels over to his party. He was not therein deceived; for the presence of *Arbetio*, and the high opinion they all entertained of him, quite turned the hearts of *Procopius's* men; which *Gomoarius*, one of his chief commanders, being well

*He grows
tyrannical.*

^p Zos. p. 328. ^q AMMIAN. p. 327, EUNAP. c. 5. p. 84. THEMIST. orat. vii. p. 92—99.

apprised

Procopius
abandoned
by some of
his chief
officers.

Defeated,
taken, and
put to
death.

apprised of, thought it adviseable to abandon the tyrant, and submit to *Valens* ^r. This happened, according to *Zosimus*, in the neighbourhood of *Thyatira* in *Lydia*, in the heat of a battle, while *Valens* was in imminent danger of being utterly defeated by the courageous behaviour and prudent conduct of young *Hormisdas* ^c. We question whether this can be reconciled with what we read in *Ammianus*. After this, *Valens* advanced to *Sardes*, and from thence to *Nicolaia*, a city of *Phrygia*, where he gave the rebels battle, the issue whereof continued doubtful, till *Agilo*, by nation a *German*, one of *Procopius*'s chief commanders, with many others, went over to *Valens*; which so disheartened *Procopius*, that, quitting his horse, he fled into an adjoining wood, attended by *Florentius* and *Barchalbas* a tribune. There they wandered about, till the moon shining out with great brightness, they began to apprehend they might be discovered. Hereupon *Procopius*'s two companions, seizing him to save themselves, carried him bound to the emperor who immediately ordered his head to be struck off, and sent it to *Valentinian* then in *Gaul* ^t. *Florentius* and *Barchalbas* were likewise put to death by the emperor's orders; but, in the opinion of *Ammianus*, contrary to the rules of justice and equity: for had they betrayed, says that writer, a lawful prince, their treason had deserved to be punished with death; but as he was a rebel and usurper, they had great reason to expect another sort of reward for their seasonable service ^u. *Philostorgius* writes, that the army caused *Florentius* to be burnt alive, for his cruelties to those of their party at *Nice* ^w, he having been appointed by *Procopius*, governor of that city; but from *Ammianus* it is evident, that *Marcellus*, of whom anon, and not *Florentius* was governor of that city. What *Socrates* writes ^x of the cruel death to which the emperor condemned *Procopius*, and likewise his two generals, *Agilo* and *Gomoarius*, tho' they had abandoned him before his defeat, deserves no credit, since *Ammianus*, who never spares *Valens*, in displaying with great minuteness his other cruelties, takes no notice of this; nay, he tells us in express terms, that *Araxes*, father-in-law to *Agilo*, by his interest obtained his pardon, tho' he had been *praefectus praetorio* to *Procopius* ^y. Such was the end of this usurper, in the forty-second year of his age, after he had borne the title of emperor for the space of about eight months. He

^r AMMIAN. p. 327. 328. ^c Zos. l. iv. p. 739. ^t AMMIAN. p. 329. PHILOST. l. vii. c. 5. p. 123. ^u AMMIAN. l. xxvii. p. 335. & l. xxvi. p. 329. ^w PHILOST. p. 123. ^x SOCRAT. l. iv. c. 5. p. 214. ^y AMMIAN. l. xxvi. p. 329. was

was put to death, according to *Idatius* and *Socrates*, on the twenty seventh of *May*; but on the twentieth of *June*, according to the chronicle of *Alexandria*. He was born of an illustrious family in *Cilicia*, and nearly related to the emperor *Julian*. He was, tho' a pagan, employed by *Constantius* on account of his integrity, and raised by *Julian* to great employments, and distinguished with the title of count. When that prince set out on his memorable expedition against the *Persians*, he invested him and count *Sebastian* with the command of a body of thirty thousand chosen men, who were to remain in *Mesopotamia*, and cover the empire on that side against any sudden irruption of the enemy ^a. *Zosimus* writes, that he delivered up to *Jovian* the purple robe, which *Julian* was laid, as we have related above, to have given him, charging him to assume it, if he should happen to die before his return from *Persia* ^a. That writer adds, that thereupon *Jovian* gave him leave to retire with his family to *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, and lead there a retired life. Be that as it will, it is certain from *Ammianus*, that he was sent by *Jovian* to attend the corpse of *Julian* to *Tarsus*; and afterwards withdrawing, he kept himself concealed till he assumed the title of emperor, which occasioned his ruin. He was, according to *Ammianus*, a man of few words, close and reserved; of no mean presence, tho' he went somewhat stooping, with his eyes ever fixed on the ground, which proceeded from his gloomy and melancholy temper; yet he was always averse to the shedding of blood, which, in the opinion of *Ammianus*, was a thing to be wondered at, considering the moroseness of his disposition ^b. *Marcellus*, governor of *Nice*, and kinsman to *Procopius*, hearing of his death, ordered *Serenianus*, who was kept close prisoner in the place, to be immediately dispatched, saving, by the death of one man, the lives of many, says *Ammianus*; for as he was noted for his cruelty, and had a great ascendant over *Valens*, whose countryman he was, it was feared, had he outlived the defeat of *Procopius's* party, he would have induced the emperor, too much inclined of himself, to revenge, and occasioned the destruction of many persons, innocent as well as guilty ^c. After this bold execution, *Marcellus* being informed, that a body of *Goths* was marching to the assistance of *Procopius*, and not doubting but he should be able to draw them over to his own party, seized on the city of *Chalcedon*; and being assisted by some, whom poverty and despair had driven into rebellion, he assumed the purple, and caused him-

His birth,
prefer-
ments, and
character.

Marcellus
revolts;

^a Idem ibid.

^a Zos. l. iv. p. 736.

^b AMMIAN. ibid.

^c Idem. l. xxvi. p. 325.

But is
taken and
tortured to
death.

self to be proclaimed emperor. But *Valens*, upon the first notice of his revolt, dispatched without delay a party of chosen men against him, who, coming upon him unexpectedly, seized him, and, having loaded him with chains, dragged him to the public prison; whence he was taken out the next day, and, together with his accomplices, tortured to death^d. *Themistius*, in his panegyric upon *Valens*, written a few months after the death of *Procopius*, tells us, that he used his victory with great moderation, punishing only the chief authors of the revolt^e. But *Ammianus*^f and *Zosimus*^g assure us, that he proceeded with the utmost severity against such as were but barely suspected of having favoured the rebels. His ears were open to all complaints and informations; and few who had the misfortune to be accused, were so happy as to escape death, banishment, or confiscations, till the emperor had glutted himself with blood, and filled his own coffers, and those of his friends likewise. He ordered the city of *Chalcedon* to be dismantled, pursuant to an oath he had taken; but the inhabitants of *Nice*, *Nicomedia*, and *Constantinople*, interceding in behalf of a city, of which the walls were its chief beauty and ornament, to comply at the same time with their request, and his own oath, he caused only part of the walls to be demolished, which he immediately rebuilt with smaller stones, ordering the others to be conveyed to *Constantinople*, where they were made use of to build a public bath, called the *Thermae*, or hot baths of *Constantius*, if *Socrates* is not mistaken^h; for it is certain, that *Valens* built at *Constantinople* a public bath, bearing the name of his daughter *Carosa*ⁱ, which was ended in 375. This year the empress *Albia Dominica* was on the eighteenth of *January*, delivered of a son, named *Valentinian*, and surnamed *Galata*, no doubt, because he was born in *Galatia*, where *Valens* passed the first months of this year, as we have observed.

Valens re-
solves to
make war
upon the
Goths.

THE following year 367, *Valens*, hearing that a body of three thousand *Goths*, who were come to the assistance of *Procopius*, and had marched back upon the news of his death, had not yet passed the *Danube*, sent a strong detachment against them, who cutting off their retreat, obliged them, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance they made, to lay down their arms, and yield themselves prisoners^k. Hereupon *Athanasius*, at that time king, or rather judge, of the *Goths*, named *Thervingi* (for he seems to have declined the

^d Idem, p. 326, 327.

^e THEMIST. orat. vii. p. 84.

^f AMMIAN. p. 330.

^g Zos. l. iv. p. 739.

^h SOCRAT. l.

iv. c. 8. p. 216.

ⁱ AMMIAN. p. 614. Chron. Alex. p. 704.

^k Zos. l. iv. p. 740. EUNAP. de legation, p. 18.

royal title), dispatched ambassadors to *Valens*, earnestly entreating him to set the prisoners at liberty, and suffer them to return to their own country, since they had been sent by their prince, a friend and ally of the *Romans*, to the assistance of a *Roman* emperor. The ambassadors, after having delivered this message, produced a letter from *Procopius* to their master, wherein he assured him, that the empire belonged to him as the kinsman of *Constantius*, and the heir of the great *Constantine's* family. *Valens* returned, it seems, no answer to the ambassadors; but sent *Victor*, then *magister equitum*, or general of the horse, to complain in his name of *Athanasius*, for assisting a rebel against his lawful sovereign. The *Goths* answered, that they had looked upon *Procopius* as the kinsman of *Constantine*, and heir of his family, adding, that it was not their business to examine, whether he was, or was not, a lawful prince; and that, if they were therein deceived, the emperor ought to forgive them, since their counsels had been influenced by what appeared to them just and equitable. They could not, however, obtain the deliverance of their prisoners, *Valens*, who had no other enemy at that time to divert him, being desirous to humble that powerful nation¹. *Ammianus* thinks he had justice on his side²; but *Eunapius* will not take upon him to decide whether he had or no³. This war was likely to prove very dangerous, the *Goths* being then very powerful, and besides, elated with the great advantages they had gained over the neighbouring nations, if *Jornandes* is to be credited⁴, who seems to have been but indifferently acquainted with the history of his country, since he takes no notice of the present war. *Valens*, being bent upon war, and well apprised of the strength and power of the enemy, made vast preparations during the winter, with a design to fall upon the enemy early in the spring. Before he set out on so dangerous an expedition, in order to render heaven propitious to his undertaking, he received the sacrament of baptism; but, out of complaisance to the empress, at the hands of *Eudoxius*, then bishop of *Constantinople*, a leading man among the *Arians*, who, in administering to him that sacrament, obliged him to swear, that, to his death, he would adhere to the doctrine of *Arius*, and look upon those who opposed it as enemies to truth; which oath he but too strictly observed, as the reader may find in the ecclesiastic writers of those times. He had before shewed no small partiality to the

He is baptised by the
Arians.

¹ AMMIAN. l. xxvii. p. 340. EUNAP. p. 18. ZOS. p. 748.
JORN. rer. Goth. c. 23. p. 643. ³ AMMIAN. p. 338.
² EUNAP. p. 18. ⁴ JORN. ibid. c. 3. p. 642, 643.

He passes
the Da-
nube, and
lays waste
the country
of the
Goths.

Great dis-
orders com-
mitted by
the Isauri-
an robbers.

Arians ; but thenceforth he became their great patron, and a cruel persecutor of the catholics. But to return to the war : the emperor being informed, that the *Goths*, apprised of his design, were assembling a mighty army, in order to attack him the first, took the field before the winter was over ; and having sent strong detachments to guard the banks of the *Danube*, he encamped with the rest of his army in the neighbourhood of *Marcianopolis*, the metropolis of *Lower Mæsia*, where he raised *Auxonius* to the dignity of prefect, in the room of *Salustius Secundus*, no longer able to discharge that office, on account of his great age. He was still at *Marcianopolis* on the thirtieth of *May*, as appears from the dates of some laws^p ; which we will not take upon us to reconcile with what we read in *Ammianus*^q and *Zosimus*^r, viz. that in the beginning of the spring he left that city, and having assembled his troops, he passed the *Danube* at a place called *Daphne*, and spent the whole summer in ravaging and laying waste the enemy's country, without meeting with the least opposition, the *Goths* having fled, upon the approach of the *Roman* army, to the neighbouring mountains, called *Serri*, inaccessible to those who were not well acquainted with the country. In the beginning of the autumn he led back his army to the *Roman* territories, and was on the twenty-fifth of *September* at *Doroſterum* in *Mæsia*, and on the thirty-first of *January* of the ensuing year 368, at *Marcianopolis*^s, where, without all doubt, he passed the winter. This year the *Isaurians*, who had continued quiet ever since the year 359, over-ran the neighbouring countries, plundering not only villages, but towns, and advancing as far as *Pamphylia* and *Cilicia*, where they amassed an immense booty. *Mufonius*, vicar of *Asia*, endeavoured to restrain them ; but, as he was quite unacquainted with the art of war, he was cut in pieces, with all his men. *Mufonius* had taught rhetoric at *Athens*, from which employment he was raised to the dignity of proconsul of *Achaia*, and afterwards to that of vicar of *Asia*. However, the *Isaurians* were in the end surrounded by the inhabitants of the countries which they had plundered, and, their retreat being cut off, obliged to submit, and quit the booty they had taken. Their lives were spared, upon their promising to give no molestation to their neighbours for the future ; and accordingly they kept their word till the year 376, that is, for the space of ten years^t. *Germanicopolis* was their chief

^p Cod Theod. chron p 79 ^q AMMIAN. p. 340. ^r Zos. p. 741. ^s Cod Theod. chron. p. 80, 81. ^t AMMIAN. l. xxvii. p. 348, 349. EUNAP. c. 8. p. 125. 126.

city, and in the fifth century an episcopal see ; but not at this time, for a bishop could find no employment among persons who were robbers by profession. The following year 368, *Valens* was still at *Marcianopolis* on the ninth of *March* ^a, and heard there his panegyric pronounced by *Themistius*, upon his entering the fifth year of his reign. The orator mentions in his speech an eastern prince, who had quitted the dominions of his father, tho' very considerable, to have the honour of serving under *Valens* ^w. Some writers conjecture this prince to have been *Para*, the son of *Arfaces* king of *Armenia*, who came to implore the assistance of *Valens* against the *Persians*, and continued some time at *Neocæsarea* in *Pontus* ; but he cannot be said to have served under *Valens*. One *Bacurus*, styled king of *Iberia*, served under *Valens* at the battle of *Adrianople* ^x, as he did afterwards under *Theodosius* ^y ; and him perhaps *Themistius* meant. From *Marcianopolis* the emperor marched early in the spring to *Carpi*, a village, as is supposed, of *Mæsia*, with a design to ravage, as he had done the year before, the enemy's country : but he was obliged to remain encamped in the same place till the beginning of autumn, without ever being able to cross the *Danube*, which continued swelled beyond measure all that summer. He therefore returned to *Marcianopolis*, where he took up his winter-quarters ^z. One of his laws is dated from that place the twelfth of *November*, and another the thirteenth of *December* ^a. This year is remarkable for one of the most dreadful earthquakes that had ever been felt, by which the city of *Nice* was utterly ruined, and in that of *Germa* in the *Hellepont* only a few houses left standing ^b. The following year, 369, the emperor was still at *Marcianopolis* on the third of *May* ; but at *Noviodunum* in *Lesser Scythia* on the third and fifth of *July* ^c, where he passed the *Danube* on a bridge of boats, and advanced far into the enemy's country, destroying all with fire and sword. *Zosimus* ^d tells us, that the *Goths* sallying frequently out of their woods and marshes upon the *Romans*, the emperor dispatched against them the servants who attended the army, promising them a certain sum for each head they should bring. Hereupon such numbers of the enemy were killed in the woods and marshes where they lurked, that the rest finding no-where a safe re-

He invades anew the country of the Goths.

^a Cod. Theod. chron. p. 81. ^w THEMIST. orat. viii. p. 433.
^x AMMIAN. l. xxxi. p. 460. ^y RUF. l. i. c. 10. p. 166.
^z AMMIAN. l. xxxi. p. 460. ^a Cod. Theod. chron. p. 83.
^b HIER. chron. SOCR. l. 4. c. 11. p. 219. ^c Cod. Theod. chron. p. 87.

The Goths
defeated,
sue for
peace, and
obtain it.

treat, sent ambassadors to sue for peace^d. Thus *Zosimus*. But *Ammianus*, whose authority is of greater weight, informs us, that *Valens*, having attacked the *Greuthungi*, a warlike nation, at a considerable distance from the *Danube*, after several encounters, gained a great victory over *Athanasius*, who, at the head of a numerous army, had ventured to engage him^e. After this victory, *Valens* returned to *Marcianopolis*, with a design to winter there, and renew the war early in the spring. But, in the mean while, the *Goths*, weary of so destructive a war, which had lasted already three years, and reduced them to the utmost distress, sent ambassadors to sue for peace; which *Valens* at first refused to grant them upon any terms, but was in the end, with much-ado, prevailed upon by the senate of *Constantinople* to hearken to their proposals. Thus *Themistius*, who was at the head of the *Constantinopolitan* deputies^f. *Valens*, having at their request dismissed the ambassadors with a favourable answer, approached the *Danube*, and named *Victor* and *Arintheus* to treat with the *Goths*. After some conferences, a peace was concluded upon the following terms, highly honourable for the *Romans*,

Articles of viz. 1. That the *Goths* should not for the future pass the *Danube*, nor set foot on the *Roman* territories. 2. That the trade which they had been allowed by former treaties to carry on with what cities of the empire they pleased, should be restrained to two only, situated on the *Danube*. 3. That they should not for the future claim nor expect the pensions that had been annually paid them by other emperors; but nevertheless, that *Athanasius's* pension should be continued to him^g. This was the first peace, concludes *Themistius*, which the *Romans* had in our memory granted to, and not purchased of, the *Goths*. When *Valens* and *Athanasius* were to meet, in order to ratify and sign the treaty, the latter could not be prevailed upon to pass the *Danube*, pretending, that his father had obliged him solemnly to swear never to tread on *Roman* ground. On the other hand, *Valens*, thinking it below the majesty of the empire to go to him, it was agreed, that the two princes should meet in boats in the middle of the river; which they did accordingly, and ratified the peace to their mutual satisfaction^h. *Themistius*, who was present at this interview, describes it much at length, but more like an orator than an historianⁱ. He pronounced his speech in all likelihood at *Constantinople*, whither he retired after the conclu-

^d Zos. l. iv. p. 741. ^e AMMIAN. p. 341. ^f THEMIST. orat. x. p. 133. ^g Idem. p. 135. ^h AMMIAN. p. 341, 342. ⁱ THEMIST. orat. x. p. 132, 133.

sion of the treaty ; for, according to the code, he was at *Marcianopolis* on the second of *December*, and on the thirtieth of the same month at *Constantinople* ^k. This year, dreadful disorders were committed in *Syria* by the inhabitants of a large village near *Apamea*, called *Maratacupris*, who, roving about the county, robbed all they met, and had even the boldness to enter some cities in the night-time, and plunder the houses of the most wealthy inhabitants. Hereupon *Valens* sent a party of soldiers against them, with orders to set fire to their village, and put them all to the sword, without distinction of sex or age ; which was done accordingly with the utmost rigour, the soldiers being in express terms enjoined not to spare even the sucking children ^l.

Severity of
Valens to
some rob-
bers.

THE following year, 370, *Valens*, leaving *Constantinople*, set out for *Antioch* ; but he had scarce reached *Nicomedia*, when he received news of the death of *Eudoxius*, the *Arian* bishop of *Constantinople*, in whose room the *Arians*, with his approbation, placed one *Demophilus*. The catholics too chose their bishop, and raised to that see *Evagrius* ; but the emperor sent a party of soldiers from *Nicomedia*, with orders to drive him out. The *Arians*, thus countenanced by the emperor, raised a cruel persecution against the catholics, who thereupon had recourse to *Valens*, sending eighty ecclesiastics to lay their grievances before him ; but the emperor, instead of redressing them ordered *Modestus*, who had been raised this year to the dignity of prefect in the room of *Auxonius*, to put them all to death. *Modestus*, fearing the public execution of so many *Valens* ecclesiastics might occasion great disturbances, put them all on board a vessel, pretending the emperor had ordered them to be sent into banishment ; but when the vessel was at some distance from land, the mariners set fire to it, as had been agreed on before-hand, saving themselves in their boat. The ship was driven by a strong wind into a harbour called by *Socrates*, *Dacidazus*, and there consumed with all who were in it. This cruelty, says that writer, was punished by heaven with a dreadful famine, which obliged most of the inhabitants of *Phrygia* to abandon their country, and fly to other provinces for relief ^m. Some unforeseen accident must have diverted the emperor from his intended journey to *Antioch* ; for he was, as appears from the dates of several laws, on the tenth of *June* at *Cyzicus* ; on the twelfth of *December* of this year, and during the months of *January*, *February*, and

causes
eighty or-
thodox ec-
clesiastics
to be put to
death.

^k Cod. Theod. chron. 86.

^l AMMIAN. l. xxviii p. 367,

368.

^m SOCR. l. iv. c. 15, p. 226.

Valentinian, his only son, dies.

Cappadocia divided into two provinces, and Palestine into three.

April of the ensuing year at *Constantinople* ^a; which he left after the fifth of *May* ^b, and set out for *Syria*, advancing slowly, and administering justice in all the cities through which he passed; which would have gained him the affections of the inhabitants, had he not at the same time made it his chief study to establish every-where the heresy of *Arius*, and betrayed an irreconcilable hatred to the catholics ^c. He passed the winter at *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, where, to his unspeakable grief, his only son *Valentinian Galata* died. *Gregory Nazianzen* writes, that, during his malady, the emperor had recourse to the prayers of *St. Basil*, who was then at *Cæsarea*, and promised to restore the child to health, provided *Valens* would suffer him to receive the sacrament of baptism at the hands of an orthodox bishop; which condition he not agreeing to, but, on the contrary, ordering him to be baptised by the *Arians*, the young prince immediately died ^d.

This year the emperor divided *Cappadocia* into two provinces, appointing *Tyana* the metropolis of *Cappadocia Secunda*, as *Cæsarea* was of *Cappadocia Prima*. At the same time he divided *Palestine* into three provinces, viz. *Palæstina Prima*, *Palæstina Secunda*, and *Palæstina Salutaris*. *Cæsarea* was the metropolis of the first, *Scythopolis* of the second, and *Petra* of the third. The latter city, with the greatest part of *Palæstina Salutaris*, was dismembered from *Arabia*, as were several cities in the two other provinces from *Phœnicia*. The governor of *Palæstina Prima* was honoured with the title of *consular*; but those of the other two were only styled *presidents* ^e. At what time *Lycaonia*, which had *Iconium* for its metropolis, was made a separate province, and those of *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Phœnicia*, divided into two, and *Arabia* into three, we will not take upon us to determine. These divisions of provinces proved very burdensome to the people, and raised quarrels and disputes among the metropolitan bishops, as appears from the ecclesiastic historians, and the letters of *St. Basil*.

THE following year 372, *Valens* left *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia* early in the spring; for he was at *Seleucia* on the fourth of *April*, and on the thirteenth of the same month at *Antioch* ^f. Soon after his arrival in that city, *Libanius* pronounced in his presence part of a speech composed in his praise, the other

^a Cod. Theod. chron. p. 87—89. ^b Idem ibid. ^c Zos. l. iv. p. 742. ^d GREG. NAZ. orat. xx p. 351. ^e HIER. quæst. Hebr. p. 212. Cod. Theod. tit. 4 p. 171. notit. c. 1 p. 3. ^f NORIS. epoch. p. 401, 402. ^g Cod. Theod. chron. p. 90, 91.

part, as it was exceeding long, being put off to another time. The emperor heard him with great pleasure, if the orator himself is to be credited; but the remaining part of his speech was never pronounced¹. *Valens* was come to *Antioch* to watch the motions of the *Persians*; for *Sapor* laying claim to *Armenia*, which had formerly belonged to the kings of *Persia*, but not caring openly to invade it, lest the *Romans* should espouse the cause of their allies, after having attempted in vain to allure the nobility over to his party, pretending great friendship for *Arfaces* their king, he invited him to a banquet, during which he ordered the unwary prince to be seized, and, having put out his eyes, sent him in chains to a castle, called *Agabana*, where he was soon after put to death². This in all likelihood is what gave occasion to the long account we read in *Procopius* of the captivity of *Arfaces* king of *Armenia*, taken prisoner by one *Pacurus* king of *Persia*³; an account which has all the air of a romance. *Sapor*, having thus treacherously dispatched *Arfaces*, gave the government of *Armenia* to *Cylax* and *Artabanes*, both natives of the country, but inviolably attached to his interest. Then, driving out *Sauromaces*, whom the *Romans* had created king of *Iberia*, he put one *Aspacuras* in his place, cousin-german to *Sauromaces*, honouring him with a diadem, which the *Romans* had refused to the other⁴. *Olympias*, the daughter of *Ablavius*, one of *Constantine's* chief officers, and given by that prince in marriage to *Arfaces*, was no sooner informed of the captivity of her husband, than she took refuge with her son *Paras* in a strong fort called *Artogerassa*, where the king's treasures were lodged. *Cylax* and *Artabanes* were immediately ordered by *Sapor* to lay siege to the place; which they did accordingly; but pitying the forlorn condition of the queen and the young prince, they agreed with the besieged to abandon the *Persians* to their fury; who were accordingly almost all to a man cut off in a sally made by agreement in the night-time, while the guards themselves in the camp were asleep, *Cylax* and *Artabanes* having given out, that the besieged had demanded and obtained a truce for two days, in order to consider on the terms that had been offered them. The queen, thus delivered from the present danger, sent her son *Paras* to implore the assistance of the emperor, who caused him to be entertained for some time at *Neocæsarea* in *Pontus*, in a man-

Sapor begins new troubles in Armenia and Iberia

¹ Liban. vit. p. 48.

² AMMIAN. l. xxv. p. 300. & l. xxvii.

p. 353.

³ PROCOPI. bell. Pers. l. i. c. 5. p. 15—17.

⁴ AM-

MIAN. p. 353—344.

He seizes
and de-
stroys se-
veral
strong-
holds in
Armenia.

Valens
sends troops
to the as-
sistance of
the Ar-
menians.

ner suitable to his rank and condition. However, not daring to assist him openly, at the request of the nobility of *Armenia*, he charged *Terentius*, who commanded on the borders of that country, with the title of *comes* or count, to conduct him into his father's kingdom, which he suffered him to govern, but without the title of king, or any of the ensigns of royalty, lest the *Persians* should look upon his appointing him king as a breach of the peace. *Sapor* was no sooner informed or what had passed in *Armenia*, than, transported with rage, he sent a strong body of troops into that kingdom, who, committing every where dreadful ravages, obliged *Paras*, no ways in a condition to oppose them, to take refuge, with *Cylax* and *Artabanes*, among the inaccessible mountains between the *Roman* territories and *Lazica*. The *Persians*, in the mean time, after having taken and burnt several strong-holds, sat down at length before *Artogerassa*, which, after several attacks, they took and destroyed, carrying away with them the wife and treasures of *Arfaces*. *Sapor*, finding he could not get *Paras* into his power, had recourse to his usual artifices, in which he seldom miscarried; and by private messages to the young prince, whose cause he promised to espouse, prevailed upon him to cut off the heads of *Cylax* and *Artabanes*, who, he said, were rather his governors than ministers, and send them to him into *Persia* [†]. *Valens*, who had hitherto declined sending troops into *Armenia*, lest he should be charged with a breach of the peace, was no sooner informed of these proceedings, than he ordered *Arintheus*, one of the best commanders of his age, with a powerful army, into that kingdom, which by that means was preserved, the *Persians* not daring to send more troops thither, through fear of being overpowered by the *Romans*. Hereupon *Sapor* dispatched ambassadors to *Valens*, complaining of his sending troops to the assistance of the *Armenians*, which, he said, was a manifest breach of the treaty concluded between him and *Jo-vian*. *Valens*, without regarding the complaints of the *Persian* king, sent a new reinforcement of troops to *Arintheus*, and at the same time dispatched *Terentius* with twelve legions into *Iberia*, to restore *Sauromaces*, driven out of his kingdom by the *Persians*. *Terentius* was met, as he drew near the river *Cyrus*, by ambassadors from *Aspacuras*, whom the *Persians* had created king of *Iberia*, desiring, that he and his kinsman *Sauromaces* might reign jointly, since he could neither resign, nor take part with the *Romans*, by reason his son was detained as an hostage in the *Persian* court. The

[†] Idem ibid.

emperor, being acquainted with his proposal, and willing to settle the affairs of *Iberia* without bloodshed, consented to a partition of the country, assigning to *Sauromaces* that part which lay south of the river *Cyrus*, and next to *Armenia* and *Lazica*, and the remainder, bordering upon *Albania* and *Persia*, to *Aspacuras* ^a. This highly incensed *Sapor*, who loudly complained, that the *Romans*, contrary to the treaty of peace, had sent troops into *Armenia*, and, despising his embassy, had, without his knowledge or consent, divided *Iberia* ^{divided into two kingdoms.}. Being now resolved to make open war upon the *Romans*, he assembled his forces, concluded alliances with the neighbouring princes, and spent the winter of this year, 372, in vast preparations. However, he could not, it seems, put himself in a condition to act this year; for we do not find that he attempted any thing, or even appeared in the field. As for *Valens*, he advanced to the banks of the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris*; whence he returned in the latter end of autumn, without undertaking any thing which authors have thought worthy of notice. About this time a conspiracy was, it seems, formed against *Valens*, but seasonably discovered ^a; and this is all we find in history concerning it. The following year *Sapor* sent a considerable army towards the borders of the *Roman* empire, where they were met by *Trajan*, an officer of great experience, and *Vadomarius*, formerly king of the *Alemanni*, at the head of a numerous and chosen body of troops. The *Roman* generals had orders not to attack the *Persians* the first, that the emperor might not be charged with a breach of the treaty; but the *Persians* falling upon them, they gained a complete victory. However, *Valens* readily consented to a truce; which was no sooner concluded, than he returned to *Antioch*, and *Sapor* to *Ctesiphon*; for both princes had advanced as far as *Mesopotamia*, to support their respective generals ^b.

THE following year, while *Valens* was passing the winter at *Antioch*, many of all ranks and conditions were accused of attempting to learn, by magical practices, and forbidden arts, the name of the person who was to succeed *Valens* in the empire. Some of them owned the crime laid to their charge, and declared that *Theodorus*, the emperor's second secretary, was the man whom the stars seemed to have destined to the empire. *Theodorus* was descended of an illustrious family in *Gaul*, or, as others will have it, in *Sicily*, endowed with extraordinary accomplishments, and in every respect worthy of

The conspiracy of Theodorus.

^a Idem, p. 355. THEMIST. orat. ii. p. 143—149. ^a THEMIST. or. xi. p. 148.

^b AMMIAN. l. xxix. p. 383.

Who is be-
headed.

Many in-
nocent per-
sons put to
death.

the empire, if he had not had the ambition of aspiring at it, and endeavouring to raise himself, by unlawful means, to that high station ^c; for all authors agree, that he was privy to the execrable practices of the magicians. *Ammianus*, who, it seems, was then at *Antioch*, or at least in that neighbourhood, gives us a very particu- lar and distinct account of what passed on that occasion, which it would be too tedious to transcribe. *Theodorus* was found guilty, not only of magical practices, which were forbidden on pain of death, but of having conspired with others to take away the emperor's life; whereupon he was beheaded, as we read in *Ammianus* ^d, whose authority is of more weight with us than that of *Sozomen*, who writes, that he was burnt alive ^e. As *Theodorus*, and the others concerned in this conspiracy, were pagans, *Libanius* endeavours to extenuate their crime; nay, he is not ashamed to tell us, that *Theodorus* was condemned unjustly ^f, though both *Zosimus* ^g and *Ammianus* ^h own, that he aspired at the empire; that by his own letters he was convicted of treason, and that the emperor narrowly escaped being assassinated. No one would have complained, if only *Theodorus* and his accomplices had suffered; but innumerable innocent persons were, on that occasion, inhumanly racked, and afterwards either executed, or sent into banishment: a diligent search was made, not only after those who had been privy to the conspiracy, but after such as were only suspected of practising magic, or using magical remedies. Such numbers were daily accused and seized, that the public prisons could no longer contain them, and few of those who were apprehended, had the good luck to escape death or banishment. *Diogenes*, formerly governor of *Bithynia*, was publicly executed; and *Salia*, treasurer of *Thrace*, fell down dead at the officer's feet who was to examine him, overcome, as was supposed, by an apprehension of the torture he was to undergo ⁱ. *Bassianus*, whom some writers suppose to have been the son of *Bassianus Caesar*, brother-in-law to *Constantine the Great* ^k, was saved by the powerful intercession of his relations, who were all persons of great distinction; but stripped of his estate, and all his effects. The two brothers, *Eusebius* and *Hypatius*, brothers-in-law to *Constantius*, who had been consuls in 359, were accused of having aspired at the empire; and though the charge could not be proved, yet they were

^c AMMIAN. *ibid.* SOZOM. l. vi. c. 35. p. 229.
p. 389. ^e SOZOM. p. 694.
p. 743. ^h AMMIAN. *ibid.* Byz. fam.

^d AMMIAN.
^f LIBAN. vit. p. 69. ^g ZOS.
ⁱ Idem, p. 390. ^k CANGE

banished,

banished, and condemned to pay a great fine, but soon after recalled with great honour¹. *Eutropius*, proconsul of *Asia*, was accused of having been privy to the conspiracy of *Theodorus*; but the philosopher *Pasiphilus*, who was brought as an evidence against him, having suffered all the torments cruelty itself could invent, without laying any thing to his charge, he was dismissed, but deprived of his employment, which was given to *Festus* the historian, who discharged it for the space of five years with the utmost cruelty. *Alypius*, formerly vicar of *Britain*, and employed by *Julian* in rebuilding the temple of *Jerusalem*, was accused with his son *Hierocles*, the disciple of *Libanius*, as a poisoner; the father was stript of his estate, and banished; and the son condemned to death, but saved, as *Ammianus* writes, without explaining himself any farther, by a favourable accident^m. But the most rigorous inquiries were made after the pagan philosophers, who were, generally speaking, addicted to the study of magic. The most considerable among them were publicly executed, viz. *Hilarius*, who was burnt alive, *Patricius*, *Andronicus*, and *Cæranus*: *Maximus*, the famous master of *Julian*, was carried to *Antioch* to be examined there, and afterwards sent back to *Ephesus*, where *Festus* ordered his head to be cut off, tho' he was then so ill, that he must have ended his life in a few days, without the intervention of the executionerⁿ. *Zonaras* writes, that the philosopher *Iamblichus*, by a draught of poison, prevented his falling into the emperor's hands^o. *Valens* expected, and greatly desired, to find *Libanius* in the number of the guilty; but nothing was alledged against him, though, as to magical practices, he was, as he himself owns, not free from all guilt; but as to the conspiracy of *Theodorus*, he solemnly protests, that he was altogether a stranger to it^p. A diligent search was made, not only after magicians, but after all books treating of magic, which, where-ever discovered, were committed to the flames, with those in whose possession they were found. These inquiries extended to all the provinces subject to *Valens*; and from the most remote parts were daily brought to *Antioch* numbers of people to be tried as magicians, because books of magic had been found in their custody. *Ammianus* tells us, that the officers themselves, out of spite or malice, often conveyed privately, among the other writings, some charm or incantment; upon which the persons, to

Maximus
and other
philoso-
phers put
to death.

¹ AMMIAN. l. xxix. p. 392.
ibid. EUNAP. c. 5. p. 88, 89.
vit. p. 56, 57.

^m Idem, p. 390.
^o ZONAR. p. 28.

ⁿ Idem
^p LIB.

whom

*Festus
practises
great cru-
elties in
Asia.*

*St. Chry-
sostom in
danger.*

whom they were supposed to belong, were immediately seized and condemned, and their estates confiscated. Hereupon persons of all ranks were seized with such dread and terror, that they burnt their libraries, lest, amongst their other books any should be found, unknown to them, treating of forbidden arts. On this occasion *Festus*, proconsul of *Asia*, distinguished himself above the other ministers of the emperor's cruelty, torturing with the utmost inhumanity, and putting to death, without distinction of sex, age, or condition, such as were convicted or only suspected of having used any kind of charms or enchantments: he tortured the philosopher *Cæranias* till he expired, for no other crime but because in a private letter to his wife he had used a proverbial expression, which looked like a charm: he put to death a woman for pretending to cure agues by a charm, tho' she had before been sent for, with his knowledge and consent, to cure his own daughter, and had been, as we are told, attended therein with success: a young man being observed in a public bath to touch the marble with the fingers of both his hands, the one after the other, and then putting them to his breast, to repeat the seven vowels, which he fancied was a present remedy against a pain in the stomach, *Festus* caused him to be immediately seized, tortured, and executed⁹. At *Antioch*, a person being accused of having written a book of magic, found an opportunity of throwing it into the river before he was apprehended: but this did not save him; for though the book could not be produced against him, yet he was, after a short hearing, condemned, and publicly executed. A few days after, *St. Chrysostom*, who relates this, and was then a youth, going with a companion to visit a church in the neighbourhood, found the book on the strand: his companion, not knowing what it contained, took it up, and, led by his curiosity, began to read it aloud, when they both perceived it was a book of magic, and at the same time observed, not without dread and horror, a soldier at a small distance, so that they neither dared tear it, nor throw it again, as they had designed at first, into the river, lest the soldier should suspect and seize them. However, *Chrysostom's* companion concealing the book with great care under his garments, they had both the good luck to escape without being searched, tho' every soldier was empowered to search all he met for books of magic and charms. Had the book been discovered, they must both have inevitably perished; but they found means of throwing it again into the river,

⁹ AMMIAN, *ibid.*

without being observed^r. *Socrates* writes, that an oracle having answered those, who came to inquire who should succeed *Valens*, that the first part of his name was *Theod*, the emperor, acquainted with that answer, caused not only *Theodorus* to be put to death, but all those whose names began with those letters, such as *Theodulus*, *Theodotus*, *Theodosius*, &c. among these was, according to that writer, one *Theodosiolus* or *Theodosius*, a Spanish lord of great distinction^r. *Ammianus* and *Zosimus* give us a very minute account of the other cruelties of *Valens*, without taking the least notice of this, which makes us question the truth of what *Socrates* writes. Be that as it will, the extraordinary severity which *Valens* exerted on this occasion against magicians, aruspices, astrologers, and diviners of all denominations, is highly blamed, not only by the pagan, but even by the christian, writers^r. If *Valens* looked upon magic as a vain imagination, he ought not to have been thus alarmed; if he gave credit to their predictions, he could not, without being inconsistent with himself, strive to prevent their being accomplished: and truly, in spite of all his cruelties, he was succeeded by *Theodosius*, whose name began with the letters, which, if *Socrates* is to be credited, he so much dreaded. This fire, to use the expression of *Libanius*^u, continued raging till the emperor was diverted by another, which the *Goths* kindled three years after in *Thrace*. This year is likewise remarkable for the death of two princes, both treacherously murdered by the *Romans*, viz. of *Gabinus*, king of the *Quadi*, in the west; and of *Paras*, king of *Armenia*, in the east. Of the former we have spoken in the reign of *Valentinian*: as to the latter, he had in some degree submitted to the king of *Persia*, as we have observed above, but afterwards renewed, it seems, his alliance with the *Romans*, and was by them acknowledged king, since *Ammianus* gives him that title; but several persons at the head of whom was count *Terentius*, having transmitted to court disadvantageous accounts of his conduct and administration, the emperor sent for him, as if he designed to advise with him about the prosecution of the *Persian* war. Upon his arrival at *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, he was commanded to *Paras*, king wait there till further orders; but being in the mean time of *Armenia* informed, that the emperor's design was to arrest him, and *detain* send another to be king of *Armenia* in his stead, he resolved *ed at Tarsus* to make his escape, with the assistance of three hundred of *his*.

^r CHRYS. in Act. hom. xxxviii. p. 340.^r SOCR. l. iv. c.

15. p. 229.

^r SOZ. l. vi. c. 35. p. 694. SOCR. l. iv. c. 15. p.

229.

^u LIB. vit. p. 58.

He makes
his escape.

his own subjects, who persuaded him to it, and privately provided horses for that purpose. They set out in the dusk of the evening ; but were soon pursued and overtaken by a whole legion, sent on purpose to prevent their escape. At their approach, *Paras* faced about, and charged them with such resolution, that they made more haste to fly from him, than they had done to overtake him. After this he travelled night and day till he reached the *Euphrates*, which he passed upon barrels joined together, and pursued his journey with extraordinary expedition. But in the mean time the emperor, having notice of his escape, dispatched a thousand archers under the command of two principal officers, to bring him back. These being well acquainted with the country, to which *Paras* was altogether a stranger, getting through by-ways before him, divided their forces, and seized on two passes, three miles distant from each other, through one of which they took for granted he would pass. But being informed of his danger by a traveller, and conducted by him through by-paths and thick woods, he escaped the ambuscade, and got safe to his dominions, where he was received with inexpressible joy, while the *Roman* officers, who had long waited for him, were by all derided and ridiculed upon their disappointment. This incensed them to such a degree against *Paras*, that in order to hasten his ruin, they made the credulous emperor believe, that the young prince was a famous magician, and knew how to consume and waste by degrees a man's body, though at never so great a distance. This so alarmed the emperor, that though *Paras*, forgetting the late affront, continued faithful to the *Romans*, yet his death was resolved on, and orders sent to *Trajan*, who commanded the *Roman* forces in *Armenia*, to dispatch him by private treachery, if he could not by open force. The manner which *Trajan* chose to put this base and inhuman command in execution, was no less base and inhuman, than the command itself : for he having gained the young prince's confidence, by frequenting his table, and producing counterfeit letters from *Valens*, filled with the most tender expressions of kindness, prevailed upon him to accept of an entertainment at his house, during which he caused him to be barbarously murdered by a ruffian hired for that purpose^w. The death of *Paras* gave great uneasiness to *Sapor*, who had hoped to gain him over in the end to his interest. He was therefore no sooner informed of his misfortune, than he dispatched ambassadors to *Valens* with proposals for

Is treache-
rously mur-
dered.

^w AMMIAN. l. xxx. p. 412—415.

an accommodation. The remaining part of this year was spent in negotiations, but without success, the emperor, who was then at the head of a numerous and well-disciplined army, being desirous of retrieving the glory of the *Roman* arms, and recovering the provinces given up by the treaty with *Jovian*. But, in the mean time, *Thrace* being threatened with a general invasion of the *Gothish* nation, he was obliged to conclude a peace with the *Persians*, but upon what terms we know not. The following year, 375, *Valens* was alarmed by an embassy from the *Goths*, who, being driven out of their own country by the *Hunns*, desired leave to settle in *Thrace*. But before we speak of that embassy, and the memorable events attending it, we must take a cursory view of what happened in the west after the death of *Valentinian*, who, as we have related already, died at *Bregetio* on the seventeenth of *November* of this year. He left two sons, viz. *Gratian*, born in 359, and by his father created emperor on the twenty-fourth of *August* 367, and *Valentinian* born in 371. As *Gratian* was at a great distance from the army when his father died, having been left as we have observed above, at *Treves*, the great officers of the court, uncertain what such an extraordinary and unexpected accident might produce, especially among the *Gauls*, who served in the army, and were then ravaging the country of the *Quadi* beyond the *Danube*, dispatched a messenger with private intelligence of the emperor's death to *Merobaudes* their leader, who thereupon sent immediately out of the way, pursuant to his instructions, count *Sebastian*, an officer greatly beloved by the soldiery, and then marched back to the camp at *Bregetio*. Upon his arrival, it was resolved in a general council of all the chief officers both civil and military, that *Valentinian*, the second son of the deceased emperor, then a child but four or five years old, should be declared emperor. He was therefore sent for without delay from a village, named *Murocineta*, about a hundred miles distant from *Bregetio*, and upon his arrival proclaimed emperor with the usual solemnity the sixth day after the death of his father. This step they took to prevent any sudden attack from the enemy, or mutiny in the army. They hoped, that *Gratian*, who was then but seventeen years old, and had already given proofs of an extraordinary mild temper and an uncommon understanding, would acquiesce to the motives, which had induced them to prefer his brother to the empire without his knowledge or consent. *Gratian* at first complained of their taking such an extraordinary step before they had made him privy to it, but

*Gratian
succeeds his
father Va-
lentinian.*

*Valentini-
nian II.
proclaimed
emperor by
the officers
of the ar-
my.*

Gratian immediately confirmed their election, and ever after treated young *Valentinian* more like his child than his brother ^a. *Victor* ¹ and *Zosimus* ² will have *Equitius* and *Merobaudes* to have been the chief authors of this election, which by *Rufinus* is ascribed to *Probus* ³. *Merobaudes*, was, according to *Victor*, related to young *Valentinian*, probably by marriage; for he seems, so far as we can conjecture from his name, to have been a barbarian. The election being confirmed by *Gratian*, and soon after by *Valens*, the western provinces were divided between the two brothers: young *Valentinian* had for his share *Italy*, *Illyricum*, and *Africa*; and *Gratian*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*. This division was made, not by *Gratian*, who was yet too young, as *Zosimus* pretends ^b, but by the great officers of the court. As they did not therein consult *Valens*, some misunderstanding arose between that prince and his nephew ^c. Notwithstanding this partition, *Gratian* alone governed the western provinces to his death, *Valentinian* not having been capable of acting on account of his age, so long as *Gratian* lived. The first thing *Gratian* did, after the death of his father and the promotion of his brother, was to recal to court his mother *Severa*, who had been divorced and banished by *Valentinian*, and restored her to her former honours ^d.

Maximi-
nu and
his ac-
complices
put to
death.

THE following year, 376, *Valens* was consul the fifth time, and young *Valentinian* the first. This year *Gratian*, being informed of the unheard-of cruelties practised by the famous *Maximinus* both in *Italy* and *Gaul*, caused him to be publicly executed; and named one *Antonius*, prefect of *Gaul*, in his room. *Simplicius*, who had been vicar of *Rome* in 374, and *Doryphorianus*, who had succeeded him in that office, underwent the same fate, being accused of the like crimes: the former was beheaded in *Illyricum*, and the latter put to a cruel death, at the instigation of *Severa*, says *Ammianus*, in *Gaul*, whither he was conveyed from the *Tullian* prison in *Rome* ^e. As these three cruel and bloody magistrates had, with the utmost injustice, put a great number of senators to death, *Gratian*, by a declaration published this year, established the method of trying senators ^f, which was read by *Symmachus* in the senate on the thirteenth of *August* ^g. To the a-

^a AMMIAN. l. xxx. p. 433, 434. Zos. l. iv. p. 746. SOCR. l. iv. c. 31. p. 249. ¹ VICT. epit. ² Zos. ibid. ³ RUF. l. ii. c. xii. c. 12. p. 184. ^b Zos. ibid. ^c EUNAP. legat. p. 19. ^d Chron. Alex. p. 704. AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 366. ^e AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 357. ^f Cod. Theodof. p. 96. ^g SYMM. l. x. c. 2. p. 390, 391.

bove-mentioned execution St. *Jerom* no doubt alluded, when he wrote, that this year several persons of distinction were executed ^a. *Maximinus*, *Simplicius*, and *Doryphorianus*, had long deserved the doom which at length overtook them, and died unlamented; but the death of the renowned count *Theodosius*, one of the greatest officers and best men of his age, is a stain on the character of *Gratian* never to be effaced. Of his glorious exploits in *Britain* and *Africa*, we have spoken at length in the reign of *Valentinian*; but notwithstanding the eminent services he had rendered the empire, he was this year by an order from court beheaded at *Carthage*, after he had triumphed over *Firmus*, and with his prudence and industry restored *Africa* to its former tranquility. His death was owing, if St. *Jerom*¹, *Orosius*², and St. *Ambrose*³, are to be credited, to the malicious suggestions of certain persons at court, who, envying him the mighty reputation he had deservedly acquired, filled the young prince's mind with jealousies and suspicions, and by that means compassed the ruin of a person worthy, both for his valour and unblemished conduct, of the greatest honours the emperor could confer upon him. He was, at his earnest request, baptised just before he died; so that his death was no less exemplary, than his life had been glorious⁴. *Socrates* writes, as we have observed above, that, on occasion of the conspiracy of *Theodorus*, all those were by *Valens* put to death, whose names began with *Theod*; and, among the rest of the names, one *Theodosiolus*, who was, says he, a man of great courage, and descended from an illustrious family in *Spain*, meaning perhaps count *Theodosius*; at least *Baronius*⁵, *Jornandes*⁶, who, for the most part follows *Socrates*, and *Flecbier*, in his life of the emperor *Theodosius*, are of that opinion. But *Theodosius* was put to death at *Carthage*, and not in the east, where *Valens* reigned. Besides, we cannot help looking upon the whole account of *Socrates* as a fable, to which he too easily gave credit, since neither *Ammianus* nor *Zosimus*, who seem to take particular pleasure in displaying the cruelties of *Valens*, make mention of such a remarkable piece of cruelty as his putting several persons of distinction to death, merely for the sake of their names. *Sozomen* indeed speaks of it, but as of a thing that was reported, perhaps because he had read it in *Socrates*⁷. Be that as it will, statues, and other extraordinary honours,

The celebrated
count
Theodosius
unjustly
put to death

^a HIER. in chron. ¹ HIER. chron. ² OROS. l. vii. c. 33. p. 219. ³ AMBROS. div. 3. p. 125 ⁴ OROS. ibid.
⁵ BARON. ad ann. 370. ⁶ JOR. de reg. succ. c. 40. p. 652.
⁷ SOZ. l. vi. c. 35, p. 694.

Young
Theodosi-
us retires
to his na-
tive coun-
try.

were decreed to *Theodosius* some years after his death by the senate of *Rome*; and several inscriptions, setting forth his virtues and exploits, have reached our times⁹. His son, named likewise *Theodosius*, who, being duke of *Mæsia* in 374, had, with a courage and conduct above his years, defended that province against the incursions of the barbarians, as we have related above, was obliged to yield to the storm, and retire to *Spain*, his native country, where he lived in a kind of exile, till he was recalled by *Gratian*, and raised to the empire. As *Ammianus* takes no notice of these remarkable executions, we cannot help thinking there is a chasm in this part of his history, the more because he had promised elsewhere^r to speak in a more proper place of the death of *Maximinus* and his accomplices, of which, however, no mention is made in such of his books as have reached us; nay, we find nothing in them relating to the western provinces, from the death of *Valentinian* I. that is, from the year 375, to 378. This year *Valens* sent the celebrated philosopher *Themistius*, with the character of ambassador, to *Gratian*, then in *Gaul*; but what was the subject of his embassy, we know not. The philosopher, on his return to the east, came to *Rome*, complying therein with the request of *Gratian*, desiring the *Romans* might have the pleasure and honour of seeing so great a man^s. It was at *Rome*, and before the senate of that great metropolis, that *Themistius* pronounced an oration altogether unworthy of a philosopher, nay, of any person who pretended to the least gravity^t. However, he bestows great encomiums upon *Gratian*; extols his liberality and generous temper; and observes, among other things, that the avaricious and cruel exactors of the old debts due to the exchequer were in the utmost confusion, because the instruments of their malice and cruelty had, by the prince's orders being consumed in the flames^u, alluding, no doubt, to what we read in *Ausonius*, viz. that *Gratian* remitted whatever was due to the exchequer at the time of his father's death, and caused all the papers relating thereunto to be burnt throughout the provinces that were subject to him^w. *Themistius* writes, that he found *Gratian* not far from the ocean^x; that is, in *Gaul*; for he was, as appears from the dates of several laws, during the months of *March*, *April*, *May*, and *September*, at *Treves*; and we have no proof of his being elsewhere this year. By a law dated from *Treves*

An instance
of Grati-
an's gene-
rosity.

⁹ Vide REIN. p. 326. GRUTER. p. 412. ^r AMMIAN. l. xxviii p. 366. ^s THEMIST. or. xiii. p. 163—168. ^t Idem ibid. p. 178. ^u Idem ibid. p. 175. ^w AUSON. ad Grat. precons. p. 406, 407. ^x THEMIST. orat. xiii. p. 163.

the twenty-third of *May*, he raises the salaries of all public professors in the metropolitan cities of *Gaul*, especially in the most illustrious city of *Treves*, as it is styled ¹. From this law some pretend to infer, that *Spain* and *Britain* were at this time governed, not by vicars, but proconsuls, independent of the prefect of *Gaul*. However that be, it is certain, that vicars were soon after re-established in both provinces. By another law dated the seventeenth of the same month, which was an answer to *Artemius* vicar of *Spain* and several bishops, the emperor declares, that religious matters ought to be judged and decided on the spot by a synod of the diocese. By a diocese is meant the district within the jurisdiction of a vicar. By a third law, addressed to *Nitentius*, *Gratian* forbids all heretics, especially the *Donatists*, to hold assemblies; and commands the places where they shall assemble to be confiscated, except the churches, which he orders to be restored to the catholics ². From several monuments of this year, it appears, that the emperor allowed more liberty to the pagans, than to the *Donatists*, *Arians*, and other heretics. *He enacts laws against heretics.*

WHILE these things passed in the west, a dreadful storm was raised in the east by the *Hunns*, a nation till this time quite unknown to the *Romans*. They dwelt on the east side of the *Palus Mæotis*, now the sea of *Zabache*, and were near neighbours to the *Goths*, as *Sozomen* styles them ³, or rather to the *Alans*, who inhabited the country bordering on the opposite side of that marsh, which both nations looked upon as a deep sea, and were therefore altogether unacquainted with each other, till a hind, pursued by some hunters, or, as others will have it, an ox stung by a gad-fly, having passed the marsh, some *Hunns* followed their guide to the opposite side, where they discovered a country far more agreeable and fruitful than their own ⁴. What we find concerning the *Hunns* in *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the most antient author that speaks of them, and most worthy of credit, is, that they first broke into the country of the *Alans*, who dwelt on the banks of the *Tanais*, the boundary between *Europe* and *Asia*; and having obliged that nation to enter into an alliance with them, they fell, thus re-inforced, upon the *Goths*, called by *Ammianus*, *The Goths Greuthongi*, and by *Jornandes*, *Ostrogoths*, and spread every where such terror among them, that *Ermenric*, or, as *Jornandes* calls him, *Ermanaric*, their king, tho' a martial prince, laid violent hands on himself, to avoid by that means the

¹ Cod. Theod. l. xiii. tit. 3. leg. 11. p. 39, 40.
tit. 6 p. 224, 225.
rer. Goth. p. 644.

² Soz. l. vi. c. 37. p. 696.

³ Idem

⁴ JORN.

dreadful

dreadful calamities that threatened him. The *Hunns* were headed, according to *Jornandes*, by one *Balamir*, by him styled king, probably because he was the most powerful man of their nation; for, according to *Ammianus*, they had no kings, but several chiefs, whose authority was very precarious. *Vithimir*, created king of the *Greuthongi* or *Ostrogoths*, in the room of *Ermenric*, attempted to make head against the *Hunns*; but was killed in a battle. *Alatheus* and *Saphrax*, governors to his son *Vitheric*, apprehending all their efforts would prove unsuccessful against the numerous and formidable forces of the enemy, abandoned the country, and withdrew into the plains between the *Borysthenes* and the *Danube*; that is into the present *Podolia*. *Athanaric*, king or chief of the *Thervingi*, who had assisted *Procopius* in his late usurpation, resolved to stand upon his guard, and prepared for a vigorous defence; but the *Hunns*, falling upon him before he had the least notice of their approach, obliged him to retire in disorder, after he had lost great numbers of his men. As the enemy, overloaded with booty, pursued him but slowly, he improved the short respite they allowed him, in fortifying himself by a wall, which he carried through the country of the *Taifali* from the *Gerasus*, or the *Pruth*, to the *Danube* ^d. The other *Goths*, who had the good luck to escape the dreadful havock which the *Hunns* made of their nation, found no other resource, but to abandon their country, and save themselves within the *Roman* dominions. They therefore approached the banks of the *Danube*, to the number of two hundred thousand men, most of them the subjects of king *Athanaric*, and those whom *Jornandes* calls *Visigoths*. From thence they dispatched ambassadors to *Valens*, who was then at *Antioch*, begging, in a most submissive manner, to be admitted into *Thrace*, where they promised to live peaceably, and to serve, whenever called upon, in the *Roman* armies ^e. At the head of this embassy was their bishop *Ulphilas*, who, on this occasion, out of complaisance to *Valens*, became a proselyte to the doctrine of *Arius*, and infected with the tenets of that heresiarch, not only such of his nation as already professed the christian religion, but those too who promised to embrace it, provided proper persons were sent to instruct them ^f. The demand of the *Goths* occasioned great debates in a grand council held at court soon after the arrival of their ambassadors; but *Valens* in the end resolved to grant them their request, se-

They de-
mand to be
admitted
into
Thrace.

^c AMMIAN. l. xxxi. p. 435—440. JORN. ibid. p. 645. ^d AMMIAN. p. 440. 441. ^e Idem, ibid. JORN. c. 25. p. 646. ^f SOZ. l. vi. c. 37. p. 697.

veral sycophants about him flattering him, and extolling his Valens good fortune, which had unexpectedly brought him a perpetual supply of excellent soldiers, with which he could be furnished at his pleasure, and by that means save the expence of new levies, to the great benefit of his treasury; nay, their demand was thought so advantageous to the empire, that some Roman officers having cut off a party of *Goths*, who attempted to pass the *Danube* before the return of the ambassadors, whom both their nation and the governor of *Thrace* had sent to *Antioch*, they were cashiered as good officers, but bad politicians^g. *Valens*, upon the imaginary prospect of the great advantages that would accrue to the empire from such an increase of people, ordered them to be immediately transported, to be plentifully supplied with provisions, and lands to be assigned them to cultivate. He took, however, therein such precautions, as would perhaps have prevented the disturbances which soon followed, had they been duly observed; for, according to the instructions which he sent to his officers and ministers, the children were to pass the first, and be sent into *Asia*, where they were to be kept as hostages; and as for the rest, they were not to be suffered to land on the *Roman* side, till they had quitted their arms. But the heads of the nation, by presenting the *Roman* officers with sums of money, with beautiful women, and robust slaves, prevailed upon them to neglect both these orders^h. Thus the *Goths*, in this year 376, abandoned to the *Hunns* the country, in which they had dwelt for the space of one hundred and fifty years. We are told, that great numbers of them were drowned in their passage, the river happening to be greatly swelled at that timeⁱ. *Ammianus* writes, that the *Roman* officers designed to have counted them as they passed, but could not by reason of their numbers, which that writer compares to the sparks which at that very time issued out of mount *Ætna*, and to the sands of the *Libyan* shore. They were under the conduct of *Ablavivus* and *Fritigern*, who are styled kings^k. *Vitheric*, king of the *Greuthungi*, with his governors *Saphrax*, and *Alatheus*, and another chief named *Farnobius*, being likewise driven out of their country by the *Hunns* and the *Alans*, flocked in swarms to the banks of the *Danube*, and, encouraged by the reception which their countrymen had met with from *Valens*, dispatched ambassadors to him, begging, that they too might be admitted within the *Roman* dominions; but the emperor

^g AMMIAN. *ibid.* EUNAP. *legat.* p. 19. SOCR. l. iv. c. 34 p. 252. ^h AMMIAN. *ibid.* ⁱ IDAT. *fast.* ^k AMMIAN. P. 443.

The Goths,
provoked by
the Ro-
mans, mu-
tiny.

not thinking it consistent with the safety of the state to comply with their request, they continued for some time on the banks of the *Danube*, which they passed in the end, in spite of the *Romans*, as we shall relate hereafter. As for *Athanaric*, he retired with his people to a place defended by inaccessible rocks, named *Caucalanda*, having driven from thence the *Sarmatians* and the *Taifali*. The latter people followed and joined the *Greuthongi*. A numerous body of *Goths* had been admitted some time before, on what occasion we are no-where told, and were at this time encamped in the neighbourhood of *Adrianople*, under the command of their two chiefs *Suerid* and *Colias*: perhaps *Valens* had sent for them on occasion of his intended expedition into *Persia*; for *Ammianus* assures us, that he hired troops of the *Goths*¹. The following year 377, when *Gratian* was consul the fourth time, with *Merobaudes*, *Valens* was, as appears from the dates of several laws, at *Antioch* on the fourth of *April*; at *Hierapolis* on the fourth of *July* and the ninth of *August*; and again at *Antioch* on the twenty-fourth of *September*. The *Romans* ought in policy to have immediately led the *Goths* away from the *Danube*; for by that means they would have got them into their power, and, remaining masters of the river, prevented their receiving any assistance from their countrymen encamped in great numbers on the opposite bank; but instead of that, *Lupicinus* and *Maximus*, who commanded in *Thrace*, the former with the title of *count*, and the latter with that of *duke*, suffered them to continue long in that neighbourhood, pretending scarcity of provisions, in order to impose upon them, and obliged them to buy necessaries at extravagant rates. The *Goths*, thus pinched with hunger, and provoked by other outrages, began to mutiny; which *Lupicinus* perceiving, he ordered them to begin their march, and remove from the neighbourhood of the *Danube*, charging the soldiers who guarded the banks of the *Danube*, to drive them on, and take care that they committed no disorders in the countries through which they passed. The *Greuthongi*, finding the banks of the river unguarded, laid hold of that opportunity to pass it, following at some distance *Fritigern* and *Ablavivus*, who were advancing at the head of the *Thervingi* to *Marcianopolis*, the capital of *Lower Mæsia*. Upon their arrival in the neighbourhood of that city, *Lupicinus*, who resided there, invited the two chiefs to a banquet; but at the same time placed guards at the gates, to prevent their troops from entering the city, tho' they desired to be admitted as friends, only to buy the necessary provisions, of

¹ Idem l. xxx. p. 416.

which

which they stood in great need. Hereupon the *Thervingi*, who were in a starving condition, falling upon the guards, cut most of them in pieces; which *Lupicinus* no sooner heard, than, by way of retaliation, he commanded the attendants of the two chiefs to be assassinated in the height of their mirth. The *Thervingi* without the walls, provoked at the treachery and cruelty of the governor, vowed revenge; but nevertheless wisely forbore for the present all hostilities, and dissembled their just resentment, lest the *Romans* should offer any affront to their chiefs, or detain them as hostages. This *Fritigern* himself apprehended, and therefore begged leave of *Lupicinus* to go with *Ablavius*, and shew himself to his men, who were ready to mutiny, upon a false report, that they had both been killed with the rest. *Lupicinus*, who by this time was so intoxicated with wine, that he knew not what he did, complied with his request; and the two chiefs, being received with great joy by their countrymen, immediately mounted their horses, declared themselves enemies, and began to plunder the open country. *Lupicinus* marched out against them the next day, with the few troops he had with him; but the *Goths*, falling upon him with great resolution and intrepidity, cut most of his men in pieces, and obliged him to fly back into the city. We have observed above, that a considerable body of *Goths* was encamped in the neighbourhood of *Adrianople*. These, upon the news of the revolt, and the victory gained by *Fritigern*, continued quiet in their camp, without betraying the least inclination to join him; but when they received orders to pass without delay over into the *Hellepont*, and the chief magistrate of *Adrianople*, incensed against them for some damage they had done at his country-seat, instead of supplying them with the necessary provisions for their march, ordered the people of the country to fall upon them, they likewise began to mutiny, put to flight the disorderly multitude that offered to attack them, and joining *Fritigern*, laid siege to *Adrianople*; but not being able to reduce it, they left a sufficient force to block it up, and ravaged all *Thrace*, growing daily stronger by the accession of incredible numbers of *Gothish* slaves, flocking to them from all quarters; nay, many *Romans*, not able to pay the exorbitant taxes with which they were loaded and oppressed, took part with them, and it is not to be doubted, but *Vitheric* with his *Greuthongi* joined them soon after; for they too fought against the *Romans* in the memorable battle of *Adrianople*, of which hereafter. *Valens*, who was then at *Antioch*, watching the designs of the king of *Persia*, upon the first notice of these dangerous commotions, dispatched *Victor* to the *Persian* court, with the character of ambassador, charging

Declare themselves enemies and plunder the country.

They are joined by a body of their countrymen encamped at Adrianople.

charging him to conclude a peace with that king, upon the best terms he could obtain ; and at the same time ordered the two generals, *Trajan* and *Profuturus*, to march with the utmost expedition against the *Goths*, at the head of the legions that were quartered in *Armenia*. *Gratian*, alarmed at the danger that threatened his uncle's dominions, sent to his assistance *Richomeres*, with a considerable reinforcement out of *Gaul* ; but the soldiers deserted in great numbers on their march, solicited to it, as was reported, by *Merobaudes*, who apprehended the barbarians might take advantage of their absence to break into *Gaul*. As *Profuturus* and *Trajan* were commanders of more courage than conduct, instead of securing the passes, and shutting up such multitudes in the province of *Thrace*, where they must inevitably have soon perished with famine, they ventured to engage them at *Salices*, a city of *Lesser Scythia*. The battle lasted from morning to night, both armies fighting with such obstinacy and resolution, as can hardly be expressed. Victory continued doubtful to the last ; but the *Romans*, having lost more men in proportion to the small number of their forces, thought it adviseable to retire to *Marcianopolis*. Thus *Ammianus*, whom we have all along followed ^m. But *Theodoret* ⁿ, *St. Jerom* ^o, and *Orosius* ^p, write, that the *Romans* were defeated, and put to flight. This battle was fought in the latter end of the summer of this year 377. *Trajan* and *Profuturus* being afterwards reinforced by a considerable body of troops sent by *Valens*, under the command of *Saturninus* general of the horse, they attempted to shut up the enemy in certain narrow places, and intercept their provisions ; but the *Alans* and *Hunns* themselves hastening in great numbers to their relief, the *Romans* were obliged to retire, and suffer them to ravage and lay waste all *Thrace*, without daring to oppose or molest them. At a place called *Dibaltum*, they fell upon a tribune, who was stationed there with his own legion and some other forces. As the tribune, by name *Barzimeres*, was an old experienced officer, he drew his men up in a close body, and, endeavouring to make his way through the enemy's squadrons, cut great numbers of them in pieces ; but was at length overpowered and put to the sword, with all his men ^q. Animated with this success, they went in quest of *Frigerid*, who commanded in *Illyricum*, and had been ordered by *Gratian* to march from thence to the assistance of *Valens*.

The battle
of Salices.

The Romans re-
tire, and
abandon
Thrace to
the Goths.

They cut off
a Roman
legion ;

^m AMMIAN. p. 447---449. ⁿ THEODOR. l. iv. c. 30. p. 703.
^o HIER. chron. ^p OROS. l. vii. c. 33. p. 219. ^q AM-
MIAN. p. 452.

The *Goths*, under the command of *Farnobius*, met him near *Berea*, a city in *Thrace* properly so called, and attacked him with great resolution. But *Frigerid*, who was an officer of great experience, tho' perhaps over-cautious, and thence by some reproached with timorousness, stood his ground, and, after a long and obstinate dispute, killed their leader on the spot, and put the rest to the sword, excepting a very small number, who, throwing down their arms, were spared, and sent captives into *Italy*, where they were employed in tilling the ground about *Mutina*, *Rhegium*, and *Parma*. With this battle, which was fought in the latter end of the autumn, ended the campaign of this year 377^r.

But are
defeated
with great
slaughter
by Fri-
gerid.

As for *Gratian*, he was on the twenty-seventh of *February* at *Treves*, where he had passed the winter, and on the twenty-eighth of *July* at *Mayence*, perhaps on some expedition against the *Germans* not mentioned in history; for *Ausonius* tells us, that he took some *Germans* prisoners and brought them with him into *Gaul*^c. He was returned to *Treves* on the seventeenth of *September*^t. By a law dated the fifth of *March*, and addressed to *Cataphronus* vicar of *Italy*, he grants several exemptions to the clergy, comprising under that name, not only bishops, priests, and deacons, but likewise sub-deacons, exorcists, readers, and janitors or door-keepers^u. A dreadful plague raged this year in most of the western provinces, and swept off incredible numbers of people^w. The following year 378, when *Valens* was consul the sixth time, and young *Valentinian* the second, the *Goths*, from *Thrace*, advanced into *Macedon* and *Thessaly*, committing every-where dreadful ravages; nay, they approached *Constantinople* itself, plundered the suburbs, and kept the city for some time blocked up. *Valens* therefore, having first sent a body of *Saracens* to drive them from the neighbourhood of that metropolis, set out from *Antioch*, in order to head his army in person, and arrived at *Constantinople* on the thirtieth of *May*, where he found the people highly dissatisfied with his conduct, in admitting the *Goths* into *Thrace*, and by that means giving rise to the present war. Soon after his arrival, he displaced *Trajan*, general of the foot, and put count *Sebastian*, a brave and experienced commander, in his room^x. *Theodoret* tells us, that *Trajan*, who was a professed enemy to the *Arians*, and a zealous defender of the *Nicene* faith, hearing himself reproached by the emperor

Gratian
grants se-
veral ex-
emptions to
the clergy.

The Goths
block up
Constanti-
nople.
Valens
sets out for
that city.

^r Idem, p. 443—445.

^c *Auson.* consul. p. 378.

^t *Cod. Theod. chron.* p. 97, 98.

^u *Cod. Theod.* l. xvi. tit.

2. leg. 24. p. 56.

^w *AMER.* in *Luc.* xxi. p. 203. *Biblioth.*

patr. tom. 8. p. 579.

^x *AMMIAN.* p. 458.

Trajan re-
proaches
the empe-
ror with
great free-
dom.

with cowardice, as if the loss of the late battle had been owing to want of courage in him, answered boldly, that heaven, justly provoked at his driving out the orthodox bishops, and putting the infamous followers of *Arius* in their room, had declared for the *Goths*; and consequently that he ought to blame not his generals, but himself, for the losses he had hitherto sustained, and for the far greater calamities that would soon overtake him, unless he altered his conduct. The generals *Arintheus* and *Victor* declared, adds *Theoderet*, that they were of the same opinion, and begged the emperor not to resent their speaking, as his true friends, their resentments without disguise¹. The piety of *Trajan* is greatly commended by the ecclesiastic writers, especially by *Theoderet* and *St. Basil*, with whom he lived in great intimacy. But it is no easy task to reconcile with his extraordinary piety the death of *Paras* king of *Armenia*, whom, if the account of *Ammianus* be true, he caused to be murdered with the utmost treachery and barbarity, as we have related above. *Valens* continued but a very short time at *Constantinople*; for he left that city on the eleventh of *June*, highly exasperated against the inhabitants, who had insulted him as the author of the present war, and threatening, if he came back safe, to turn their city into a desert². From *Constantinople* he marched to *Mlanthias*, an imperial castle, about eighteen miles distant from the city; and thence detached *Sebastian* with a body of chosen troops against *Fritigern*, who was encamped in the neighbourhood of *Adrianople*. *Sebastian*, coming upon the enemy unawares, cut off several of their parties, who were roving about the country, without the least apprehension of danger, and recovered the booty with which they were loaded. Hereupon *Fritigern*, having sent orders to all the parties that were dispersed about the country, to join him without delay, retired upon their arrival to the city of *Catyle*, of which geographers can give no account³. *Zosimus* tells us, that *Sebastian* engaged to force the *Goths* either to quit the *Roman* territories, or submit to *Valens*, with two thousand men only, by cutting off their parties, and intercepting their provisions; but that *Valens*, desirous to equal, by some memorable action, the glory acquired this year by *Gratian* in the famous battle of *Argentaria*, rejected his proposal, and leaving *Melanthias*, advanced to the neighbourhood of *Adrianople*, with a design to give the enemy battle. He was at the head of a very numerous and well-disciplined army, commanded by officers of

Valens
marches a-
gainst the
Goths.

¹ THEODOR. l. iv. c. 30. p. 703.
p. 456. SOCR. l. iv. c. 38. p. 255.

² AMMIAN. l. iii.
³ Vide BAUD. p. 142.
grea

great renown, and among the rest by *Trajan*, whom he had restored to his former post. While he lay at *Adrianople*, *Richomeres* arrived there with letters from *Gratian*, acquainting him, that he was on full march with his victorious army to join him; and earnestly intreating him not to hazard a battle till his arrival, nor make that victory doubtful, which the conjunction of their forces would render certain and indisputable. Hereupon a council of war being immediately summoned, *Victor*, who commanded the horse, and was both a brave and prudent officer, advised him by all means to wait the arrival of his nephew; and the reinforcement of the *Gaulish* troops; but *Sebastian* was for giving battle without delay; and his opinion the emperor preferred to that of *Victor*, and almost all the other officers, being induced thereunto by his flatterers, telling him, that he stood in no need of the assistance of his nephew, and therefore ought not to allow him any share in the victory, and the glory attending it. At the same time *Fritigern* sent deputies to him, at the head of whom was a christian priest, offering to conclude a peace upon very reasonable terms, which most of his officers advised him by all means to embrace, remonstrating, that an honourable and certain peace was preferable to an uncertain victory; but he, deaf to all their remonstrances, and obstinately bent upon engaging before the arrival of his nephew, leaving the great officers of the court, with his treasures, in *Adrianople*, and all the baggage of the army near that city, with a strong detachment to guard it, set out with the rest in quest of the enemy, whom he discovered about noon in the neighbourhood of *Nice*, about fifteen miles from *Adrianople*. The *Goths*, commanded by *Aletheus* and *Saphrax*, were encamped at a considerable distance from the rest. Messengers were therefore immediately dispatched to them; and in the mean time, to amuse the emperor till they arrived, ambassadors were sent to him, with proposals of peace to which the emperor gave ear; but insisted upon their delivering up to him some of their chief men as hostages. At the same time, *Fritigern*, further to amuse the emperor, acquainted him by a private letter, that he was ready to bring all his forces over to him, provided some persons of distinction were sent to him as hostages. *Valens*, overjoyed at this proposal, named first *Equico* his kinsman for one of the hostages; but he, as he had been taken prisoner by the *Goths* the preceding year, and had made his escape, begging to be excused, *Richomeres* offered himself of his own accord; but, before he reached the enemy's camp, *Bacurius*, prince of the *Iberians*, and one *Cassio*, who commanded a party of archers, falling upon the *Goths*, gave beginning to the battle,

Gratian marches to the assistance of Valens.

But Valens resolves to give battle before his arrival.

The battle
of Adrianople.

The Romans utterly
defeated.

The death
of Valens
variously
related.

battle, which was fought with great obstinacy and resolution on both sides. *Ammianus* gives us a long, but confused, account of this memorable engagement. According to him, the foot in the left wing of the *Romans*, having advanced too far, and separated themselves from the main body of the army, and from the cavalry that was to support them, were surrounded by the enemy, which inspired the barbarians with great courage^b. St. *Jerom*^c and *Socrates*^d write, that the foot was abandoned by the cavalry; and *Sozomen*^e, that *Valens*, being in too great haste to engage, did not allow himself time to draw up his men as he ought. *Libanius* says, that he fought with more courage than prudence or conduct^f. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the *Romans* were utterly defeated; that two thirds of their army were cut in pieces, and the rest forced to save themselves by a precipitous and disorderly flight. The *Roman* writers themselves own this to have been the greatest overthrow their state had ever received since the battle of *Cannæ*. Their foot did all that men, whose native courage was emboldened by despair, could do; but were in the end overpowered with numbers, and obliged, in spite of their utmost efforts to yield to an enemy, who was not only infinitely superior to them in numbers, but equalled them in courage and bravery. Among many other eminent persons, fell in this action the brave generals *Trajan* and *Victor*, with *Valerian* the *tribunus stabuli*, or master of the horse: *Equico* the emperor's kinsman, and *magister palatii*, or great steward of the household; and *Potentius*, a youth of extraordinary hopes, and by all greatly respected, in regard of his father *Ursicinus*, so famous in the reign of *Constantius*^g. But nothing has rendered this battle more memorable in history, than the unhappy end of *Valens* himself, who perished on this occasion, as all authors agree, tho' they differ in their accounts of his death; for some write, that he was killed upon the spot; and others, that being wounded in the field, and not in a condition to fly, he was carried to a countryman's house, which his attendants made good against the barbarians, till they, not suspecting the emperor to be there, set fire to it, which consumed the house, and all who were in it, except a youth, who having made his escape, first out of the flames, and afterwards from the enemy, who had taken him prisoner, gave the *Romans* an account of the emperor's unhappy end^h. Both these opinions are related

^b AMMIAN. p. 460—462.

^c HIER. in chron.

^d SOCR.

l. iv. c. 38. p. 255.

^e SOZ. l. vi. c. 40. p. 703.

^f LIB. vit.

p. 58.

^g AMMIAN. p. 463.

^h Idem, p. 462.

by

by *Ammianus*; and the former was adopted by *Libanius*, as more proper for a panegyric; but the latter, which is generally thought the most probable, by *Victor*ⁱ, *St. Jerom*^k, *Rufinus*^l, *Orosius*^m, *Zosimus*ⁿ, and *Socrates*^o. *Sozomen*^p and *Philostorgius*^q follow the same opinion; but add some circumstances, which seem quite improbable. *St. Chrysostom* speaks of the death of *Valens* perishing in the flames, as a memorable instance of the vanity of all human grandeur^r. *Theodoret* follows the same opinion; but was certainly mistaken in supposing *Valens* not to have been present at the battle^r. *Ammianus* observes, that before *Valens* left *Antioch*, it was become a common curse or imprecation among the inhabitants of that metropolis, *May Valens be burnt alive*. The same writer pretends that unhappy end to have been portended by several prodigies, as a punishment inflicted upon him by heaven, for having caused *Paras* king of *Armenia* to be inhumanly murdered, and for putting many innocent persons to death, on occasion of the conspiracy of *Theodorus*^r. The reader will find in *Zosimus* the description of a spectre, which, says he, was seen by *Valens* and all his court, when he marched out of *Constantinople* against the *Goths*^u. To this perhaps *Ammianus* alludes in a passage, which seems to us very obscure^w. *Theophanes* takes notice of some other prodigies, and assures us, that some of the emperor's officers owned after his death, that he had suffered the aruspices to be consulted concerning the issue of this war^x. *Ammianus*, and other writers, tell us, that near the place where the emperor died, was discovered, agreeable to a pretended prediction, the tomb of an ancient *Macedonian* captain, by name *Mimantus*^y. All authors agree, that neither his body, nor the least remains of it were ever found; and that his memory was honoured by no funeral obsequies. Ecclesiastic writers look upon his death as a judgment from heaven, for his persecuting with great cruelty the catholics, and his encouraging the heresy of *Arius*, which flourished and encreased in his reign, more than it had done under any of his predecessors. With him perished in the flames, according to the modern *Greeks*, his great chamberlain, a zealous patron of the

ⁱ VICT. epit. ^k HIER. chron. ^l RUF. l. ii. c. 13. p. 184. ^m OROS. l. vii. c. 33. p. 219. ⁿ ZOS. p. 750.
^o SOCR. l. iv. c. 38. p. 255. ^p SOZ. l. vi. c. 40. p. 703.
^q PHILOST. l. ix. c. 17. p. 131, 132. ^r CHRYS. ad vid. p. 464. ^s THEOD. l. iv. p. 704. ^t AMMIAN. p. 435.
^u ZOS. l. iv. p. 748. ^w AMMIAN. p. 435.
^x THEOPH. p. 55. ^y AMMIAN. p. 465; ZONAR. p. 27. CEDREN. p. 314.

His character.

Arians, and an avowed enemy to the orthodox believers^a. Such was the end of *Valens*, after he had lived about fifty years, and reigned fifteen, four months, and some days^a. He was quite a stranger to every branch of literature, and no better acquainted with the military art than with the liberal sciences. He did not so much as understand the *Greek* tongue, though he had reigned so many years in the east among the *Greeks*. He found out no expedients of himself; but, when they were proposed by others, he had discernment enough to know which was the best and most proper^b. He was naturally indolent and inactive, an enemy to all labour, and averse to business, which was owing to the easy life he had led, free from trouble, till he was created emperor. He was timorous to a great degree, and unwilling to expose himself to any danger. To this disposition most authors ascribe the extraordinary deference which he ever paid to his brother *Valentinian*^c. *Themistius* commends his chastity^d; and *Ammianus*, a writer no-ways biased in his favour, does not reproach him with any kind of lewdness or debauchery. He was constant and faithful in his friendship, whereof several instances are related by *Ammianus*^e. He raised such only of his relations as were persons of merit, and, generally speaking, had regard to nothing but merit in the disposal of employments^f. He kept a watchful eye over his ministers, exacted the military discipline with great rigour, not suffering his soldiers to do the least injury to those through whose countries they marched, and shewed himself on all occasions ready to hearken to the complaints of his injured subjects^g. He seems to have discharged the foreign guards, who had been employed by other princes, as the ministers of their cruelty^h. He was thoroughly acquainted with the state of his finances, and therefore did not suffer himself to be imposed upon, as most of his predecessors had done, by those who managed themⁱ. Though he was quite unacquainted with the liberal sciences, yet he is said to have composed some speeches, with the assistance of one *Heliodorus*, a man of a mean descent and infamous character, as we read in *Ammianus*, who complains of the emperor, for obliging per-

^a Menæ magn. Græc. p. 229. ^b AMMIAN. l. xxxi. p. 463, 464. ^c Idem, p. 464. THEMIST. orat. vi. p. 11. & orat. ix. p. 71. ^d Idem ibid. & VICT. epit. THEODOR. vit. patr. p. 815. ^e THEMIST. orat. viii. p. 119, 120. ^f AMMIAN. p. 464. ^g Idem, p. 463. ^h THEMIST. orat. x. p. 158. ⁱ Idem orat. xii. p. 155. ^j Idem orat. viii. p. 114.

sons of the first rank to attend his funeral ^k. *Themistius* styles him the father of the provinces, by reason of the great care he took in easing them, by all possible means, of the heavy taxes with which they had been loaded by his predecessors ^l. *Ammianus* owns, that he could not with more care consult the good of his own family, than he did the welfare of all his subjects; and that the eastern provinces had been under no prince happier than under him ^m. However, all authors agree, that he had a strong bias to avarice and cruelty, which, joined to his jealous and suspicious temper, prompted him often to condemn innocent persons, and seize on their estates. The least suspicion of treason rendered him inexorable, says *Ammianus*, and his ears were open to all manner of accusations ⁿ. All the ecclesiastic writers agree, that he allowed to the many sects that then prevailed, nay, even to the *Jews* and pagans, the free exercise of their religion; but persecuted the catholics with the utmost cruelty, of which we have seen one remarkable instance in the history of his reign; and the reader may find many others in the above-mentioned writers. He left two daughters behind him, *Carosa* and *Anastasia*; but all we know of them is, that *Procopius*, who became famous in the latter end of the reign of *Theodosius*, married one of them, he being styled by *Zosimus* ^o and *Sozomen* ^p, the son-in-law of *Valens*. What became of the empress *Albia Dominica*, after the death of her husband, we are no-where told. *St. Chrysostom*, writing about the year 381, observes, that the widow of an emperor, who had been banished by another prince, was then recalled by the mediation of many persons of distinction, who with much ado obtained that favour ^q. Most writers take the empress, of whom he speaks in that place, to have been the widow of the emperor *Valens*. But as to the cause of her disgrace and misfortune, we are quite in the dark. With the death of *Valens*, *Ammianus Marcellinus* ends his history; but of him, and *Eutropius*, who wrote his abridgment of the *Roman* history in the reign of *Valens*, and by that prince's command, we shall speak in note (K).

^k AMMIAN. l. xxix. p. 392, 393. ^l THEMIST. orat. x. p. 129. ^m AMMIAN. l. xxxi. p. 464. ⁿ Idem, p. 465. ^o Zos. l. v. p. 786. ^p Sos. l. iv. c. 9. p. 469. ^q CARYS. ad vid. jun. p. 463.

(K) *Ammianus Marcellinus* was a native of *Antioch*, where his family made some figure (1). He served several years in the army,

from the year 350 to 359, under count *Ursinius*, partly in *Mesopotamia*, and partly in *Gaul*, in quality of *domesticus*, which was then an honourable post. He attended *Julian* in his *Persian* expedition, and was at *Antioch*, or in that neighbourhood, when the conspiracy of *Theodorus* was discovered in the reign of *Valens* (2). Afterwards he renounced the profession of arms, and retired to *Rome*, where he wrote his history, as appears both from the history itself (3), and from a letter which *Libanius* wrote to him from *Antioch* (4), while he was composing it. His twenty-sixth book was not ended before the year 390, and the twenty-second was written the year before (5). His work was divided into thirty-one books, and comprised the reigns of all the emperors, from *Domitian*, where *Suetonius* ends, to the death of *Valens*; but of his thirty-one books, only the last eighteen, beginning after the death of *Magnentius* in 353, have reached our times. Tho' he was a *Greek*, he chose to write in *Latin*; but his *Latin* in the opinion of *Vossius*, speaks him both a *Greek* and a soldier (6). But his other good qualities make sufficient amends, says the same writer, for these faults; for he writes with great judgment, and seems to have been a great lover of truth (7). However, he plainly betrays a great zeal for the religion of the antient *Romans*, and no small partiality for those who countenanced it, especially for his hero *Julian*. In his history he frequently makes long and tedious digressions on the comets, and other things which fall not within the province of an historian. In his accounts he is now and then somewhat confused, and often leaves out the most material circumstances of the facts he relates; which has induced some to believe, that his history is in several places maimed and imperfect. But, after all, without his history, we should have been quite in the dark with respect to the most remarkable transactions of those times. Some epigrams by one *Ammianus* have reached our times; but whether they were the work of the historian, is altogether uncertain. The reader will find several things relating to *Ammianus*, and his history, in the *Prolegomena*, which Mr. *Valois* has prefixed to the last edition of the works of that historian at *Paris* in 1681. *Eutropius* wrote his abridgment of the *Roman* history in the reign of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, and inscribed it to the latter, having undertaken it at his request. He gives that prince the title of *Gothicus*, a plain proof that he published his work after the year 369, in which *Valens* defeated *Athabari*, one of the kings or chiefs of the *Goths*. Mr. *Valois* styles him a polite and elegant writer; but *Vinetus*, who published his works in 1553, concludes from his style, that he was not a *Roman*, but a *Greek* (8). *Vossius* too finds fault with his style; but, upon the whole, commends his work, as an abridgment of the *Roman* his-

(2) *Idem*, l. xxix. p. 387.(3) *Idem*, l. xxxi. p. 469.(4) *Ammian vit.* p. 4—8.(5) *Idem*, p. 8, 9.(6) *Voss.**hist. Lat.* l. ii. c. 9. p. 201.(7) *Idem* *ibid.*(8) *Eutrop.* p.

557.

tory done with great judgment (9). He is often copied by St. *Jerom* in his chronicle, and quoted by other *Latin* writers. His work seems to have been in great request among the *Greeks*; for two translations of it were done into that language, the one by *Pænius*, and the other by *Capito*. The latter, who was by birth a *Lycian*, not only translated into *Greek* the abridgment of *Livy*, says *Suidas*, done by *Eutropius*, but wrote besides the history of *Isauria* in eight books, and likewise that of *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*. The translation of *Eutropius* by *Pænius*, was published among the other *Augustin* writers by *Sylburgius* at *Francfort* in 1590. *Sylburgius* is of opinion, that *Pænius* was contemporary with *Eutropius*. However that be, it is certain, that he often deviates both from the meaning of the original, and the truth of history (10). As for *Eutropius* himself, *Suidas* styles him an *Italian* sophist; and adds, that he published several other works (11). From his works it does not appear, whether he professed the christian religion or no. He was present, according to *Codin*, at the laying the foundations of *Constantinople*, and left behind him an account of the origin of that city (12). If what that author writes be true, *Eutropius* must have been very young at that time. He attended *Julian* in his expedition into *Persia* (13). He seems to have been of the senatorial order; for at the head of his work he is distinguished with the title of *clarissimus*, which was peculiar to senators. In the reign of *Valentinian*, and before the year 376, died, according to St. *Jerom*, *Aquilus*, or *Acilius Severus*, a native of *Spain*, who wrote the history of his own life in prose and verse, under the title of *catastrophe*. He was descended from another *Severus*, to whom *Lactantius* inscribed two books of his letters. St. *Jerom* places him among the ecclesiastic writers (14); but his work has been long since lost.

(9) *Voss. hist. Lat. c. 8. p. 198.*
p. 63. (11) *Suid p. 1099.*
tinop. p. 17. (13) *Eutrop. p. 589.*
c. 111.

(10) *Eutrop. Græc*
 (12) *Codin. antiq. Constan-*
 (14) *Hier. vir. illustr.*

C H A P. XXVIII.

The Roman history, from the death of Valens, to the division of the empire.

GRATIAN, alarmed at the danger that threatened the eastern provinces, over-run by the barbarians, resolved to march in person to the assistance of his uncle, as soon as the season would permit; and in the mean time or-

The Lentienses
pass the
Rhine,
and break
into Gaul.

They are
utterly de-
feated by
the Ro-
mans.

They sub-
mit to
Gratian.

dered part of the forces he had with him in *Gaul* to hasten into *Illyricum*, and, joining the troops quartered in that province, to enter *Thrace*, and reinforce the army which *Valens* had sent thither. This the *Germans* called *Lentienses*, whose country bordered upon *Rhætia*, no sooner understood, than by an open breach of the treaty, which they had but lately concluded with *Gratian*, they passed the *Rhine* upon the ice, to the number of forty thousand men, and upwards; and entering *Gaul*, began to commit dreadful ravages in the neighbourhood of that river. Hereupon the emperor recalled the troops which he had ordered to march into *Illyricum*, and sent them reinforced with those that were left in *Gaul* under the conduct of count *Nannianus*, and *Mallobaudes*, king of the *Franks*, who served in the *Roman* army in quality of *comes domesticorum*, to drive back the *Lentienses*, whose numbers increased daily, the *Romans*, who guarded the banks of the *Rhine*, having through fear of the barbarians, abandoned their stations. The two generals, though at the head of a handful of men, gave them battle in the neighbourhood of *Argentaria*, which most geographers take to have stood where the present city of *Colmar* stands. The *Romans* at first gave ground, being overpowered with numbers; but in the end gained a complete victory, and made such a dreadful havock of the enemy, that, out of such a prodigious multitude, scarce five thousand had the good luck to make their escape, thirty thousand of them being killed upon the spot, and the rest either slain in the pursuit, or taken prisoners. Their king *Triarius*, the chief author of the war, was in the number of the slain¹. *Orosius* writes, that *Gratian* was present at the battle; and that, depending upon the assistance of heaven, he attacked the enemy, though greatly superior to him in number². But *Ammianus* only writes, that *Gratian* advanced to support his generals³. This battle was not fought before the month of *May*; for on the twenty-second of *April* the emperor was still at *Treves*, as appears from a law bearing that date⁴. After this victory, *Gratian* passed the *Rhine* at the head of his army; and, entering the enemy's country, shut them up on all sides among the barren mountains, to which they fled with their families; and by that means reduced them in a short time to such straits, that they were forced to submit to the terms the conqueror thought fit to prescribe; one of which was, that they should deliver up

¹ AMMIAN. l. xxxi. p. 453, 454. VICT. edit. HIER. in chron.
² OROS. l. vii. c. 33. p. 219. ³ AMMIAN. ibid. ⁴ Cod.
Theod. chron. p. 98.

their youth to serve in the *Roman* army, which they did accordingly. Thus were the *Romans* greatly reinforced by this new accession of strength, and at the same time that inconstant and faithless nation put out of a condition of raising new disturbances in the emperor's absence. In this expedition *Gratian* gave signal proofs of his courage, prudence, goodness, and generosity; which gained him the esteem and affection of all who served under him ^{w.} He immediately wrote to *Valens*, acquainting him with his victory, and begging him not to hazard a battle till he had joined him, which he assured him would be very soon. But *Valens*, now jealous of the reputation of his young nephew, which he thought eclipsed his own, and desirous of equalling his exploits against the *Germans*, resolved to give battle before his arrival, that he might enjoy, without a rival, the glory of the victory, which he looked upon as certain. In the mean time, *Gratian* having sufficiently provided for the security of *Gaul*, began his march, and with great expedition advanced to *Arbor Felix*, now *Arbon*, on the lake of *Constance*, and from thence to *Lauriacum*, now *Lork* in *Austria*, on the *Danube*, between the *Traun* and the *Ens*. There he embarked part of his troops on the *Danube*, and marched by land with the rest to *Bononia* in *Lower Dacia*, and from thence to *Sirmium*, where he staid but four days, though he was then ill of an intermitting fever. From *Sirmium* he pursued his march along the *Danube* to a fort in the same province, called *Castra Martis*. In his march, some of his men, who had straggled from the army, were intercepted and cut off by the *Alans*. From *Castra Martis* he dispatched *Richomeres*, his *comes domesticorum*, to acquaint *Valens*, that he was at hand, and earnestly entreat him in his name not to engage the numerous forces of the enemy till his arrival. But *Valens*, hastening the battle, that his nephew might have no share in the victory, was utterly defeated and perished, with two thirds of his army, in the manner we have related above. The day after the battle, the *Goths*, informed by a deserter, that *Valens* had left many persons of great distinction in *Adrianople*, and that the imperial treasure was lodged there, laid siege to the place; but being repulsed with great slaughter, as quite strangers to the art of besieging towns, they dropped the enterprise; and marching towards *Perinthus* or *Heraclea*, laid waste that fertile country, and then advanced to *Constantinople*, hoping to make themselves masters of that stately metropolis, and of the immense wealth lodged in it. But the *Saracens*, whom

Gratian
marches to
the assist-
ance of his
uncle.

Valens
gives bat-
tle, and is
defeated
and killed
before his
arrival.

The *Goths*
besiege in
vain A-
drianople
and Con-
stanti-
nople.

* AMMIAN. *ibid.* p. 455.

Dreadful
ravages
committed
by the
Goths,
and other
barbarians

Mavia their queen had sent to the assistance of the *Romans*, and who were more dextrous at sudden onsets, than regular engagements, having in several sallies cut off great numbers of the *Goths*, the rest thought it adviseable to break up the siege, and retire from the neighbourhood of that city. The remaining part of this year they spent in ravaging, without opposition, *Thrace*, *Scythia*, *Mæsia*, and even *Illyricum*, as far as the *Julian Alps*, which part that province from *Italy*^a. The neighbouring barbarians, namely the *Quadi* and *Sarmatians*, entered the *Roman* territories at the same time, putting all to fire and sword, and surpassing the *Goths* themselves in the unheard-of cruelties they practised^y. *St. Jerom* gives us a pathetic account of the calamities suffered at that time by the subjects of the empire. The whole country, says he, from *Constantinople* to the *Julian Alps*, have been swimming these twenty years in *Roman* blood: *Scythia*, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, *Dardania*, *Dacia*, *Theffalonica*, (or rather *Theffaly*) *Achaia*, both *Epirus*'s, *Dalmatia*, both *Pannonia*'s, are filled with *Goths*, *Sarmatians*, *Quadians*, *Alans*, *Hunns*, *Vandals*, *Marcomanns*, &c. whose avarice nothing has escaped, whose cruelty has been felt by persons of all ranks, ages, and conditions. How many eminent persons of both sexes, how many sacred virgins, have been outrageously insulted, and hurried into captivity? Bishops have been inhumanly massacred, with their clergy; churches pulled down, the reliques of the holy martyrs dug up, and the sacred altars turned into mangers. The downfall of the *Roman* empire is at hand^z. The same saint, writing in the year 406, that is, eight years after the present time, tells us, that *Illyricum*, *Thrace*, and *Dalmatia*, his native country, looked still like deserts, and that nothing was to be seen in them but briars and thick forests^a. The cities of *Illyricum*, which suffered most on this occasion, were *Petavio* and *Mursia*; the former is said to have been betrayed to the barbarians by *Valens*, whom the *Arians* had attempted to raise to that see^b. As there were great numbers of *Goths*, who served in the *Roman* armies, quartered in the forts and cities of *Asia*, *Julius*, who commanded in that province, apprehending they would rise and join their countrymen, if they should move that way, by private letters sent to the governors of the cities where they were quartered, ordered them all to be massacred at the same time. This severe, but perhaps necessary, order was put in execution without the

All the
Goths put
to the
sword in
the east.

^a *Idem*, p. 456—458. & l. xx. p. 160. ^y *Idem*, l. xxxi. p. 469.
Zos. l. iv. p. 751. ^z *HIER.* epist. 3. p. 26. ^a *Idem* in
Soph. l. p. 209. ^b *AMBROS.* epist. 1. p. 167.

least noise or disturbance, and *Asia* delivered from the danger it had just reason to apprehend ; for *Zosimus* assures us, that the *Goths* only wanted an opportunity to revolt, and treat the *Romans* as they were treated by them ^c.

We left *Gratian* on the frontiers of *Thrace*, ready to enter that province, and join *Valens* ; but he no sooner heard the news of his death, and of the great loss the *Romans* had sustained in the fatal battle of *Adrianople*, which was brought to him by *Vitor*, who had had the good luck to escape the general slaughter, than he marched back to *Sirmium*, to deliberate there on the most proper measures to be taken in so critical a conjuncture. After a short stay at *Sirmium*, he marched at the head of all the forces he could assemble, to *Constantinople*, to secure that metropolis ; and in the mean time considering with himself how many brave officers had perished in the present war, and how much he stood in need of an able and faithful general, he sent for young *Theodosius*, who, after *Gratian* having given signal proofs of his courage, conduct and experience in military affairs, had, upon the death of his father, retired to *Spain*, his native country, to avoid, as we have related above, the storm that threatened him. *Theodosius* complied with the emperor's command ; and quitting his retirement, hastened into *Illyricum*, where he was received by *Gratian* with the greatest demonstrations of kindness and esteem, and soon after sent at the head of a considerable army against the *Sarmatians*, who were in full march to join the *Goths* : but *Theodosius*, falling upon them, cut the greater part of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to repass the *Danube*. The victory he gained on this occasion was so complete, that the emperor could not believe the account which *Theodosius* himself gave him of it upon his return to court, till he was informed of the truth by persons sent on purpose to view the field of battle ^d. To this victory, and the other which *Gratian* had gained this year over the *Germans* before he left *Gaul*, *Ausonius* no doubt alluded, when he wrote, that the emperor in one and the same year appeased the troubles on the *Rhine* and the *Danube* ^e. From *Constantinople* the emperor returned to *Sirmium*, and passed the winter there. As he was a zealous catholic, he no sooner saw himself by the death of *Valens*, master of the east, than he recalled and restored to their sees, the orthodox bishops, who had been banished by *Valens* ; and, by an edict, granted an entire liberty of conscience to christians of all denominations, except the

sends for
Theodo-
fius.

Who gains
a complete
victory
over the
Sarmatians.

Gratian
recalls the
banished
bishops.

^c Zos. p. 752. AMMIAN. p. 469.

^d THEODORET. l.

v. c. 5. p. 710.

^e AUSON. conf. p. 378.

Manichees,

He con-
demns the
Donatists.

He raises
the poet
Ausonius
to the con-
sularship.

He re-
solves to
take a col-
league.

Manichees, the *Photinians*, and the *Eunomians*, whom he would not suffer to have any churches ^f. This edict put a stop to the persecution, which the *Arians* had raised, and carried on with great cruelty against the catholics, during the whole reign of *Valens*. *Gratian*, notwithstanding his zeal for the orthodox faith, did not think it adviseable for the present to meddle any farther with religious affairs, through fear of raising new disturbances, which, in the present distracted state of the empire, might have been attended by dangerous consequences. This law, granting liberty of conscience to all christians, seems to have taken place only in the east, where the catholics did not enjoy it before; for by another law enacted this very year, and addressed to *Flavianus*, vicar of *Africa*, he absolutely condemns the *Donatists*, orders their churches to be delivered up to the catholics, and declares, that he will suffer no other doctrine to be taught or held, except that which is agreeable to the gospel, to the faith of the apostles, and to the tradition of the church ^g. While he resided at *Sirmium*, surrounded on all sides by the barbarians, he named *Aurélius* and *Olybrius* consuls for the ensuing year. He wrote to *Ausonius*, who had been his preceptor, a most obliging letter, acquainting him with his promotion, and at the same time sent him the consular robe, that which the emperors wore when they triumphed ^h. As *Valens* died without issue male, *Gratian* by his death became sole master of the empire; but not thinking himself, being then only in the twentieth year of his age, equal to so great a burden, especially at so critical a conjuncture, when the *Goths*, *Hunns*, *Alans*, *Sarmatians*, and *Quadians*, had broken into the empire on one side, and the *Alemanns* and other *German* nations were ready to invade it on the other, he resolved to take a colleague capable of easing him of part of his burden, and extricating the state out of the difficulties under which it laboured. Young *Valentinian* shared indeed with him the title, but not the authority of emperor, he being then but seven or at most eight years old. Without any regard therefore to his own relations, or rather looking upon those, to use the expression of *Themistius*, as his nearest relations, who were best qualified for so great a trust, he determined to assume *Theodosius* for his partner in the supreme power; a person of most extraordinary accomplishments and no less admired by all on account of his exemplary piety, than for his prudence, his experience in war,

^f Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 5. p. 116. ^g Idem, tit. 6. leg. 2. p. 194. ^h Auson. ibid. p. 381.

and the mighty exploits he had already performed ⁱ. Pursuant to this resolution, he declared him emperor at *Sirmium* on the nineteenth of *January* of the ensuing year 379, while *Ausonius* and *Q. Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius* were consuls. It was with the utmost difficulty that *Gratian* prevailed upon him to accept, says *Pacatus*, what others sought with so much ambition, and employed the most unlawful means to attain. He refused, continued the same author, what others looked upon as the greatest happiness, in such manner as evidently shewed, that he accepted it in the end by mere constraint ^k. After *Gratian* had to the general satisfaction both of the people and soldiery, declared him emperor with the usual solemnity, he committed to his care the east, *Thrace*, and the rest of the provinces, which had been governed by *Valens*, reserving for himself only *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*; for *Italy*, *Illyricum*, and *Africa*, were held by his brother *Valentinian* ^l. *Sozomen* writes, that to the east *Gratian* added *Illyricum* ^m; which, if true, must be understood of the east part of *Illyricum*; for the west part was always held by the princes of the western empire, who till this time had been masters of both. *West Illyricum* comprised both *Pannonia's*, the one and the other *Noricum*, *Dalmatia*, and *Savia*, which we take to be the province that was for some time known by the name of *Valeria*. That *Gratian* kept these provinces is past dispute ⁿ. *East Illyricum* consisted of *Macedon*, the one and the other *Epirus*, *Thessaly*, *Achaia*, *Crete*, both *Dacia's*, *Upper Mæsia*, *Dardania*, and *Prævalitana* ^o.

Theodosius, whom *Gratian* raised to the empire, was, according to most authors, a native of *Cauca* in *Galic'ia*, which city still retains the same name; but *Marcellinus* in his chronicle supposes him to have been born in *Italica* near *Seville*, the birth-place of the emperor *Trajan*; and both that writer and *Claudian* reckon him among the great men of the *Ulpian* family, from which *Trajan* was sprung ^p. *Theodosius* resembled that prince according to *Victor*, both in the features of his face, and the virtues of his mind; but was a stranger to the vices of *Trajan*, such as drunkenness, incontinence, and ambition ^q. He was the son of *Thesmantia* and the celebrated *Theodosius*, who conquered a new province in *Britain*, overcame *Firmus* in *Africa*, and was deservedly accounted the

ⁱ THEMIST. or. xiv. p. 182.^k PACAT. p. 253, 254.^l THEOD. l. v. c. 6. p. 711. Zos. p. 746.^m SOZ. l. vii. c.ⁿ Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. 13. p. 100. & l. xiii. tit. 1. leg. 11. p. 14.^o No tit. c. 3. p. 6.^p MARCELL. chron.

p. 78. CLAUD. p. 40.

^q VICT. p. 546, 547.

greatest commander of his age ^r. But his triumphs and great reputation having raised him many enemies at court, he was executed at *Carthage* in the year 376, the second of *Gratian's* reign, as we have related above. *Victor* tells us, that the name of the emperor *Theodosius's* father was *Honorius* ^t; but he is therein contradicted by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and all the other writers. Both the emperor and his father, in most ancient coins, bear the prænomen of *Flavius*, which, after *Constantine's* time, became common to those who had none of their own: whence some authors conclude, and perhaps not improbably, that the family of *Theodosius* made no great figure before that prince's reign; and that *Claudian* and *Victor* only flattered him in deriving his pedigree from *Trajan*. *Pacatus* observes, that he was a native of *Spain*, as well as *Trajan* and *Adrian*; but takes not the least notice of his being of the same family, which we can scarce believe he would have omitted, had *Theodosius* been allied to those two great princes. He had, according to *Victor*, only one brother and a sister, whose children he brought up with the same care as he did his own ^u. *St. Ambrose* and *Symmachus* suppose him to have had several brothers ^v. One of his brothers, by name *Honorius*, had by his wife *Maria*, whom *Claudian* styles one of the most illustrious women *Spain* ever produced, two daughters, *Thermantia* and *Serena*, of whom the latter was married to the famous *Stilicho*, and the former to another general, whose name is not mentioned ^w. *Eucherius*, whom we shall see consul in 381, is supposed to have been another of the emperor's brothers ^x. The emperor himself was born in the year 346, so that he was advanced to the empire in the thirty-third year of his age ^y. We are told that he was called *Theodosius*, not only because his father had been so named, but because both his parents were commanded in a dream to give him that name, signifying according to the import of the Greek word *Theodosius*, that the child was in a particular manner the gift of God ^z. He served under his father in *Britain*, when he was yet very young ^a; and being soon after created duke of *Mæsia*, he gained a memorable victory over the *Sarmatians* in 374, being then only eighteen years old ^b. After the death of his father he withdrew to *Spain*, to avoid the

^r AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 368. ^t VICT. p. 546. ^u Idem p. 547. ^v AMBROS. epist. 17. p. 214. SYM. l. x. epist. 57. p. 459. ^w CLAUD. de laud. Stil. p. 194. CANGE Byz. fam. p. 75. ^x THEMIST. or. xvi. p. 203. ^y THEODOR. l. v. c. 5. p. 710. ^z VICT. p. 46. ^a Zos. p. 760. ^b AMMIAN. l. xxix. p. 410.

storm which threatened him too ; and there led a retired life, employing his time partly in reading, and partly in works of agriculture, till he was recalled by *Gratian* in 373, and declared emperor ^c. He was then married to *Flaccilla*, called by most of the *Greek* writers *Placilla*, and by some *Placidia*. She is thought to have been the daughter of *Antonius*, who, after having been prefect of *Italy* and *Gaul* in 376, and the two following years, was raised to the consulship in 382 ^d. She was a native of *Spain* ^e, and sister to the mother of *Nebridius*, who married *Salvina*, the daughter of *Gildo* a *Moorish* prince, and count of *Africa* ^f. *Nebridius* was proconsul of *Asia* in 396, but died soon after ; for *Salvina* was a widow, when St. *Jerom*, who had lived in great intimacy with the father of *Nebridius*, wrote to her in 400 ^g. *Theodosius* had at least three children by *Flaccilla*, viz. *Arcadius*, born about the year 377, during his father's retirement ; for he was thirty when he died on the first of *May* 408. *Honorius*, born in 384, and a daughter, named *Pulcheria*, born before the year 379, since *Theodosius* had then, according to *Claudian* ^h, several children. To these some add, and among the rest St. *Ambrose* ⁱ, and *Themistius* ^k, a third son, named *Gratian*. They do not tell us whether he was the son of *Flaccilla*, or *Galla*, the emperor's second wife, of whom hereafter ; but *Gregory* of *Nyssa* writes in express terms, that the emperor had by *Flaccilla* only three children, viz. two sons and one daughter ^l. Besides *Gratian*, who died before his father, the emperor had by *Galla* the celebrated *Placidia*, mother to *Valentinian III.* and another son ; but the mother died in childbirth, and the child with her ^m.

THE joy which the news of *Theodosius*'s promotion gave to all the subjects of the empire, was equal to the mighty opinion they entertained of his justice, integrity, moderation, and abilities in war ; and truly, tho' commendations in the mouth of a poet are of no great weight, yet we cannot help thinking with *Claudian*, that the empire, without the assistance of *Theodosius*, would never have recovered its former lustre, but rather become a prey to the barbarians ⁿ. But to return to *Gratian*, he seems to have continued some

^c AMBROS. sermo de divers. p. 125. VICT. p. 546. ^d Cod.

Theod. tit. 6. p. 350. ^e CLAUD. ibid. p. 193. ^f HIER.

ep. 9 p. 73. ^g Idem, ibid. ^h CLAUD. ibid. p. 194.

ⁱ AMBROS. ibid. p. 122. ^k THEMIST. p. 477. ^l GREG.

NYSS, in funere Flaccillæ. p. 533. ^m Zos. l. iv. p. 777.

ⁿ CLAUD. consul Hon. c. 4 p. 40, 41.

Gratian
returns to
Gaul.

A law a-
gainst here-
tics.

The Lom-
bards.

months at *Sirmium*, after the promotion of *Theodosius* ^o; nay, *Socrates*, tho' in this place somewhat confused, tells us, that he gained considerable advantages over the barbarians; who surrounded him on all sides; and soon after set out for *Gaul*, upon intelligence, that the *Germans* were up in arms, and ready to break into that province ^p. He was at *Aquileia* in the beginning of *July*, and in the latter end of the same month at *Milan* ^q, where he contracted great intimacy with *St. Ambrose*, to whom he ever after shewed the highest respect and veneration, as appears from a letter he wrote to him with his own hand, which in our opinion deserves no less to be admired for the elegance of the style, than for the pious and truly christian sentiments it contains ^r. It was at his request that *St. Ambrose* wrote, tho' unwilling to engage in religious debates, his excellent treatise on faith, in which he proves the divinity of the Son, and another proving the divinity of the Holy Ghost ^t. The pious emperor was so well pleased with these two pieces, that he immediately ordered a church to be delivered up to the catholics, which he had sequestered at *Milan* in 380, with a design as was thought, to give it to the *Arians*, out of complaisance to his mother-in-law *Justina*. At the same time, revoking the law by which he had granted, the preceding year, liberty of conscience to all sects, he published another, forbidding all heretics, especially the re-baptizers, to preach their tenets, or to hold assemblies in any part of the empire. This law is dated from *Milan* the third of *August* of the present year 379 ^t, and was, no doubt, owing to the zeal of *St. Ambrose*. *Gratian* left *Milan* soon after; and passing thro' *Rhaetia*, the province of the *Sequani*, and *Germania Prima*, repaired to *Treves*, where he was on the fourteenth of *September* ⁿ; and perhaps before; for he is said to have marched with incredible expedition, and to have surprised the people of *Gaul* with his unexpected arrival ^w. He passed the winter at *Treves*, and consequently was in that city, when *Ausonius*, upon the expiring of his consulship, pronounced the oration, which has reached our times, thanking the emperor for that and the other honours he had conferred upon him ^x. This year we find the *Lombards*, whom we shall see two hundred years hence masters of *Italy*, first mentioned in history.

^o *AUSON.* ep. 2. p. 5, 6.

^p *SOCR.* l. v. c. 6. p. 260.

^q *Cod. Theod.* chron. p. 100.

^r *AMBROS.* de fide, p. 109

---112.

^t *Idem* ibid. & de Spir. l. i. c. 1. p. 213.

^t *Cod.*

Theod. tit. 6. p. 117.

^u *Cod. Theod.* chron. p. 100.

^w *AU-*

SON. conf. p. 411.

^x *Idem* ibid.

Prosper,

Prosper, who after having copied the chronicle of *St. Jerom* to this time begins now one of his own, tells us, that the *Lombards*, abandoning the most distant coasts of the ocean, and their native country *Scandinavia*, and seeking new settlements, as they were over-stocked with people at home, attacked first, and overcame about this time, the *Vandals*, a German nation. They were headed by two chiefs named *Iboreus* and *Aionus*; who dying about ten years after, they created *Agelmond*, son to the latter, their first king, who reigned thirty-three years [†]. We are told, that the *Lombards*, and the *Gepidæ*, were for many years one and the same nation; and that they passed the *Danube* together about the year 400, in the reign of *Honorius*, who allowed them settlements about *Sirmium* and *Singidunum*. This is what *Grotius* writes upon the authority of *Paulus Diaconus*, who flourished in the ninth century ^². *Grotius* adds, that the *Gepidæ*, and consequently the *Lombards*, held the tenets of *Arius*, and that they were originally *Vandals* ^². Tho' we have said after *Grotius*, that *Prosper* is the first author who mentions the *Lombards*, yet we must own, that their name is to be met with in *Ptolemy*, *Tacitus* and *Strabo*. But to this *Grotius* answers, that by the name of *Lombards* in those authors are meant, not the people we are here speaking of, but other German nations, who from their long beards were called *Longobardi* and *Langobardi*.

WE left *Theodosius* at *Sirmium*, where he had been declared emperor on the nineteenth of *January* of this year 379. *The deplorable* He was surrounded on all sides with numberless multitudes of barbarians, who, after the defeat and death of *Valens*, scoured the neighbouring countries without restraint, *of the eastern provinces* destroying all with fire and sword. *Dacia*, *Thrace* and *Illyricum* were already lost. The *Goths*, the *Taisali*, the *Alans*, and the *Hunns*, were masters of the greatest part of these provinces, and had ravaged and laid waste the rest: the *Armenians*, *Iberians* and *Persians*, were likewise up in arms, and ready to take advantage of the present distracted state of the empire ^b. What evils, says *Gregory Nazianzen*, have we not seen or heard of? whole countries have been destroyed with fire and sword; many thousand persons of all ranks and ages have been inhumanly massacred; the rivers are still dyed with blood, and the ground covered with heaps

[†] PROSP. chron. GROT. proleg. in hist. Goth. p. 55. ^² Idem
ibid. p. 27. PAUL. DIAC. de gest. Longobard. l. i. c. 2. p. 16.
746. ^a GROT. p. 27, 53. ^b THEMIST. or. xvi.
p. 207.

The chief
cities in the
east send
deputies to
Theodo-
sius.

of dead bodies. Let us not ascribe the calamities we suffer to the cowardice of our soldiers, who have conquered the world; our sins, and the *Arian* impiety, which has so long prevailed, are the only cause of our misfortunes ^c. The few soldiers who had survived the late defeat, struck with terror and dismay, kept within the cities and strong-holds of *Thrace*, without daring so much as to look abroad, much less to make head against the victorious enemy, who moved about the country in great bodies ^d. *Gratian*, in all likelihood, gave the new emperor some troops; 'tis at least certain, that he left with him two officers of great distinction, viz. count *Ricomar*, a *Frank* by nation, and *Majorianus*, who commanded the troops of *Illyricum* under *Gratian*, and was by *Theodosius* raised to the post of general both of the horse and foot. Both these officers distinguished themselves under *Theodosius* in a very eminent manner, and gained great advantages over the *Goths* ^e. *Theodosius* leaving *Sirmium* soon after the departure of *Gratian*, repaired to *Theſſalonica*, the capital of *East Illyricum*, which *Gratian* had yielded to him, as we have observed above ^f, and was still there on the seventeenth of *June* ^g. During his stay in that metropolis, the chief cities of the east sent deputies to him, congratulating him upon his accession to the sovereign power, and craving his protection. At the head of the deputies from *Constantinople* was the celebrated orator *Themistius*, who, in a speech which he pronounced on that occasion, begged the emperor to confirm the privileges granted to that great metropolis by his ancestors. The emperor received them all in a most obliging manner, promising to redress, as far as in him lay, the evils of which they complained ^h. Having reinforced his army with new levies, and made other preparations for war, during his stay at *Theſſalonica*, he took the field, probably about the end of *June*; for on the seventh of *July* he was at *Scupi* in *Dardania*, and on the tenth of *August* at a place called *Vicus Augusti* ⁱ, the situation of which is unknown to geographers. Several battles were fought this year, of which we can scarce give any account; for our best guide, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, fails us here; and other authors are so obscure in their accounts, so inconsistent with each other, and often with themselves, that we can scarce depend upon any thing

^c GREG. NAZ. OR. XIV. p. 214.

^d THEMIST. *ibid.* p. 180.

^e SIDON. CAR. V. p. 312.

^f ZOS. I. IV. p. 751.

^g Cod.

Theodos. chron. p. 99.

^h THEMIST. OR. XIV. p. 180---183.

ZOS. I. IV. p. 751.

ⁱ Cod. Theodos. chron. p. 100.

they relate. *Idatius* ^k, *Prosper* ^l, and *Orosius* ^m, tell us, *He gains* that many great battles were fought, and as many signal *several* victories gained by *Theodosius*. On the other hand, *Zosimus* ⁿ *victories* mentions but one battle, which he describes at length, but *over the* as he studies on all occasions to detract as much as he can *Goths*. from the glory of *Theodosius*, he ascribes the signal victory that was gained, not to him, but to one *Modares*, a prince of royal extraction among the *Goths*, who had lately taken part with the *Romans* ^o. *Zosimus*, prompted by his blind zeal for the worship of the idols, omits no opportunity of vomiting his venom against a prince who compleated, as we shall see, the ruin of idolatry, which other princes had suffered out of policy, or had not been able utterly to extirpate. We ought to be very cautious in giving credit to what that writer relates to the prejudice of a prince, against whom he betrays on all occasions an inveterate hatred, and unfurmountable prejudice. As to *Modares*, by whose conduct *Thrace* was delivered, according to that writer, from ruin and destruction, he was a man of great address, intrepidity and experience in war. *St. Gregory Nazianzen* wrote some letters to him, wherein he extolls his piety, and recommends to him the peace and tranquility of the church ^p; whence we may conclude him to have been, not only a christian, but a catholic. *Prosper* tells us, that *Theodosius* not only overcame the *Goths* in several pitched battles, but forced them to repass the *Danube*, and by that means delivered *Thrace* from the insupportable yoke under which it groaned ^q. Great numbers of them took part with the *Romans*, after having delivered up to the emperor some of the chief men among them as hostages. Thus *Prosper*, *Zosimus* ^r, and *Sozomen* ^s. However, it is no easy matter to determine, whither those retired who repassed the *Danube*, since their own country was possessed by the *Hunns*, who had driven them out. The operations of this campaign are by some authors confusedly related, and only hinted at by others; and therefore we have not been able to give any distinct account of them. All we know for certain is, that part of the *Goths* submitted to *Theodosius*, and the rest withdrew from *Thrace*. In this, at least, all authors are unanimous. The emperor, having thus restored *Thrace* to its former tranquility, returned

^k IDAT. chron. fast.^l PROSPER. chron.^m OROS.

l. vii. c. 34. p. 220.

ⁿ ZOS. l. iv. p. 751, 752.^o GREG.

NAZ. epist. 135, 136. p. 864.

^p PROSP. chron.^q ZOS.

p. 756.

^r SOZ. l. vii. c. 4. p. 707.

in the latter end of the autumn to *Theſſalonica*, and there took up his winter-quarters.

THE following year 380, the two emperors were conſuls, *Gratian* the fifth time, and *Theodoſius* the firſt. The former, after having paſſed the winter at *Treves*, from which place we find two laws dated the ſixth and fifteenth of *February*, ſet out early in the ſpring for *Italy*, and was on the fourteenth of *March* at *Aquileia*, and at *Milan*, on the twenty-fourth of *April*. From *Milan* he advanced to *Sirmium*, and continued till the end of the ſummer, partly in the neighbourhood of that city, and partly in *Pannonia*^c. *Theodoſius* was ſeized in the month of *February* of this year with a dangerous malady; and this was what obliged *Gratian* to quit *Gaul*, and haſten into *Illyricum*, leſt the neighbouring barbarians ſhould lay hold of that opportunity to break into *Thrace*^d. As the *Goths* were ſtill in arms, and threatened to paſs the *Danube*, *Gratian*, during the malady of his colleague, propoſed, and concluded, a treaty of peace with them, which, however advantageous to their nation, was confirmed by *Theodoſius* upon his recovery^e. One of the articles of this treaty was, if *Zoſimus* is to be credited, that the *Goths*, who ſerved in the *Roman* armies, ſhould be at liberty to quit the ſervice when they pleaſed, provided they found others to ſubſtitute in their room^w. *Gratian*, by a law dated from *Milan* the twenty-fourth of *April*, exempts from the obligation of acting upon the ſtage ſuch women as had embraced the chriſtian religion, tho' bound by their birth to follow that infamous profeſſion^x. He renewed the ſame law the following year, adding this clauſe to it, that if ſuch women behaved for the future more like players than chriſtians, they ſhould be condemned to ſerve the ſtage the remaining part of their lives, without remiſſion^y. As for *Theodoſius*, being ſeized in the beginning of this year with a dangerous malady, as we have hinted above, he demanded with great earneſtneſs the ſacrament of baptiſm; which he received with exemplary piety at the hands of *Aſcolus* biſhop of *Theſſalonica*, after having carefully informed himſelf of the faith that prelate profeſſed. Finding him to be both orthodox in his belief, and blameleſs in his manners, the pious emperor immediately ſent for him to court, was baptized by him; and from that inſtant, the violence of the malady abating,

Gratian
returns to
Illyricum.

And con-
cludes a
treaty
with the
Goths.

Theodoſi-
us, being
ſeized with
a dange-
rous mala-
dy, is bap-
tized.

^c Cod. Theod. chron. p. 102—104.
^e c. 27. p. 649.

^w PROSP. chron.

^x Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. 7. leg. 4. p. 365.
9. p. 371. & leg. viii. p. 370.

^d JORN. rer. Goth.

^w Zos. l. iv. p. 756.

^y Idem, leg.

he



he began to recover ^a. Soon after, the emperor gave a signal *His zeal* proof of his zeal for the orthodox faith, by the famous law *for the or-* dated from *Theſſalonica* the twenty-eighth of *February* of the *orthodox* present year 380. In that law *Theodosius* declares that he will *faith* have all his subjects, without exception, to adhere to the faith which the church of *Rome* had received of *St. Peter*, which was taught by *Damascus* bishop of that city, and by *Peter* bishop of *Alexandria*, a man of great sanctity; that is, that they must all acknowledge and confess the divinity of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, that those, who held this doctrine, should be deemed christian catholics: but, on the contrary, such, as rejected it, should be treated as heretics and infamous persons; their conventicles should not be called churches, and they themselves should undergo those punishments, which were due to their wickedness, from the imperial authority and divine justice, it being a crime and a sacrilege to depart from the true faith through contempt, nay, or out ignorance ^a. Thus this memorable law, which was addressed to the people of *Constantinople*, and to the prefect *Eutropius*, with orders to send it into all the provinces, and cause it to be every-where observed by the subjects of the empire ^b. To this law *St. Austin*, no doubt, alluded, when he wrote, that *Theodosius*, upon his accession to the empire, by a law full of mercy and justice, curbed the fury of the wicked, and relieved the church, long oppressed by the protection given by *Valens* to the *Arians* ^c. Besides this, the emperor *Several* published several other laws this year, tending to the reforma- *laws of* tion of manners, *viz.* one dated the twenty-seventh of *this year*. *March*, forbidding all capital trials during the forty days preceding *Easter*; that is, during *Lent*; another of the eighteenth of *December*, prohibiting, under severe penalties, widows to marry during the time of mourning for their deceased husbands, which was by this law extended from ten months to a whole year: Several laws against informers, who were to be punished with death, if they were found to have informed thrice, tho' their informations had always proved true. By a law dated the sixteenth of *November*, the emperor declares it unlawful for any one to beg the estates of such persons as were condemned for treason; adding, whereas the importunity of such petitioners often wrests from the prince what he ought not to grant, his rescript in their favour shall be of

^a AMBROS. ep. 21. p. 229. Soz. p. 707. AUG. civit. Dei, l. v. c. 26. p. 64.

^b Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 2. leg. 25. p. 57.

^c Idem ibid. & Soz. p. 708. AUGUST.

ibid. l. v. c. 26. p. 64.

no force ; and such as shall by that means have obtained the confiscated estates, shall be punished as transgressors of the laws. These estates he will have the prince to grant merely of his own motion ^d. Under other princes, the estates of persons condemned for treason were frequently granted to those who had accused them, which proved a great encouragement to informers ; but this, and the other laws of *Theodosius*, put a stop to their vile practices. By former laws, the estates of such as had been banished, or executed, fell to the exchequer ; but *Theodosius*, by two laws of this year, dated the seventeenth of *June*, orders the estates of the former to be divided between the exchequer and the criminal, or his children ; and those of the latter to be left intire to their children or grand-children ^e. We are not told what induced the emperor to be more indulgent to the children of those who were executed, than to the children of such as were only banished. In cases of treason, only one sixth of the criminal's estate was to be left to his children, whether he was banished or executed. The emperor published several other laws this year, which are so many instances of his good-nature, his application to business, and his care of the public welfare ^f.

The Goths
re-enter
Thrace.

NOTWITHSTANDING the treaty which the *Goths* had concluded with *Gratian*, during the malady of *Theodosius*, that prince had no sooner left *Illyricum*, to return to *Gaul*, than they passed the *Danube*, under the conduct of *Fritigern*, *Alatheus*, and *Saphrax* ; and breaking into *Thrace* and *Pannonia*, advanced as far as *Macedon*, destroying all with fire and sword ^g. *Zosimus* writes, that they laid waste *Thessaly* and *Epirus*, and penetrated as far as *Achaia*, without meeting with the least opposition ^h. *Theodosius*, having in the mean time drawn together his troops, took the field ; and coming up with the enemy on the frontiers of *Macedon*, thought it advisable not to venture an engagement with forces so much superior to him in number ; but to harraßs them by cutting off their parties, and interceptingⁱ their convoys. The *Goths*, apprised of his design, attacked the *Roman* camp in the dead of the night, made themselves masters of it, cut most of *Theodosius*'s men in pieces, and would have taken the emperor himself prisoner, had he not saved himself by a speedy flight, while the *Goths* were busied in plundering the tents ⁱ. Thus *Zosimus*. But *Idatius* ^k, *Marcellinus* ^l, *Gregory Na-*

^d Cod. Theod. l. x. tit. 10. leg. 15. p. 441.

tit. 42. leg. 8. p. 335.

tit. 3. leg. 6. p. 39. tit. 2. leg. 6. p. 32. & l. x. tit. 18. leg. 2.

p. 486.

ⁱ Idem. p. 757.

^g JORN. ibid. p. 649.

^k IDAT. fast.

^e Idem, l. ix.

^f Idem, l. ix. tit. 2. leg. 3. p. 29.

^h Zos. p. 756.

^l MARCEL. chron

xianzen,

zianzen, who was then at *Constantinople*^m, and *Philostorgius*ⁿ, an *Arian* writer, and consequently no-ways partial to *Theodosius*, assure us, that the emperor gained a complete victory over the *Goths*; and that, upon his return to *Constantinople*, which happened, according to some, on the seventh, according to others, on the twenty-fourth, of *November*, he entered that metropolis in triumph. *Jornandes*, who omits no opportunity of setting forth the exploits of his *Goths*, takes no notice of their pretended victory over *Theodosius*. Besides, *Gregory Nazianzen* describes his triumphal entry into *Constantinople*, of which he was an eye-witness; and adds, that he well deserved that honour, for having checked the fury of the barbarians, who, confiding in their numbers and natural fierceness, had ventured to engage him^o. The emperor, soon after his arrival in that metropolis, appointed *Gregory Nazianzen* bishop of the place, in the room of the *Arian* bishop *Demophilus*, who refused to subscribe to the doctrine of the council of *Nice*. The emperor in person conducted the new bishop to the great church, and put him in possession, both of that, and of all the other churches in the city, with their revenues, driving out the *Arians*, who had held them for the space of forty years^p. Thus was the orthodox faith re-established in the metropolis of the east, about the latter end of this year 380. The next consuls were *Fl. Syagrius* and *Fl. Eucherius*, uncle, as is supposed to *Theodosius*. *Gratian* was this year, as appears from the dates of several laws, at *Milan* on the twenty-ninth of *March*; at *Aquileia* on the twenty-second of *April* and eighth of *May*; and at *Treves* on the fourteenth of *October*. He returned to *Aquileia* on the twenty-sixth of *December*, and seems to have passed the winter in that city^q. *Valentinian* had introduced the custom of setting yearly at liberty some criminals, on occasion of the festival of *Easter*. This custom *Gratian* confirmed by a law addressed to *Antidius*, vicar of *Rome*; but excludes from such indulgence all criminals guilty of treason, parricide, murder, adultery, rapes, incest, magic, all false coiners, and such as had been pardoned before. This law was read at *Rome* on the twenty-first of *July* of this year 381^r. As to the affairs in the east, *Theodosius* continued at *Constantinople*, at least to the nineteenth of *July*. During his stay in that metropolis, he published a law dated the tenth of *January*,

^m GREG. NAZ. car. i. p. 20.ⁿ PHILOST. l. ix. c. 19.

p. 133.

^o GREG. NAZ. car. i. p. 20, 21.^p Socr. l. v. c.

7. p. 263, 264. GREG. NAZ. ibid.

^q Cod. Theod. chron. p.

104, 105.

^r Idem, l. ix. tit. 38. leg. 6. p. 275.

All the
churches
delivered
up to the
catholics.

Athanasius
recurs to
Theodosius,
dies,
and is in-
terred at
Constanti-
nople.

forbidding heretics of all denominations to hold assemblies in cities, and commanding the churches throughout the empire to be immediately delivered up to the catholics. The execution of this memorable law was committed to *Sapor*, one of the greatest generals of his time, who was sent into the several provinces, with orders every-where to drive out the heretics, and put the catholic pastors in possession of the churches the sectaries had usurped. *Sapor* met no-where with the least difficulty in the execution of his commission, except at *Antioch*, where the catholics were divided among themselves^c. *Philostorgius* writes, that the *Arians* were not only driven from the churches, but from the city of *Constantinople*^e. This year *Athanasius*, the most powerful of all the *Gothish* princes, who had maintained a three years war with *Valens*, as we have related above, being driven out by a faction at home, took refuge in the *Roman* territories, notwithstanding his pretended oath never to tread on *Roman* ground; and coming to *Constantinople*, was there received with great marks of friendship by *Theodosius*, who went out to meet him, and attended him, and his numerous retinue, into the city on the eleventh of *January* of the present year. But *Athanasius* died soon after, viz. on the twenty-fifth of the same month; and *Theodosius* caused him to be buried after the *Roman* manner, with such pomp and solemnity, that the *Goths* who had attended him in his flight, astonished at the magnificence of the funeral, returned home, resolved never to molest the *Romans*; nay, out of gratitude to the emperor, who had thus honoured the memory of their deceased prince, they took upon them to guard the banks of the *Danube*, and prevented the *Romans* from being attacked on that side^u. *Orosius* writes, that the emperor's generous behaviour to *Athanasius* made such a deep impression on all the *Gothish* nations, that, charmed with his virtue and singular good-nature, they renounced all farther thoughts of war, and submitted to the laws of the empire^w. The same thing is confirmed by *Idatius* and *Marcellinus*; but this did not happen till the third of *October* of the following year, as we shall relate anon. A few days after the arrival of *Athanasius* at *Constantinople*, and before his death, the philosopher *Themistius* pronounced his fifteenth oration in the palace before the emperor, in which he observes, among other things, that *Theodosius*, who was then in the third year of his reign, had granted innumerable favours, but

^c Idem. l. vi. tit. 5. leg. 6. p. 117, 118. THEODORET. l. v. c. ii. p. 706. ^e PHILOST. l. 9 c. 19 p. 522. ^u Zos. l. iv. p. 758, 759. ^w OROS. l. vii c. 34. p. 220. ^w OROS. ibid.

had not yet condemned one person to death^a. The pious emperor, no less desirous to heal the divisions that rent the church, than to redress the abuses which prevailed in the state, summoned this year, in the month of *May*, the second general or œcumenical council, which was held at *Constantinople* by all the bishops of his dominions^b. While the council was assembling, the emperor published a law dated the second of *May*, depriving such as had renounced the christian religion to embrace paganism, of the right of disposing of any thing by will^c. By a law dated the eighth of the same month, he extends that penalty to the *Manichees*, whose estates he declares confiscated, unless their children should embrace the true religion; in which case they were to enjoy the inheritance of their parents^d. In a council held before the emperor on the twenty-ninth of *June*, *Theodosius* declared, that the respect due to the priesthood not suffering bishops to be summoned to the public courts as witnesses, they were by the laws exempted from the obligation of appearing there^e. By another law dated the nineteenth of *July*, he forbids the *Eunomians* and *Arians* to build churches, either in the cities or in the country, and declares the places where they shall have preached, or performed any other function, confiscated^f. All these laws are dated from *Constantinople*; but two others, of the twenty-first of *July*, from *Heraclea* in *Thrace*^g, whither the emperor had advanced against such of the barbarians as were still in arms. *Zosimus* tells us, that having demanded assistance of *Gratian*, that prince sent him a considerable body of troops commanded by *Baudo*, or *Bauto*, and *Arbogastes*, who were both *Franks*, but experienced officers, and greatly attached to the empire. The former was father to *Eudoxia* the wife of *Arcadius*, and maintained a correspondence by letters with *Symmachus*^h. Of the latter we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. Upon the arrival of these two renowned commanders, the *Goths*, who were ravaging *Macedon* and *Thessaly*, retired with great precipitation into *Thrace*; but not being able to subsist in that province, which they themselves had laid waste the preceding year, they were forced to sue for peace, and submit to *Theodosius*ⁱ. Thus *Zosimus*, detracting, according to his custom, as much as he can, from the glory of *Theodosius*. However, he owns,

^a THEMIST. orat. xv p. 185—190. ^b SOCR. l. v. c. 8. p. 264. ^c Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 7. leg. 1. p. 203. ^d Idem, tit. 5. leg. 7. p. 120. ^e Idem. l. tit. 39. leg. 8. p. 327. ^f Idem, tit. 1. leg. 3. p. 9. ^g Cod. Theod. chron. p. 105. ^h Zos. l. iv. p. 757. SYMM. l. iv. ep. 15, 16. p. 150. ⁱ Zos. ibid. p. 758.

that

The Scyri
and Car-
podacæ
defeated by
Theodosi-
us.

that the emperor gained a complete victory over the *Scyri* and *Carpodacæ*, who had, jointly with the *Hunns*, broken into the empire, and that he obliged them to repass the *Danube* ^h. We find the *Scyri* frequently mentioned amongst the northern barbarians; but of the *Carpodacæ* no farther notice is taken in history. This campaign ended, it seems, in *September*; for, on the fifth of that month, the emperor was at *Adrianople*, and on the twenty-eighth at *Constantinople*, where he continued the remaining part of the year ⁱ.

A law of
Gratian
against
beggars.

He causes
the altar
of Victory
to be re-
moved out
of the
senate.

THE following year 382, when *Antonius*, called also by some, *Antoninus*, and supposed to have been father-in-law to *Theodosius*, was consul with *Syagrius*, the neighbouring barbarians broke into *Italy*; but were soon driven back by *Gratian*, who passed the greatest part of this year at *Milan*, or in that neighbourhood, watching their motions ^k. From some laws published in the month of *September* of this year, it appears that the emperor was forced to raise new levies, and demand extraordinary subsidies, for the defence of *Rhætia* and *Illyricum*. A law dated the fifteenth of *December* informs us, that persons of fortune were obliged to supply the army with horses ^l. As *Rome* was infested by multitudes of beggars, *Gratian* by a law dated the twentieth of *June*, orders *Severus*, prefect of the city, to seize such of them as were capable of earning their livelihood by working, and to bestow them upon those who shall have informed against them, either as slaves, if they were such by condition, or to be employed the remaining part of their lives, if they were free-born, in tilling their grounds, and in other works of agriculture ^m. By another law, dated the eighteenth of *August*, he suspends, for the space of thirty days, the execution of all criminals, reckoning from the day they received sentence. By another law, he ordered the altar of *Victory*, which stood in the place where the *Roman* senate assembled, to be removed, and declared the revenues belonging to it confiscated ⁿ. This altar had been removed by *Constantius*, when he came to *Rome* in 357, but re-established by *Julian* in 361, and suffered to continue there by *Valentinian*, who allowed to all his subjects the free exercise of what religion they liked best. At the same time, *Gratian* declared void and null all the privileges and exemptions granted by other emperors to the pagan pontiffs, or to the vestal virgins, ordering the officers of the revenue to seize on the lands, which, for the future, should be be-

^h Idem, p. 759. ⁱ Cod. Theod. chron. p. 105. ^k Idem, p. 106. ^l Cod. Theod. l. ii. tit. 4. leg. 3. p. 149. ^m Idem, l. xiv. tit. 18. p. 256, 257. ⁿ Idem, l. x. tit. 16. leg. 10. p. 290. queathed

queathed to them or their temples. The pagan senators sent deputies, at the head of whom was *Symmachus*, to try whether they could prevail upon the emperor to revoke these laws; but *Gratian* would not so much as admit them to his presence ^o. The heretics met with no less severe treatment in the east from *Theodosius*, than the pagans in the west from *Theodosius Gratian*; for by a law dated the last of *March*, he declared such of the *Manichees*, as were then known by the names of *Encratitæ*, *Saccofori*, and *Hydroparastatæ*, that is, the continent, the sack-bearers, the water-drinkers, guilty of death ^p. All the laws enacted this year by *Theodosius* are dated from *Constantinople*; which gives us room to believe, that he continued in that city without taking the field, the *Goths* having, by their deputies, offered to submit to him, as we have related above. As they had been driven out of *Macedon*, and shut up in *Thrace*, where they could not subsist, *Theodosius* not caring to drive them to despair, received their deputies in a very obliging manner; and as they could not return to their own country, which was held by the *Hunns*, upon their laying down their arms, he gave them leave to settle in *Thrace* and *Mæsia*; which two provinces were almost quite dispeopled by the frequent incursions of the neighbouring barbarians, and the late wars. The emperor exempted them from all the tributes and taxes that were paid by the other subjects of the empire ^q. This was in all likelihood one of the articles on which they submitted. Great numbers of them entered into the *Roman* service; but formed a separate body, and were commanded by officers of their own nation, which proved the source of many evils; but as they were well acquainted with the avarice, injustice, and cruelty, of the *Roman* officers, they refused to put themselves into their power, and insisted upon their continuing united, in order to secure themselves against such insults as they had reason to apprehend, when dispersed among the *Roman* troops. *Zosimus* does not forget to blame the conduct of *Theodosius*, and his want of foresight, in this particular ^r; but *Themistius*, in a speech which he pronounced before the emperor himself, tells him, that he gained, by his indulgence and good-nature, the barbarians, whom he

^o AMER. ep. 11. p. 195. SYMM. l. x. ep. 54. p. 455. 456.

^p Cod. Theod. l. xiv. tit. 10. leg. i. p. 208. & l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 9. p. 124.

^q THEMIST. orat. xvi. p. 199.

^r Zos. p. 758.

was not perhaps in a condition to conquer by force of arms ^c. The *Goths* therefore were not yet so far weakened, as to submit to what terms the emperor thought fit to impose upon them ^t.

Several
laws pub-
lished by
Gratian.

THE next consuls were *Fl. Merobaudes*, the second time, and *Flavius Saturninus*. *Gratian* was, from the twenty-ninth of *January* of this year 383, to the second of *May*, at *Milan*; at *Padua* on the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth of the same month; and at *Verona* on the seventeenth of *June* ^u. He published several excellent laws this year, and among the rest one dated the nineteenth of *January*, revoking all the privileges and exemptions granted to particular persons, to the prejudice of the body to which they belonged ^w; another dated the twenty-seventh of *February*, inflicting severe penalties on such as should conceal deserters or robbers ^x; a third, condemning informers to such punishments as were due to the crimes of which they accused others, when they could not make good the charge ^y; a fourth, forbidding any deference to be paid to such orders as tribunes, secretaries, counts, or any other persons, however dignified and distinguished, should pretend to have received from the emperor by word of mouth ^z: The former of these two laws is dated the twenty-seventh of *May*, and the latter the seventeenth of *June*. By a law dated the twenty-second of *May*, he declares those incapable of disposing of their estates by will, who shall renounce the christian religion to embrace paganism, *Judaism*, or the execrable tenets of the *Manichees*. Those by whom they shall have been seduced, are subjected to the same penalty ^a. This year is remarkable for a dreadful famine, that raged in *Rome*, but more on account of the disturbances that were raised in the state by *Maximus*, and put an end to the life and reign of the excellent emperor *Gratian*. That usurper, named *Magnus Clemens Maximus*, was by birth a *Briton*, as a learned modern writer pretends to gather from *Socrates* ^b; but, in our opinion, that author speaks of the place where he began to reign, and not of the place of his nativity ^c, as does likewise *Gildas* ^d. *Pacatus*, who flourished in those times, assures us, that he was a stranger in *Britain*,

^c THEMIST. *ibid.* p. 212.

^t Idem, p. 212.

^u Cod.

Theod. chron. p. 108, 109.

^w Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. 13. p.

100.

^x Idem, l. ix. tit. 29. leg. 2. p. 222.

^y Idem,

tit. 1. leg. 14. p. 19.

^z Idem, l. i. tit. 3. leg. 1. p. 27.

^a Idem, l. xvi. tit. 7. leg. 3. p. 205.

^b USSER. eccles. Britan.

antiq. p. 199.

^c Vid. Socr. J. v. c. 11. p. 270.

^d GILD.

de excid. Britan. c. 10. p. 117.

and

and had been banished into this island ^e. *Zosimus* writes, that he was a native of *Spain* ^f, which is not improbable, since it is certain, that he pretended to be allied to *Theodosius*. He was brought up, says *Pacatus*, in the family of *Theodosius* as a servant, and employed in the meanest offices ^g. *Zosimus* pretends, that he served in *Britain* with *Theodosius*, who, as we have observed above, attended his father into this island in the year 368. Be that as it will, seeing *Theodosius* raised to the empire, says *Zosimus*, while he could not attain to any creditable employment, prompted by jealousy and envy, he began to foment the aversion of the *Roman* soldiers to *Gratian*, whom they looked upon as too great an encourager of foreigners; insomuch that in the end they revolted, declared *Maximus* emperor, and, with the usual solemnity, gave him the purple and diadem. He gave out, that he was allied to *Theodosius*, and that it was with his participation and consent he had taken upon him the sovereignty ^h. Thus *Zosimus*. But *Sulpicius Severus* ⁱ, and *Orosius* ^k, tell us, that the soldiers mutinying forced him to accept the purple. The authority of these two authors, of whom the former flourished at that very time, and the other soon after, is of great weight with us. *Orosius* styles him a man of courage, and worthy of the empire, had he attained it by lawful means ^l; and *Sulpicius* speaks of him as one, who, abating this usurpation, deserved in every other respect to be esteemed and commended ^m. *Gregory of Tours* writes, that, before his usurpation, he had gained several signal victories in *Britain* ⁿ; and some modern authors, that he drove the *Scots* quite out of the island ^o. But neither is consistent with what we have related above out of *Zosimus*. *Maximus* at first was supported only by a small number of the inhabitants of this island; but others flocking to him from all parts of *Britain*, he found himself in a very short time at the head of a numerous army, which, without loss of time, he transported into *Gaul*; and landing at the mouth of the *Rhine*, he prevailed upon the neighbouring provinces to revolt from *Gratian*, and join him, not so much by force of arms, as by art and address ^p, extending, says *Gildas*, by lies and perjuries the empire which he had acquired by wickedness.

*Maximus
revolts in
Britain.*

*His cha-
racter.*

*He passes
over into
Gaul.*

^e PACAT. p. 263, 269.
p. 264.

^h ZOS. p. 760.

^f ZOS. p. 760.

^g PACAT.

c. 23. p. 208.

^k OROS. l. vii. c. 34. p. 220.

ⁱ SULP. SEV. vit. S. Martin.

ibid.

^m SULP. SEV. l. ii. c. 7. p. 290.

^l OROS.

hist. Franc. l. i. c. 43. p. 30.

ⁿ GREG. Tur.

tiq. p. 592.

^o Vide Uss. eccles. Brit. an-
^p ZOS. l. iv. p. 760.

edness and rebellion ^a. *Gratian* was then making war upon the *Germans* called *Juthongi*; but he no sooner heard of the arrival of the usurper in *Gaul*, than he hastened to *Treves*, to put a stop to his farther progress. On his march, great numbers of his troops, gained over by the emissaries of *Maximus*, abandoned him, to take part with the usurper. However, thinking himself still a match for *Maximus*, he left *Treves*, went in quest of his enemy, and offered him battle ^r. *Baronius* writes, that *Gratian*, finding himself abandoned by his own troops, had called the *Hunns* and *Alans* to his assistance, and that his army consisted chiefly of those barbarians ^r. The learned *Usher* was once of the same opinion ^t; but afterwards retracted it ^u; *St. Ambrose*, on whose authority it was grounded, speaking in the letter quoted by *Baronius* ^w, not of *Gratian*, but of *Valentinian II.* *Gratian's* army was commanded by *Merobaudes*, and count *Balio*, an officer of known valour and fidelity ^x. Some authors write, that a battle was fought near *Paris* ^y. But *Zosimus* tells us, that the two armies continued for five days together in the presence of each other, without any action, except a few skirmishes in which no great advantage was gained on either side; but that in the end the troops of *Gratian*, provoked at his shewing so much favour, and giving the preference, to foreigners, as if he chiefly relied on their courage and fidelity, shamefully deserted him, and went over to *Maximus*. *Gratian*, seeing himself thus betrayed and abandoned, fled towards the *Alps*, attended only by three hundred horsemen; and having got into *Lyons*, after he had been refused admittance into other cities, he was there taken prisoner, and soon after put to death ^z. That he was put to death at *Lyons*, all authors agree, except *Zosimus*, who mistook, as is supposed, *Singidunum* in *Mæsia* for *Lugdunum* in *Gaul*. *Socrates* ^a and *Sozomen* ^b relate his death with several circumstances unknown to other writers; for they tell us, that *Andragathius*, who was general of the horse under *Maximus*, and sent by him to pursue *Gratian*, coming up with the fugitive prince as he was crossing the *Rhone*, put himself into a close

Gratian
abandoned
by his ar-
my.

And put to
death at
Lyons.

^a GILD. excid. Brit. c. 10, 11. p. 170. ^r SOCR. l. v. c. 11. p. 270. SOZ. l. vii. c. 13. p. 720. ZOS. p. 760. ^t BARON. ad ann. 383. ^u USS. Brit. ecclesi. antiq. p. 590. ^w Idem, ibid. p. 1058. ^x AMBROS. ep. 56. p. 320. ^y PROSPER. p. 267. AMBROS. ep. 56. p. 320, 321. ^z PROSP. Tyro. chron. ^a OROS. l. vii. c. 34. p. 220. ^b HIER. chron. p. 26. AMBROS. Psal. lxi. p. 746. ^c SOCR. l. v. c. 11. p. 270. ^d SOZ. l. vii. c. 13. p. 721.

litter, and ordered his men to give out, that in the litter was the empress *Læta*, whom *Gratian* had lately married, going to her husband. The emperor, giving credit to this report, and impatient to see one whom he so tenderly loved, turned back to meet her; but while he was standing with open arms ready to receive her, *Andragathius*, starting out of the litter, seized him, and soon after put him to death. This account cannot be reconciled with what we read in St. *Ambrose*, a contemporary writer, viz. that *Gratian* was betrayed by a person whom he had trusted with intire provinces: that being by the traitor invited to a banquet, he refused at first to comply with the invitation, suspecting some treachery; but being in the end deceived by false oaths, and feigned protestations, he came to the banquet, but was murdered, as he withdrew with those who had feasted with him ^c. These circumstances are not mentioned by historians; only *Orosius* and *Marcellinus* write, that he was surpris'd by the craft and artifice of *Maximus*, and soon after put to death ^d. Thus died *Gratian* in the flower of his age, having lived only twenty-four years, and three or four months, and reigned, from the time he had been created emperor, sixteen years and one day, but from the death of his father, only seven years and nine months ^e. He married in 374 or 375 *Constantia*, the posthumous daughter of the emperor *Constantius*, and had by her a son, and other children ^f; but they all died, it seems, before him ^g, as did likewise his wife *Constantia*, whose body was brought this very year to *Constantinople*, according to *Idatius* and the chronicle of *Alexandria*, on the thirty-first of *August*, and interred on the second of *December*. *Gratian*, not long before his death, married to his second wife *Læta* ^h, to whom, as well as to her mother, by name *Pissamine*, *Theodosius* allowed a yearly pension, to support them according to their rank, which they employed in relieving the poor of *Rome*, while that city was besieged by *Alaric* in the year 408 ⁱ. The death of *Gratian* was no sooner known at *Milan*, than St. *Ambrose*, who had lived in great intimacy with him, and was, as appears from his works, deeply affected with the loss of such an excellent and inimitable prince, as he styles him, set out in great haste from that city to demand his body of *Maximus* in the name of *Valentinian*, but the

^c AMBROS. psal. lxi. p. 848. ^d OROS. p. 220. MARCELL. chron.

^e SOCR. l. v. c. ii. p. 270. MARCELL. chron.

^f AUG. civit. Dei. l. v. c. 25. AMBR. de fid. l. i. c. 20. ^g THEODOR. l. v. c. 12. p. 722.

^h SOZ. l. vii. c. 3. p. 721. ⁱ Idem ibid. ZOS. l. v. p. 815.

His character.

It said to be the first who rejected the title of high-pontiff.

Maximus declared his son Victor his colleague.

usurper refused it to him, pretending, that the transporting of his ashes would serve only to renew the grief of the soldiery ^k. However, they were afterwards brought to *Milan*, and interred there near the tomb of *Valentinian II*. As for his character, all writers, whether christians or pagans, agree, that he was endowed with every good quality that can be desired in a prince, extolling with one voice his modesty, his justice, his moderation, and desire of doing good to all, in which he seemed to place his chief happiness. *Ammianus Marcellinus*; though a zealous pagan; writes, that he would have equalled the greatest princes of antiquity, had he lived longer; but at the same time blames him, as being too much addicted to hunting, and other diversions ^l, which may be justly imputed to his youth, and for which he would, in all likelihood, have made ample amends by applying seriously to business in his riper years. *St. Ambrose*, *Theodoret*, *Rufinus*, *Ausonius*, and even *Zosimus* himself, give us a great idea of his piety, in which he surpassed all the princes who had reigned before him, *Constantine* himself not excepted. *St. Ambrose*, in his answer to a letter the emperor had written to him, gives him the title of *most christian* ^m. The many laws he enacted in favour of the catholics, are so many instances of his zeal for the orthodox faith. Though none of the christian princes his predecessors had scrupled to assume the habit of the high pontiff of the pagans, yet when it was, according to custom, brought to him, he rejected it, saying, that it was not consistent with the principles of the christian religion to wear that habit. Thus *Zosimus* ⁿ; but it will be no easy task to prove that either *Constantine* after his conversion, or any other christian prince, ever assumed the habit or title of PONTIFEX MAXIMUS, though the latter was commonly given to them by the pagans, and even to *Gratian* himself ^o. The pagan priests, adds *Zosimus*, finding the emperor would not accept either of the habit, or title of high-pontiff, the chief man among them uttered these memorable words; *If the prince will not be styled pontifex maximus, Maximus will soon become pontifex* ^p, foretelling, that *Maximus* would be raised to the empire. But this pretended prediction, or, as we may call it, pun, was, without all doubt, invented after the revolt of *Maximus*. However that be, *Maximus* was no sooner informed of the death of *Gratian*, than he took his son *Flavius Victor* for his colleague in the

^k AMBROS. psal. lxi p. 849.

^l AMMIAN. l. xxvii. p. 344.

^m AMBROS. de fid. p. 110.

ⁿ Zos. l. iv. p. 761.

^o GRUT.

p. 160. BARON. ann. 312.

^p Zos. ibid.

power

power he had usurped, and gave him, though then only an infant, the title of *Augustus*, as we read in *Victor* the historian^q; which is confirmed by some antient inscriptions^r, though *Zosimus* gives him only the title of *Cæsar*^s. The usurper fixed the seat of his empire at *Treves*, and extended his wings; to use the expression of *Gildas*^t, over *Spain* and *Britain*, being master, according to *Zosimus*^u, of all the countries, which *Gratian*, in the division of the western provinces, had reserved for his own share. We do not find, that he put any of *Gratian*'s favourites to death, except *Merobaudes*, the consul of this year, and *Balio*, or, as some style him, *Vallio*, one of the best officers of his age; their only crime was their inviolable attachment to *Gratian*, by whom they had been raised for their eminent services to the greatest offices in the state^w. *Merobaudes* received orders from the tyrant to dispatch himself, which he did accordingly, to avoid a more ignominious death^x. *Pacatus* writes, that *Balio* was strangled in his own house by the *Britons*, who served under *Maximus*^y; but from *St. Ambrose* it appears, that the usurper had commanded him to be conveyed to *Châlons* on the *Saône*, to be there burnt alive; but that he by a violent death prevented the execution of so cruel a sentence^z. *Prosper*, in his chronicle, writes, that *Gratian* was betrayed by *Merobaudes*; but is therein contradicted by all other writers, and the death of that brave officer sufficiently clears him from so black an aspersion; whence in the chronicle of *Prosper*, some, instead of *Merobaudes*, read *Mellobaudes*; for *Mellobaudes*, king of the *Franks*, served under *Gratian* in quality of *comes domesticorum*^a; and treachery was in those days the peculiar character of that nation. *Maximus* commanded count *Narfes* likewise, and *Leucadius*, governor of a province, to be put to death for their attachment to *Gratian*; but was prevailed upon by the famous *St. Martin* to spare them^b. *Paulus Diaconus*, in his life of *St. Ambrose*, tells us, that that prelate was sent into *Gaul* to propose an accommodation between *Maximus* and young *Valentinian*; on which occasion he treated the usurper as one cut off from the communion of the church, exhorting him to atone by a sincere repentance for the enormous crime he had committed

Puts Merobaudes
and Balio
to death.

^q VICT. p. 546. ^r REIN. p. 326. ^s ZOS. p. 770.
^t GILD. excid. Brit. c. 10 p. 117. ^u ZOS. p. 766 ^w PACAT. p. 267. AMBROS. ep. 56. p. 320. ^x PACAT. ibid.
^y Idem ibid. ^z AMBROS. ep. 56. p. 321. ^a Vide VALES. rer. Fran. l. ii. p. 59. ^b SCLP. dialog. iii. c. 15. p. 321.

The Britons who attended Maximus into Gaul, are supposed to have settled in Bretagne.

in imbruing his hands in the blood of an innocent prince, his lawful sovereign: the same author adds, that other bishops, more complaisant, flocking from all parts to the tyrant's court, by their low and shameful flatteries, lulled him asleep in his wickedness^c. As *Maximus* had brought over with him into *Gaul* the flower of the *British* youth, and the *Roman* soldiers quartered in the island, the country remained by that means exposed to the incursions of the *Scots* and *Picts*, who meeting with little or no opposition, over-ran the northern parts, committing every-where dreadful ravages. The *Romans* now-and-then sent over troops to drive them back into their own country; but they constantly returned, and continued thus harrassing the *Roman* provinces till the arrival of the *Angles* and *Saxons*, who made themselves masters of that part of the island which is now known by the name of *England*, about the middle of the fifth century^d. Those *Britons*, who attended *Maximus* into *Gaul*, never returned to their native country; but are supposed to have settled in *Armorica*, which was allotted to them by *Maximus*, and from its new inhabitants called *Britannia*, now *Bretagne*^e. Colonies are said to have been sent from this island into *Bretagne* at three different times, viz. in the reign of *Constantius Chlorus*, the father of *Constantine the Great*, during the usurpation of *Maximus*, and when the *Angles* made themselves masters of this island^f. The antients mention the latter, but take no notice of the other two colonies; which gives us room to question the truth of what the moderns have written on that head. *Constantius*, who in the end of the fifth century wrote the life of *St. Germain of Auxerre*, calls *Bretagne*, *Armorica*,^g; but *Sidonius of Clermont*, who flourished about the same time, speaks of *Britons* inhabiting the country that borders on the *Loire*^h; nay, amongst his letters we find one to *Riotham* their kingⁱ. That the *Britons*, who went over with *Maximus*, settled in *Armorica* among the natives of the country, is not affirmed by any antient historian, but may be looked upon as a conjecture not altogether improbable; but that they, driving out the antient proprietors, made themselves absolute masters of the country, under the conduct of their leader *Conan Meriodoc*; and wanting women, had recourse to *Dionotus*, or *Diodochus*, king of *Corn-*

^c PAUL. DIAC. vit. Ambros. p. 82, 83. ^d GILD. c. 11. p. 117. ^e Idem ibid. USSER. ibid. p. 199, 200. ^f USSER. ibid. p. 421. ^g SURIUS, 31. Jul. p. 366. ^h SIDON. l. i. ep. 7. p. 16. ⁱ Idem, l. iii. ep. 9. p. 73, 74.

wall,

wall, who sent them his own daughter, by name *Ursula*, with eleven thousand young women of quality, and sixty thousand of an inferior rank, is now deemed an arrant fable, even by the *Roman-catholic* writers. Had the *Britons* wanted women, they would, without all doubt, have kept those of the country, when they drove out the men. Besides, it is altogether improbable, that *Cornwall* was so stocked with women as to spare seventy-one thousand virgins. The fleet, fraught with these unhappy virgins, is supposed to have been driven by a storm to the mouth of the *Rhine*, and to have sailed up that river to *Cologne*, where they fell into the hands of the barbarians, who fought for *Gratian* against *Maximus*, and were by them either put to death, or carried into captivity. *Ursula* is still revered in the church of *Rome* as a saint; but the number of eleven thousand virgins, said to have suffered martyrdom with her, has been not many years since left out of the *Roman breviary*. Of *Ausonius*, who was preceptor to *Gratian*, we shall speak in note (L). But to resume the thread of the history.

Theodosius,

(L) *Decius*, or rather *Decimus Magnus Ausonius*, was a native of *Bordeaux*. He tells us, that he was descended of a noble family (15); however, his father, who was a native of *Bazas*, and lived at *Bordeaux*, followed the profession of physic, till his son procured him the rank and title of honorary prefect of *Illyricum*. He practised *gratis*, and was generally esteemed a man of learning; but, what may seem strange, was better acquainted with the *Greek*, than the *Latin*, tongue. He died in 377, at the age of eighty-eight or ninety (16). *Cæcilius Argicius Arborius*, uncle to *Ausonius* by the mother, was born in *Autun*, and descended of an illustrious family; but his father and uncle being proscribed in the reign of *Gallienus* and *Aurelian*, he was obliged to abandon his country, and retire to *Bayonne*, where he married *Æmilia Corintbia Maura*, descended of a good family, and had by her one son named *Æmilius Magnus Arborius*, and three daughters, *Hilaria*, *Dryadia*, and *Æonia*: *Arborius* was a celebrated professor of eloquence; *Hilaria* professed celibacy, and became famous for her virtue; *Dryadia* was betrothed, but died a little before the celebration of her nuptials; *Æonia* was mother to *Ausonius*. *Julia Cataphronia*, the sister of *Julius Ausonius*, our author's father, embraced the state of virginity, and lived to a great age (17). As for *Ausonius* himself, he studied rhetoric under his uncle *Arborius* at *Toulouse*, where *Arborius* taught about the year 325, before he was invited to *Constantinople* by *Constantine*; he studied likewise at *Bordeaux* under

(15) *Auson. grat. act. pro consul. p. 389.* (16) *Idem, parent. i. idyl. 30. p. 355 — 359.* (17) *Idem, parent. iv. p. 106 — 109. Profess. Burdeg. car. 17. p. 160.*

Minervius,

Theodosius, who had never stirred this year from *Constantinople*, or the neighbourhood of that metropolis, was no sooner informed

Minervius, *Nepotianus*, and *Staphylus*, professors of grammar and rhetoric (18). When he had ended his studies, he first pleaded at the bar, and afterwards taught grammar and rhetoric; which profession he followed for the space of near thirty years, till he was, by *Valentinian* I. appointed preceptor to his son *Gratian* in 367, whom he attended into *Germany* the following year 368 (19). He had soon after some employment at court, with the title of *comes* or count, and was by degrees raised to the first offices in the state. *Valentinian* made him *quæstor*, and had even promised him the consulship (20). After the death of *Valentinian*, *Gratian* raised him to the high station of *præfectus prætorio*, first of *Italy* and *Africa*, and afterwards of *Gaul*. He was *præfect* of *Gaul*, and likewise consul, in 379 (21). He was, it seems, at *Treves* when *Gratian* was killed (22); but soon after retired to *Guienne* (23). In a letter to *Paulinus*, about the year 392, he describes the place where he then led a retired life (24), which is supposed to have been in *Saintonge*. He professed, without all doubt, the christian religion; but his writings are, even in the opinion of *Scaliger*, altogether unworthy of the christian name, being filled with pagan expressions, and the most barefaced obscenities, in which he perhaps surpasses the most infamous among the pagan poets. As for his style, it is commended by some, and found fault with by others. The reader will find the different opinions of critics concerning his writings in *Baillet* (25). His works, which give some light to history, are the epigrams he wrote on the professors of *Bordeaux*, his verses on the chief cities of the empire, and the speech in which he returned thanks to *Gratian* for the honour he had done him in raising him to the consulship. He wrote verses on all the emperors, who had reigned till his time, and likewise consular tables, extending to the year 382 or 383 (26). But the latter work has been long since entirely lost, and of the former only a small part has reached us. His poem on the *Moselle* was greatly esteemed by *Symmachus* (27), and is still looked upon, by the best judges, as his master-piece (28). Some ascribe to him, but without sufficient ground, the distichs that pass under the name of *Cato*

- (18) *Vorsus in clar. urb.* p. 208. *epist.* p. 457. *idyl.* p. 367. *Profeff. Burdeg. car.* 12. 25. p. 156, 169. (19) *Idyl* 32. p. 367. *epist.* 4. p. 428. (20) *Idem, grat. ad. pro conf.* p. 378. (21) *Idem, ibid.* p. 391. (22) *Idem, epist.* 9. p. 443. (23) *Idem, epist.* 18. p. 463. *idyl* 31. p. 485. (24) *Idem, epist.* 23. p. 485. (25) *Baillet jugemens des sçavans*, p. 466—472. (26) *Auson.* p. 136, 199. 375. (27) *Sym. l. i. epist.* 8. p. 9. (28) *Vide Baillet*, p. 472. (29).

informed of the death of *Gratian*, than he drew together all his forces, with a design to march against the usurper, and prevent

(29). The emperor *Theodosius*, who had a particular esteem for him, wrote to him with his own hand, demanding his works (30). *Ausonius* and *Symmachus* lived in great intimacy, as appears from their letters to each other (31). *Gratian*, out of gratitude to his preceptor, not only preferred him to the greatest employments of the state, but likewise raised most of his relations. His father was by him honoured, as we have hinted above, with the title of prefect of *Illyricum* before the year 379; for in that year he died, being then in the eighty-eighth or ninetieth year of his age (32). *Sanctus*, who married his wife's sister, was made governor of *Britain* (33). *Paulinus*, son-in-law to his sister *Dryadia*, was raised to the government of the province of *Tarraco* in *Spain*, and the husband of his other niece by the same *Dryadia*, to great employments (34). *Arborius*, prefect of *Rome* in 380, is supposed to have been his nephew by the same sister (35). *Ausonius* married *Attusia Lucana Sabina*, the daughter of *Attusius Lucanus Talisius*, one of the chief citizens of *Bordeaux*, and had by her two sons, viz. *Ausonius* and *Hesperus*, and one daughter, whose name is not mentioned in history. *Ausonius* died in his infancy; but *Hesperus* was prefect in *Africa* in 376, of *Italy* in 378, and the same year prefect of *Gaul* with his father. The daughter of *Ausonius* was married first to *Vallatinus Euromius*, who died when he was yet very young, though he had been already governor of a province in *Illyricum*, and afterwards to *Thalassus*, who was proconsul of *Africa* in 378. She had one Son by *Euromius* or *Euromius*, and several children by *Thalassus*, of whom the eldest was named *Ausonius* (36). *Symmachus* mentions a son of *Thalassus*, to whom the senate had, at his request, granted some favours (37). *Ausonius* had taken care to instruct his daughter in the liberal sciences (38). His wife *Sabina* died in the twenty-eighth year of her age (39); and *Ausonius* composed her epitaph thirty six years after (40). He wrote his consular tables, and some other historical pieces, for the use and instruction of his son *Hesperus*, whom he commends as a young man of extraordinary parts, and naturally more grave and composed than himself (41). *Hesperus* married the daughter of *Se-*

- (29) *Voss poet. Lat. c. 4. p. 55.* (30) *Auson. p. 1.*
 (31) *Sym l i. ep. 8. p. 9. ep. 25. p. 22. ep. 31. p. 25. &c.*
 (32) *Auson. idyl. 30. p. 358, 359. parent i. p. 102.* (33)
Idem, parent. xviii p. 123 (34) *Idem, ibid. p. 123, 129.*
idyl. 30. p. 358. (35) *Idem, parent. p. 121.* (36) *Idem,*
ibid p. 119. idyl. 30. p. 358. Sym l i. ep. 19. p. 17.
 (37) *Sym. l. v. ep. 56. p. 208.* (38) *Auson idyl. 32 p. 364,*
 365. (39) *Idem, parent. p. 114.* (40) *Idem, ibid. p. 113.*
 (41) *Auson. p. 79. idyl. 32. p. 362.*

vent him from seizing on *Italy* and *West-Illyricum*, belonging to young *Valentinian*. But in the mean time, *Maximus* having assured him by his deputies, that he had no design upon the dominions of *Valentinian*, but that he would suffer him peaceably to reign in *Italy*, *Africa*, and *Illyricum*, *Theodosius* thought it adviseable to put off his journey into the west ^a. Not long after, *Maximus* sent his great chamberlain to *Theodosius*, not to make an apology, says *Zosimus* ^b, for the murder of *Gratian*, but to propose an alliance with the emperor against the common enemies of the empire; and in case he rejected that friendly offer, to denounce war against him. *Theodosius* not thinking the glory that might accrue to him from revenging the death of *Gratian* a sufficient motive for entering into a war, which he foresaw would be attended with great evils, and perhaps with the ruin of the empire, the neighbouring barbarians being ready to invade it on all sides, hearkened to the proposals of *Maximus*; and acknowledging him in the end for his colleague, sent *Cynegius*, then comes *largitionum*, and afterwards prefect of the east, into *Egypt*, with orders to proclaim *Maximus* there, and to cause his image to be set up in *Alexandria* ^c. *Zosimus* in this place writes, that *Theodosius* only pretended to be reconciled with *Maximus*, to divert him from surprising young *Valentinian*, who was not in a condition to make head against so powerful an enemy; and elsewhere ^d blames him for observing the treaty he concluded with the usurper, when he ought both in policy and honour to have made war upon him. *Pacatus* tells us, that when *Maximus* revolted, *Theodosius* was engaged in a war on the most distant confines of the east ^e, perhaps with the *Saracens*; for he is said by *Marcellinus* ^f, to have overcome them about the beginning of his reign; and

Maximus
proposes an
alliance
with The-
odosius.

Who ac-
knowledges
him for
his colleague

^a THEMIST. OR. xviii. p. 220.

^c Idem, p. 761.

^f MARCELL. chron.

^b Zos. l. iv. p. 764.

^d Idem, p. 768.

^e PACAT. p. 263.

verus Censor Julianus, and *Pomponia Urbica*, who was descended of an illustrious family, and had by her at least three children, of whom the youngest, named *Pastor*, died when he was but a youth: of *Paulinus*, his eldest son surnamed *the penitent*, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. From the poem he wrote on his repentance, and styled *Eucharisticon*, it appears, that his father was first vicar of *Macedon*, where *Paulinus* was born in 376, and afterwards proconsul of *Africa*, which employment he held for the space of twenty-eight months (42).

(42) *Paulin. eccl. b.* p. 284, 286.

Libanius,

Libanius writes, that the news of a victory gained this year by *Richomer* was received with great joy by the inhabitants of *Antioch* ^g. The *Hunns*, likewise called *Ephthalites* whose country bordered on *Persia*, as appears from *Procopius*, are said to have broken into *Mesopotamia* about this time, and to have even laid siege to *Edeffa*, which obliged *Theodosius* to send part of his forces to the relief of that city ^h. No wonder therefore, that the emperor at this juncture chose rather to receive *Maximus* for his partner in the empire, than, by rejecting his proposals, to kindle a war in the very bowels of the empire, which, in all likelihood, would have proved fatal to both parties. The wars we have mentioned were managed by his generals; for the emperor himself, as we have observed above, continued the whole year at *Constantinople*, or in that neighbourhood. In the very beginning of the present year 383, that is, on the sixteenth, or, as others will have it, on the nineteenth of *January*, he had declared his son *Arcadius* emperor ⁱ. The ceremony was performed with extraordinary pomp at the palace of *Hebdomon*, distant seven miles from *Constantinople*. *Arcadius* was then about six years old; for at the time of his death, which happened on the first of *May* 408, he was according to *Socrates*, in the thirty-first year of his age ^k. As for *Valentinian II.* who possessed the western provinces of *Illyricum*, with *Italy* and *Africa*, while *Maximus* held *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, he was at this time but twelve, or at most, thirteen years old; and the great disturbances which his mother *Justina* raised, by espousing with too much warmth the cause of the *Arians*, give us room to believe, that she reigned in her son's name. Under her *Probus*, who had been consul in 371, and prefect of *Illyricum* and *Italy* in 368, had the chief direction of affairs ^l; but, in all matters of moment, the young prince had recourse to *Theodosius* ^m; nay, *Orosius* looks upon *Theodosius* as sole emperor, after the death of *Gratian*, of the western as well as the eastern provinces ⁿ.

Arcadius
declared
emperor.

THE next consuls were *Richomer* and *Clearchus*. The former was of the royal blood of the *Franks*, had been *comes domesticorum* under *Gratian*, and was left by that prince with *Theodosius*, when created emperor. In a law of the year 391,

^g LIBAN. vit. p. 67. ^h SUI. 15 Novemb. p. 342. ⁱ IDAT. MARCELL. PROSP. chron. ^k SOCR. l. vi. c. 23. p. 332. ^l SOCR. l. v. c. 11. p. 270. SOZ. l. vii. c. 13. p. 720. ^m AMBROS. ep. xi. p. 195. ⁿ OROS. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220.

he is styled general of the horse and foot ^o. He was a pagan, but a man of great integrity, valour, and experience in war, as appears from the several letters which *Symachus* wrote to him ^p. He is by some authors called *Ricimer*, and by others *Richimer*, and *Ricomar*. *Gregory of Tours* speaks of one *Richimer*, the father of *Theodimir* king of the *Franks* ^q, whom some authors, whose opinion is not ill-grounded, take to be the consul of this year 384. *Clearchus*, his colleague, had been proconsul of *Asia* in 364, and afterwards prefect of *Constantinople*, in which employment he was succeeded this year by the philosopher *Themistius*, who, on that occasion, made a short speech in commendation of *Theodosius*, who had raised him to that dignity ^r. This year *Proculus*, count of the east, being accused of extortion, and several outrages committed by his orders at *Daphne* near *Antioch*, was ignominiously deposed, and was obliged to abscond, till the rage of the multitude was appeased ^t. *Icarius*, the son of *Theodorus*, who had conspired against *Valens*, was appointed count of the east in his room, which office he discharged with great rigour and severity, not sparing even the public magistrates, whom he put to the rack, in defiance of the laws, says *Libanius* ^u, which had been but lately published; that is, of the laws dated the twenty-sixth of April 380, and thirty-first of July, 381. This year a famine, attended as usual with a dreadful plague, raged in *Antioch*, and most other cities in *Syria*. The plague soon ceased; but the famine continuing, *Libanius*, in the name of the people of *Antioch*, had recourse to *Icarius*, intreating him to relieve, by some means or other, the poor, who had flocked from all parts to that metropolis, and were daily perishing in great numbers with hunger. But *Icarius*, without being in the least affected with their calamity, returned no other answer, than that they were abhorred, and justly punished, by the gods ^w. This occasioned great disturbances in *Antioch*, which, however, were appeased without bloodshed. The same year, *Theodosius*, resolving utterly to extirpate the idolatrous worship of the pagan gods, enacted several laws, forbidding all his subjects, on pain of death or perpetual banishment, to offer sacrifices to idols; to consult aruspices, or diviners of what denomination soever; or to practise any of those

A famine
in Syria.

The cruelty
of Icarius.

^o Cod. Theod. chron. p. 123. ^p Sym. l. iii. ep. 59. 61.
^q p. 129. et ed. 54, 56, 69, &c. ^r GREG. Tur. hist. Fran.
l. ii. c. 9. p. 54. ^s THEMIST. orat. xvii. p. 213. ^t Li-
ban. vit. p. 18. & orat. xx. p. 471. ^u Idem, orat. xx.
p. 464. ^v Cod. Theod. tit. iv. p. 435. ^w Liban. vit. p.
67. & orat. xx. p. 468.

ceremonies,

ceremonies, which had been forbidden by his christian predecessors *. *Zosimus*, in his usual style, better becoming a declaimer than an orator, tells us, that *Theodosius* proclaimed war against the gods; that he attacked them in their temples; that he proceeded with such severity against those who worshipped them, that no one dared to own he believed there were gods, or could with safety lift up his eyes to heaven, and adore the stars that shine there †. *Libanius* writes, that on a certain occasion, standing in need of the assistance of the gods, he had recourse to their altars; but not daring to implore their protection, or shed a tear before their statues, he only bewailed within himself his unhappy condition ‡. It was on occasion of the above-mentioned laws, that *Libanius* made his famous speech in defence of the temples, wherein he inveighs with great bitterness against the monks; blames the conduct of *Constantine the Great*; extols *Julian*; and ends his speech with threatening, that the country-people, who were more attached to the religion of their ancestors, than the inhabitants of the city, will, if further provoked, take arms, and defend them by force §. The attachment of the country-people, or inhabitants of villages, called by the *Latins* *Pagani*, to their idols and temples, gave rise to the denomination of *Paganus* or *Pagan*, which began about this time to be given to all who worshipped idols. *Libanius* in that speech often addresses himself to *Theodosius* as present; but nevertheless we cannot persuade ourselves, that he had the boldness to pronounce it before so religious and zealous a prince. It ought, in our opinion, to be looked upon only as a declamation, delivered not in the presence of the emperor, but perhaps of his own scholars, and other pagan auditors. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the pious emperor was so far from yielding to the arguments which the pagan sophist alledged in favour of his idols, that, on the contrary, having appointed *Cynegius* this very year prefect of the east, he strictly enjoined him to shut up all the temples within his jurisdiction. *Cynegius* executed his orders with Theodosius such zeal and fidelity in the *East*, properly so called, that he us causes all the temples to be shut up in the East, and in Egypt. was soon after sent by the emperor for the same purpose into *Egypt*, where, by breaking in pieces the idols, by prohibiting all manner of idolatrous worship, and by shutting up the temples, in such manner that no one could have access to them, he, in a short time, utterly abolished the very remains of idolatry in a country, which, for many ages, had been, above

* Cod. Theod. tit. 9. p. 267. & l. xvi. tit. 7. leg. 18. p. 203. & tit. 10. leg. 7. p. 266. † Zos. p. 758. ‡ Lib. vit. p. 63.

§ Idem, orat. pro temp. p. 10—63.

*He forbids,
under se-
vere penal-
ties, the
marriages
of cousin-
germans.*

all others, addicted to superstition¹. The zeal, which he exerted on this occasion for the true religion, procured him after his death, which happened in 388, the honour of being interred in the church of the *Apostles* at *Constantinople*, the burying-place of the emperors^m; whence his ashes were conveyed the ensuing year by his wife *Acancia* into *Spain*, probably the place of his nativityⁿ. He was *comes largitionum*, from 381 to 383, when he was made prefect of the east, in which office he continued till his death; that is, to the year 388, in which he died, being then consul with the emperor *Theodosius*^o. *Libanius* himself, notwithstanding his zeal for idolatry, could not help commending him as a magistrate of an unblemished character^p; and *Theodosius*, in a law addressed to him in 385, says, that his justice and equity were known and applauded by all the world^q. It is surprising, that *Baronius* should confound the prefect *Cynegius* with another of the same name, who in 401, was sent by *Arcadius* to demolish the temple of *Marnas* and other temples in the city of *Gaza*. This year the emperor published a law, forbidding the marriages of cousin-germans, which had been always deemed lawful among the *Romans*, and no one had ever looked upon as incestuous. However, *Theodosius* not only prohibited such marriages, but, by the same law, commanded the contracting parties to be burnt alive, their estates to be confiscated, and their children to be deemed illegitimate^r. *Arcadius* softened the rigour of this law by another, dated the twenty-sixth of *November* 396, whereby he exempts the transgressors from the penalties inflicted on them by the law of *Theodosius*; but nevertheless declares such marriages unlawful and incestuous, and the children incapable of receiving the least legacy from their parents^s. In 405, he intirely revoked the law of his father, declaring the marriages of cousin-germans absolutely lawful^t. This revocation was not received in the west till the time of *Justinian*, who caused it to be put into his code; by which means it became general, and such marriages were celebrated without restraint or scruple in the west, as well as in the east. At the same time, and under the same penalties, *Theodosius* revived the ancient law, forbidding the marrying of nieces, which he extended to

¹ Zos. l. iv. p. 762. Cod. Theod. l. x. tit. 10. leg. 15. p. 444.
 IDAT. chron. ^m Zos. p. 769. ⁿ IDAT. fast. ^o Zos.
 l. iv. p. 762. Cod. Theod. chron. p. 111. ^p LIBAN. de
 ingred. ad judices, p. 100. ^q Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 1.
 leg. 15. p. 21. ^r Cod. Theod. l. iii. tit. 12. leg. 3. p. 297.
^s Idem, ut. i. p. 297. ^t Cod. Just. l. v. tit. 4. leg. 19.
 p. 419.

the niece of a first wife ^u. By another law of this year, dated the twenty-first of *January*, he ordered *Cynegius* to make a diligent search after the *Eunomian*, *Macedonian*, *Arian*, and *Apollinarian*, bishops and clergy in *Constantinople*, and to drive them all, without exception, out of the city ^w. By a third he forbids the *Jews* to buy christian slaves; and allows all christians the liberty of setting free such slaves as they shall have purchased ^x. *Theodosius*, as appears from the dates of his laws, passed most part of this year at *Constantinople*, and there received a solemn embassy sent to him by the king of *Persia*, to solicit, or rather to buy, a peace with rich presents, and to excuse, says a panegyrist ^y, by his submission, all the evils, which, till that time, the *Romans* had suffered from the *Persian* nation. They had lost their great king *Sapor II.* who died about the year 379, after having lived and reigned seventy years. He was succeeded by *Artaxer*, whom *Eutychius* supposes to have been his son ^z, tho' *Agathias* and *Abulfaragius* call him his younger brother ^a. But if *Sapor* himself was born after the decease of his father, as most authors write, he could not be succeeded by his younger brother. *Artaxer*, styled *Ardshir* by *Abulfaragius* and *Eutychius*, and *Artaxerxes* by *Scaliger* and *Petavius*, reigned only four years, and was succeeded in 383, by his son *Sapor III.* called by *Theophanes*, *Asfabel*, who, after having reigned five years, bequeathed the kingdom in 388, to his son *Vararanes* or *Varanes IV.* surnamed *Kermasaa*, perhaps from some country called *Kerma*, conquered by his father. *Varanes* reigned eleven years, and maintained the whole time a good understanding with the *Romans* ^b. The ambassadors, of whom we have spoken above, were sent, not by *Sapor II.* as *Pacatus* seems to suppose ^c; but by *Sapor III.* who reigned in *Persia* this year 384. *Orosius* writes, that a treaty was concluded between the *Persians* and *Romans*, in virtue of which the whole east still enjoyed a profound tranquility at the time he was composing his history; that is, about the year 416 ^d. The articles of this treaty are not mentioned by any historian; but from a law of *Theodosius*, dated the fourteenth of *June* 387, and addressed to *Gaddanes*, *satrapa* or governor of *Seppene*, it appears, that

A solemn
embassy
sent to him
by the king
of Persia.

With
whom he
concludes
a treaty.

^u Cod. Theod. l. iii. tit. 12. leg. 3. p. 297. ^w Idem, l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 13. p. 129. ^x Idem, l. iii. tit. 1. leg. 5. p. 246. ^y PACAT. p. 263. ^z EUTYCH. p. 472. ^a AGATH. l. iv. p. 135. ABULF. p. 90. ^b AGATH. p. 136. THEOPH. p. 55, 58. EUTYCH. p. 472. CLAUD. in Eut. l. ii. p. 120. ^c PACAT. p. 263. ^d OROS. ibid.

Honorius
born.

the authority of the *Roman* emperors was acknowledged in that province, which, by most geographers, is placed in the south of *Armenia*, and is reckoned, by some historians, one of the five provinces which *Jovian* yielded to the *Persians*. While the *Persian* ambassadors were still at *Constantinople*, a second son was born to the emperor in that city on the ninth of *September*. *Theodosius* gave him the name of *Honorius*, to honour in his son, says the poet *Claudian*, the memory of his brother ^e, distinguished him with the title of *nobilissimus*, or most noble, and named him consul for the year 386 ⁱ.

The Sar-
matians
defeated by
the troops
of Valen-
tinian.

THE same year, the *Sarmatians* having made an irruption into the dominions of *Valentinian*, he dispatched one of his generals, not named in history, against them, who drove them back with great slaughter, and took many prisoners, who were all sent to *Rome*, to be either massacred in the shows of gladiators, or destroyed by the wild beasts. The emperor, in the letter which he wrote to the senate, acquainting them with the success that had attended his arms, bestowed the highest encomiums on the general who commanded on that occasion ^g. As for *Valentinian* himself, he continued the whole year, as appears from his laws, in *Italy*; for, during the months of *March* and *April*, he was at *Milan*; at *Aquileia* in the month of *September*; and again at *Milan* in *October*, and the two remaining months of the year ^h. By a law dated the twenty-second of *March*, which was this year *good-friday*, he commanded all the prisoners, who were not charged with the enormous crimes mentioned in the law, to be set at liberty, in honour of the approaching great festival ⁱ. This year died *Vettius Agorius Prætextatus*, a person greatly commended and extolled, as one of the most deserving men of his age, by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who wrote his history about this time, by *Zosimus*, *Symmachus*, *Libanius*, and in general by all the pagan writers; for he was not only a pagan himself, but augur, high-pontiff of *Vesta* and the sun, and the head, as we may style him, of the pagan superstition. He was by *Julian* made proconsul of *Achaia* in 362, by *Valentinian I.* prefect of *Rome* in 367, and after prefect of *Italy* and *Illyricum*; in which employments he acquitted himself so as to be at the same time feared and beloved. *Ammianus* writes, that, from his youth, he excelled in every virtue becoming a man of his rank; that he revived the gravity and

Prætexta-
tus dies.

^e CLAUD. de Ser. p. 194. ^f SOCR. l. v. c. 12. p. 171.
THEOPH. p. 59. ^g SYMM. l. x. ep. 61. p. 461. ^h Cod.
Theodof. chron. p. 112. ⁱ Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 38. leg.
7. p. 76, 77.

probity of the antient *Romans* ^k. *Zosimus* calls him a man *His cha-* of an unblemished character, and proposes him as a pattern to *rafter*. be imitated by all governors of provinces, and other magistrates ^l. *Macrobius* supposes the banquet of the learned men which is the subject of his *Saturnalia*, to have been celebrated at the house of *Prætextatus* ^m. *Symmachus* looked upon him as in every respect the best, or, at least, as one of the best, men of his age. He tells us among other things, that he accepted no legacies, but constantly yielded, to the children or relations of the testator, whatever was bequeathed to him; that he was no less affected with the misfortunes of others, than with his own; and that such as possessed estates adjoining to his, in the disputes, which arose between him and them, concerning the limits of their lands, would admit of no other judge but himself; so great was the opinion they had of his integrity ⁿ. The many letters which *Symmachus* wrote to him, and, after his death, to the emperors concerning him, are so many panegyrics, in which he extols his wisdom, his integrity, his modesty and moderation, his humanity and good-nature to all, not excepting even his most inveterate enemies ^o. He came this year to *Rome*, and entered that metropolis in a kind of triumph, being attended by all the magistrates, by the nobility and the people, and repairing, amidst the loud acclamations of the multitude, to the capitol, pronounced there an elegant oration in praise of *Valentinian* ^p. He was then consul elect; but, before he entered upon that new office, he was snatched away by a natural, but sudden, death, to the inexpressible grief of the *Roman* people. The senate erected several statues to the honour of a person, who lived, to use the expression of *Symmachus*, even after his death, in the memory of all good men ^q. *St. Jerom*, who was then at *Rome*, compares the death of *Prætextatus*, whom he styles a sacrilegious idolater, with that of the holy abbess *Lea*, who died a few days after him ^r. *Prætextatus* was no friend to the christians; but used to say, by way of raillery, that he would readily embrace their religion, provided they would make him bishop of *Rome* ^s. About this time, *Symmachus* was appointed prefect of *Rome*, in which employment he acquitted him-

*Symma-
chus made
prefect of
Rome.*

^k AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 210. & l. xxvii. p. 399. ^l Zos. l. iv. p. 735. ^m MACROB. l. i. c. i. p. 162. ⁿ SYMM. l. i. ep. 38. — 49. p. 29. ep. 47. p. 34. ^o Idem, l. x. ep. 34. p. 417. ep. 23, 25. p. 415. ep. 34. p. 417. ^p Idem, l. x. ep. 37. p. 424. ^q HIER. ep. 24. p. 156. ^r Idem, l. x. ep. 23, 24. p. 405, 406, 424. ^s HIER. ep. 24. p. 156. ^t Idem, ep. 61. p. 165.

self with great reputation, and procured a law from the emperor, moderating the expences of the new consuls, prætors, and quæstors. The consuls used, agreeable to a custom which then obtained, to send rich presents to their friends, and to all persons of distinction; and the prætors and quæstors to expend immense sums in the public sports, which they were bound to exhibit. The value of the presents to be given by the consuls, and the sums to be laid out in the public shows by the two other magistrates, were fixed by this law, and those declared infamous, who should solicit an exemption from it^c. This year a famine being apprehended in *Rome*, by reason of the scarcity of corn in *Africa*, which used of late years to supply that metropolis, *Theodosius*, at the request of *Symmachus*, delivered the *Roman* people from the danger that threatened them, by sending them great plenty of grain from *Egypt* and *Macedon*. For this seasonable supply *Symmachus* returned thanks, not only to *Theodosius*, but to count *Richomer*, and likewise to *Rufinus*, who, it seems, made already some figure in the emperor's court^a. The great power he afterwards acquired there, does no-ways redound to the honour of *Theodosius*. The following year 385, when *Arcadius* and *Bauto* were consuls, *St. Augustin*, then professor of rhetoric in *Milan*, pronounced on the first of *January* a panegyric on the two new consuls^w. *Bauto* was by nation a *Frank*, and had been sent by *Gratian*, in 381, to the assistance of *Theodosius*; but returning afterwards into the west, he served *Valentinian II.* with great fidelity. *Valentinian* passed the first six months of this year at *Milan*, and the rest either at *Aquileia* or *Verona*^x. Tho' he enacted this year several excellent laws in favour of the church, yet he suffered his mother *Justina* to persecute and oppress the catholics, because they would not yield the great church at *Milan* to the *Arians*, whom she countenanced and protected^y. *Theodosius* continued all this time at *Constantinople*, where a dangerous conspiracy was formed against him; but discovered a little before it was to be put in execution. Most of the conspirators were apprehended, tried, and sentenced to death; but *Theodosius* generously forgave them, and would not allow any inquiries to be made after their accomplices, tho' some persons, in whom he reposed great confidence, were suspected to be in

He forgives those who had conspired against him.

^c SYMM. ep. 21. p. 402. & cod. Theod. tit. 5. p. 382, 384.

^a SYMM. l. iii. ep. 55, 82. p. 127, 138.

lit. Petiliani, l. iii. c. 25. p. 131.

p. 114. ^y SOCR. l. v. c. 11.

^w AUG. contra

^x Cod. Theod. chron.

that number ^a. Not long after died at *Constantinople* the emperor's daughter *Pulcheria*, who was soon followed by the empress *Flaccilla* her mother, to the great grief of *Theodosius*, who was a no less tender father than husband. The empress ^{The death} died at *Scotumnum* in *Thrace*, where she was drinking the ^{of Pulche-} waters for the recovery of her health, but her body was ^{ria, and} brought back to *Constantinople*, and interred there with extra- ^{her mother} ordinary pomp and magnificence. *Gregory of Nyssa*, who was ^{the empress} then at *Constantinople*, pronounced her funeral oration, as he had ^{Flaccilla.} done some time before that of her daughter *Pulcheria* ^a. The fathers of the church, who lived in that age, bestow upon her the highest encomiums; and the pagan writers themselves cannot help extolling her piety, moderation, and other virtues ^b. The *Greeks* honour her as a saint, and celebrate her feast on the fourteenth of *September*, perhaps the day on which she died ^c. The next consuls were *Honorius*, styled in the *fasti nobilissimus puer*, and *Evodius*, perhaps the prefect of *Gaul* under *Maximus*. This year *Theodosius* continued at *Constantinople* till the third of *September*, when he is supposed to have left that metropolis, in order to march against the *Greuthongi*, who were ready to pass the *Danube*, and break into the empire, under the conduct of *Odotheus*, whom *Claudian* honours with the title of king ^d. The barbarians ^{Theodo-} were attacked, and utterly defeated, by the two emperors ^{sus gains} *Theodosius* and *Arcadius*, who returned to *Constantinople*, leading ^{a great} with them an incredible number of captives, and entered ^{victory o-} that city in triumph on the twelfth of *October*: Thus *Idatius* ^{ver the} in his *fasti*, and *Marcellinus* in his chronicle ^e. *Claudian* ^{Greu-} likewise speaks of a victory gained this year by the two em- ^{thongi.} perors over the *Greuthongi* ^f. But *Zosimus*, to rob *Theodosius* of the glory of this, as he does of most other victories, ascribes it to *Promotus*, who commanded in *Thrace*, in quality of general of the foot. According to his account, *Promotus* sent into the enemy's camp some persons who, pretending to be deserters, undertook to conduct the barbarians over the river, and to betray the *Roman* commander, and his army, into their hands. *Odotheus*, not suspecting any treachery, suffered himself to be conducted by them; but, in the mean time, *Promotus*, informed by his emissaries of the enemy's design, received them so briskly, while they expected

^a THEMIST. orat. xix. p. 231.^a GREG. Nyss. de Pul. p.

516. & de Flaccill. p. 528.

^b THEMIST. orat. xix. p. 231.

orat. xviii. p. 225.

^c Vide men. mag. Græc. 14 Sep. p. 209.

& CANGE Byz. fam. p. 70.

^d CLAUD. conf. Hon. 4. p. 55.^e IDAT. p. 61. MARCEL. p. 6.^f CLAUD. ibid.

to meet with no opposition, that great numbers of them were driven back into the *Danube*, and drowned, and the rest either taken prisoners, or cut in pieces. After this, *Promotus* attacked and made himself master of their camp, in which he found a great booty, and an incredible multitude of women and children, whom he immediately sent to *Theodosius*; but the emperor ordered them to be set at liberty, and, having made them rich presents, gave them leave to return to their own country, hoping by that means to gain the goodwill of the barbarians, says *Zosimus*, to entice them into his service, and to employ them in the war against *Maximus*, for which he was then making great preparations underhand^g. All other writers suppose *Theodosius* to have commanded his troops in person; nay, *Claudian* tells us, that he engaged *Odotheus* himself, who was killed in the battle^h.

He sets the captives at liberty. The emperor, soon after his return to *Constantinople*, married to his second wife *Galla*, sister to *Valentinian II.* and daughter to *Valentinian I.* by the empress *Justina*. He had by her a son called *Gratian*, who died before his father, and a daughter named *Galla Placidia*, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the reign of her brother *Honorius*, and her son *Valentinian III.*ⁱ. As for *Valentinian*, he was at *Milan* on the eighteenth of *January*; at *Ticinum* or *Pavia* on the fifteenth of *February*; at *Aquileia* on the twentieth of *April*; at *Milan* during the months of *June* and *July*; at *Aquileia* on the third of *November*; and again at *Milan*, on the eighteenth of the same month, and on the third of *December*^k. *Baronius* produces a letter written this year by *Valentinian* to *Salust* prefect of *Rome*, injoining him to rebuild the church of *St. Paul* in the neighbourhood of that city, and to enlarge it, by taking in, with the consent of the senate and people of *Rome*, part of the public road: he commands him to acquaint the senate, and the christian people, with the orders he had received, and to follow in every thing the directions of the venerable bishop of that city^l. *Prudentius* describes the church of *St. Paul* placed on the *Ostian-way*, or the way leading to *Ostia*, and tells us, that it was built by an emperor, which *Baronius* understands of the emperor who reigned in *Prudentius's* time, and thence concludes, that the above-mentioned church was finished by *Honorius*^m. That it was finished in the reign of *Honorius* is certain, not from the words of *Prudentius* quoted by *Baronius*, but from an

He marries Galla.

Valentinian orders the church of St. Paul in the Ostian-way to be rebuilt.

^g Zos. l. iv. p. 755—763.ⁱ PHILOST. l. x. c. 7. p. 139.

116—117.

^k BARON. ann. 386.^h CLAUD. ibid. p. 55.^l Cod. Theod. chron. p.^m Idem ibid.

antient inscription, which informs us at the same time, that it was begun by *Theodosius*, perhaps when he came to *Rome* in 398, and embellished by his daughter *Placidia*, in the time of *Leo the Great*, bishop of *Rome*ⁿ. However, it is manifest from the code^o, that *Valentinian* issued orders this year 386, for the building of that church, tho' the work was not begun till the reign of *Honorius*. The next consuls were the emperor *Valentinian* the third time, and *Eutropius*, who had been proconsul of *Asia*, and afterwards prefect of the east. In the very beginning of this year, 387, *Theodosius* published a law addressed by way of letter to all the cities of the east, injoining the magistrates to honour the solemnity of *Easter*, by setting at liberty such as on the approach of that great festival they should find in their prisons, unless they had been confined for very enormous crimes. It was on this occasion that the emperor uttered those memorable words; *I wish it were in my power to restore life to the dead*^p. This year, *Theodosius* finding the exchequer quite drained, and being on the other hand obliged to celebrate, according to custom, the fifth year of the reign of his son *Arcadius*, to which he added, it seems, the solemnity of the tenth year of his own reign, tho' he was then only in his ninth, an extraordinary tax was laid on the people to defray that expence^q; for we are told, that on such occasions each soldier received five pieces of gold^r. Most cities submitted chearfully to this burden; *A sedition* but the people of *Antioch*, complaining of it as an unrea-
sonable oppression, crowded to the house of *Flavianus* their bishop, as soon as the edict was published, to implore his protection; but not finding him, they returned to the forum, and would have torn the governor of the city in pieces, had not the officers who attended him, with much ado, kept back the enraged multitude till he made his escape. Being thus prevented from venting their fury upon him, they fell upon the emperor's statues, broke some of them in pieces, and dragged others, with the statues of his two sons *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, of the late empress *Flaccilla*, and of his father *Theodosius*, through the chief streets of the city, uttering the whole time most injurious and abusive reflections against their persons^s. Having thus demolished most of the emperor's statues, they set fire to the house of one of the principal citizens, to whom they bore some grudge, and would have committed other disorders, had they not been dis-

ⁿ GRUTER. p. 1170.^p CHRYS. tom. i. or. 6. p. 84.

AMMIAN. p. 314, 315.

^o Cod. Theod. chron. p. 383.^q LEBAN. or. xxiii. p. 526.^r LIB. or. xv. p. 407.

perfed

Which is
appeased,
and the au-
thors of it
punished.

perfed by a body of archers, who, by wounding only two of the rabble, ftruck terror into all the reft. The governor, hearing the archers were come, fhewed himfelf to the multitude, and with an air of authority commanded them to difperfe, and retire to their houfes. Thus was the fedition quelled at once; and the city reftored by noon to its former tranquillity^q. The two perfons, who had been wounded by the archers, being taken, informed againft their accomplices, who were all by different ways put to death by the governor of the city: fome were beheaded; others expofed to the wild beafts in the theatre, and fome burnt alive; he did not even fpare the children, who had infulted the emperor's ftatues; and caufed feveral perfons to be executed, who had been but bare fpectators of the injuries offered them^r. While the cruel governor was thus proceeding with inexorable feverity againft the unhappy *Antiochians*, almoft without diftinction of guilty or innocent, a report was fpread, that a body of troops was at hand, with orders to plunder the city, and put all the inhabitants to the fword, without diftinction of fex, age, or condition. Hereupon that populous metropolis of *Syria* was at once turned into a defert, the citizens abandoning in the utmoft terror and confufion their dwellings, and retiring with their wives and families to the neighbouring mountains and deferts. As that report proved groundlefs, fome returned to their native country; but the far greater part, dreading the cruelty of the governor, and the juft refentment of the emperor, kept themfelves concealed in the neighbouring cities, or amongft the rocks and mountains. To thofe who returned, St. *Chryfoftom* preached fome of thofe inimitable homilies, which have reached our times, and are wonderfully adapted to ftir them up to repentance, and to make them look upon the danger that threatened them as drawn down upon them from heaven by their fins^r. The eloquence and zeal of the preacher, joined to the apprehenfion they were under of the effects of the emperor's indignation, wrought a great change in that licentious and diffolute people, as appears not only from St. *Chryfoftom* himfelf^r, but from *Sozomen*^u, and even from *Libanius*^w. In the mean time, *Theodofius* being informed of what had paffed at *Antioch*, and particularly of the infults offered to his ftatues, and to thofe

^q Idem. or. xiv. & xxiii. p. 396, 415. ^r CHRYS. homil. iii. p. 49. THEODORET. l. v. c. 19, p. 731. LIB. p. 397. ^r Vide CHRYS. hom. ii. p. 22. hom. xi. p. 127. hom. vi. p. 86. hom. iv. p. 54. ^r Idem, p. 169. ^u Soz. l. vii. c. 23. p. 741. ^w LIB. or. xiv. p. 403.

of his father, of the late empress, and of his children, was provoked to such a degree, that in the first transports of his passion he commanded the city to be laid in ashes, and the inhabitants, without distinction of sex or age, to be put to the sword ^a. This shews, that he was naturally choleric, and apt, when in a passion, to enter into the most violent measures. His indignation seemed to him the more just, as he had favoured that city above all the rest; for he had designed to reside some time there, as *Valens* had done, and had with that view built a magnificent palace at *Daphne*, and another in the old city, besides several other structures, with which he had at a great expence, embellished that metropolis ^b. But nothing incensed him so much against that ungrateful city, as their having insolently insulted even the dead ^c, that is, his father and the empress *Flaccilla*. However, as his wrath soon assuaged, he revoked the order he had given, and contented himself for the present with causing the public baths, the theatre, and the circus, to be shut up, with degrading the city from the rank of a metropolis, and subjecting it as a common village to its rival *Laodicea* ^d. A certain quantity of bread was there daily distributed amongst the poor, as at *Rome* and *Constantinople*; and of this largess too the emperor thought fit to deprive them ^e. These punishments *Theodosius* inflicted on the *Antiochians* in general, but at the same time he dispatched *Cæsarius*, *magister officiorum*, and *Ellebichus*, *magister militum*, or general, with full power to try and punish such as had been concerned in the late riot ^f. *Ellebichus* was a man of an unblemished character, and is said to have squared all his actions by that golden and truly christian rule, *Do as you would be done by* ^g. *Gregory Nazianzen* wrote a letter to him, intreating him, by their ancient friendship, to discharge a reader from the service, and assuring him, that by so doing he would draw down the blessing of Heaven upon his arms, in a war of which he had the whole management ^h. *Cæsarius*, his colleague in this commission, was at this time *magister officiorum*, was prefect of *Constantinople* in 365, prefect of the east in 395, and consul in 397 ⁱ. He is commended by *Sozomen* and *Libanius* as a man of great integrity, and one who never promised what he did not design to perform ^j. These two officers the

Theodosius highly provoked against the city of *Antioch*.

Appoints judges to try and punish the offenders.

^a *CHRYST. ep. ad Cel. hom. vii. p. 207. THEODORET. l. v. c. 19. p. 731.*

^b *THEODORET. l. v. c. 18. p. 731. & c. 19. p. 733.*

^c *Idem ibid.* ^d *CHRYST. or. xii. p. 137. LIB. or. xvii. p. 197. THEOD. l. v. c. 19. p. 731.*

^e *CHRYST. or. xvii. p. 195.* ^f *LIB. or. xxiii. p. 529.* ^g *GREG. NAZ. ep. cxiii. p. 857.*

^h *Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 354.* ⁱ *Soz. l. ix. c. 2. p. 802, LIB. or. xxii. p. 518.*

The city in
the utmost
consterna-
tion.

Ellebi-
chus, one of
the judges
proceeds
with the
utmost se-
verity.

emperor chooses in regard of their known integrity, to try and punish, according to the laws, such of the *Antiochians* as should be accused and found guilty of having been any-ways concerned in the late sedition. St. *Chrysostom* describes, with his usual eloquence, the dread and terror which on this occasion seized the inhabitants of *Antioch*: they apprehended nothing less than the utter destruction of their city; the emperor, as they were well informed, was highly offended, especially at the outrages offered to his deceased father, and to the late empress, and resolved to punish them with the utmost severity; the judges were men not to be moved by intreaties, or gained over with presents; the crime they had committed was open rebellion, and, according to the laws of the empire, punishable with death and the confiscation of their estates; even such, as were barely suspected, were liable to the most rigorous inquiries, to racks and tortures. The consternation was, as St. *Chrysostom* informs us, so great and general, that the inhabitants were preparing to retire, all to a man, with what effects they could carry with them, to the mountains and deserts; and it was with the utmost difficulty that he and the governor diverted them from that resolution. As the two judges approached the city, the whole people went out to meet them, and were received by them, especially by *Ellebichus*, in a very obliging manner, which allayed in some degree their fears. The next morning the alarm was renewed; for the two commissioners, having placed guards in the several quarters of the city, to restrain the people from assembling, summoned all the members of the senate or public council to their lodging, examined them concerning the late riot, heard with great patience what they alledged in their own defence, and in defence of their fellow-citizens; and, after various inquiries, dismissed them, highly satisfied with the treatment they had met with, especially from *Ellebichus*, who could not refrain from tears, when they, throwing themselves at his feet, implored his protection. The compassion and good-nature he shewed on this occasion revived in a manner the whole city; their fears began to abate, and joy appeared in every face. But the scene soon changed; for *Ellebichus*, having caused great numbers of persons of all ranks to be seized in the night-time upon private informations, repaired early next morning to the place where justice was usually administered; and ordering the prisoners to be brought in chains before his tribunal, sentenced such of them to death as owned their crime, and ordered those who denied it to be cruelly racked, without shewing the least pity or compassion, as if he had changed his nature. Those, who had seen him the day before, could scarce persuade

persuade themselves he was the same man; for not satisfied with causing persons of the first quality to be racked and tortured, like so many slaves, he uttered dreadful menaces against the whole city, threatening to lay it in ashes, and put the inhabitants, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, to the sword, unless they redeemed themselves and their children from impending ruin, by a timely discovery, not only of the authors and ringleaders of the late treasonable and wicked attempts, but of all who had been any-ways concerned in them. *St. Chrysostom*, who was an eye witness of all that passed, so far as his tenderness and compassion for the unhappy sufferers would allow him, gives us a lively, but dreadful, description of this scene of horror, which he compares to that of the last day, when all distinction of birth, wealth, and rank, will cease, and every one be punished, or rewarded, according to his deserts^h. Multitudes were dragged in chains from every quarter of the city to the tribunal of the inexorable judges; who, unmoved with their tears, and deaf to the entreaties of their relations, after a short hearing, either sentenced them to death, or ordered them to be racked till they owned themselves guilty, and discovered their accomplices. *St. Chrysostom* mentions a lady of the first quality, who, seeing her son apprehended by an officer on horseback, laid hold of his bridle, and suffered herself to be dragged in that manner through the streets to the tribunal, where, with her hair dishevelled, and bathed in tears, she threw herself at the feet of *Ellebiclus*; but he, deaf, to all intreaties, pursued his inquiries with such rigour, as threw the whole city into the utmost confusion. *St. Chrysostom*, who, with some others of the sacerdotal order, was admitted into the hall where the criminals were examined and tortured, exerted all his eloquence to move the judges to compassion, and was therein seconded by the hermits, who were very numerous in the neighbourhood of *Antioch*, where they led a retired life amongst the adjacent mountains; but, quitting their solitude, they had flocked to the city on this extraordinary occasion, to comfort with their presence the disconsolate citizens, and try whether they could raise any sentiments of humanity or commiseration in the hearts of their judges. With this view they repaired to the hall, where the judges were sitting; and having exhorted them in a very pathetic manner to treat their fellow-creatures with more humanity and compassion, they prevailed upon them in the end to suspend the execution of the sentence pronounced against those who were found guilty, and all proceedings against such as were not yet con-

*St Chry-
sostom and
the her-
mits obtain
a respite
for such as
were con-
demned.*

^h CHRYS. orat. xiii. p. 147—150. & orat. xxii. p. 252.

victed, till a report of the whole had been made to the emperor, and his further pleasure were known. One *Macedonius*, an anchoret, universally esteemed and revered for his sanctity, distinguished himself above the rest; for meeting *Ellebichus* and *Cæsarius* on horseback in the forum, laying hold of one of them by his garment, he commanded them both, with an air of authority, to dismount. As neither of them knew him, they were not a little surpris'd, that a person, in appearance so mean and contemptible, should dare to speak to them in such a style; but they were no sooner informed who he was, than dismounting from their horses, they threw themselves at his feet; when the holy anchoret, addressing them in the *Syriac* tongue, "The emperor, said he, however distinguished by his imperial dignity, is still a man; and therefore ought to consider his nature, as well as his rank. Those, whom he commands, are of the same nature with himself, and the images of the Supreme Being; let him therefore take care not to provoke the Almighty, by destroying the living images of the divine nature, for an affront offered to the inanimate images of his body. Other statues may be easily raised to him in the room of those that have been demolished; but he, notwithstanding his boasted power, is not able to make the least reparation for a single life, which he has once taken away¹." We are told, that both *Ellebichus* and *Cæsarius* heard these words, which were interpreted to them in *Greek*, with the greatest respect and veneration, and immediately acquainted the emperor with what they had heard². The judges having, at the request of the ecclesiastics and hermits, agreed to suspend the execution of the criminals, till the emperor's further pleasure was known, such as had been found guilty were conducted under a strong guard to the public prison, and the rest dismissed. Amongst the former were all those who composed the senate or council, that is, all the chief men in the city, whose estates were immediately seized, together with their houses and effects, their wives and children being driven out by the officers of the revenue, and obliged to lie in the streets, their friends and nearest relations fearing, lest, by harbouring them, they should be involved in the ruin of their husbands and fathers³. The hermits, having thus obtained of the judges a reprieve for the criminals, did not doubt but they should prevail upon the emperor to pardon them. In order to this, they resolved to repair without delay to Con-

¹ Idem p. 193, 194.

THEODORET. l. v. c. 19. p. 731, 732.

² Idem ibid.³ Idem, p. 517.

Constantinople, and throw themselves at the prince's feet; but *Ellebichus* and *Cæsarius*, affected with their zeal, and unwilling they should expose themselves to the fatigue and inconveniencies of so long a journey, advised them rather to draw up a memorial in behalf of the unhappy citizens, and took upon themselves to present it to the emperor. The hermits ^{They draw up a memorial in behalf of the Antiochians.} followed their advice, and leaving the memorial in their hands, returned the same day to their mountains and deserts ^m. Upon their departure, it was agreed between *Ellebichus* and *Cæsarius*, that the former should remain at *Antioch*, and the latter carry the memorial to the emperor. Accordingly *Cæsarius* set out that very evening, and pursued his journey with such expedition, that the sixth day about noon he reached *Constantinople*, distant above five hundred miles from *Antioch* ⁿ. In the mean time *Ellebichus* caused those ^{The prisoners treated with great humanity by Ellebichus.} who had been condemned to be removed from the public prison to a more convenient place, allowing them the liberty of taking the air in the gardens belonging to it, and seeing their friends and relations ^o. *St. Chrysostom* let no day pass without visiting them, in order to bring them, while thus kept in suspense between hope and fear, to an entire resignation to the will of the Almighty, in whom alone he daily exhorted them to place their confidence ^p. The *Antiochians*, dreading the effects of the emperor's resentment, had sent, a few days after the riot was committed, *Flavianus*, bishop of the place, to intercede with *Theodosius* in their behalf. *Flavianus* had met *Ellebichus* and *Cæsarius* on the road, who acquainted him with the commission they were going to execute at *Antioch*. The holy bishop, in hearing it, burst into tears; but nevertheless pursued his journey, still hoping he should be able to soften the good-natured emperor into compassion. The day after his arrival at *Constantinople*, he appeared at court; but, in order to move the emperor to compassion, ^{Flavianus, bishop of Antioch, recurs to the emperor in their behalf.} stood at a distance from him, silent, and bathed in tears, as if he dared not look up, or approach him. But the emperor no sooner observed him, than he flew to him, not to upbraid him for undertaking the defence of the rebellious city, but to justify his own conduct, and complain to him of the ungrateful return the *Antiochians* had made for the many favours he had heaped upon them. *Flavianus*, bursting into tears, answered, that the severest punishment he could inflict upon them, was too mild and gentle for the enormous crimes they

^m Idem, orat. xvii. p. 195. ⁿ LIB. orat. xxii. p. 518. & orat. xxiii. p. 533. ^o Idem, orat. xxii. p. 535. ^p CHRYS. orat. xvii. p. 204.

had committed, and their undutiful return to so indulgent a prince ; but at the same time he told him, that to forgive one's enemies was a duty incumbent upon every christian ; that from his pardoning such enormous offences, great glory would redound to the religion he professed ; that the *Jews, Greeks, and barbarians*, would admire and extol the purity of its morals, &c. He added, that now an opportunity offered of making himself a lasting instance to all posterity of humanity and good-nature ; and seasonably put him in mind of the order he had issued this very year, commanding all prisoners to be set at liberty against the solemnity of *Easter*, and of the memorable words he uttered on that occasion, *viz. I wish it were in my power to recal the dead from their graves, and restore them to life!* This admirable speech, which is related at length by *St. Chrysostom*, made so deep an impression on the mind of the emperor, that he could not refrain from tears, nor forbear crying out, that he pardoned the ungrateful city, and restored the inhabitants, however guilty, to his favour. Thus *St. Chrysostom*¹. But *Libanius*² and *Theodoret*³ tell us, that the emperor, though greatly softened by the speech of *Flavianus*, yet did not grant a general pardon till the arrival of *Cæsarius* ; who presenting to him the memorial of the hermits, and at the same time pleading with great energy in favour of the unhappy city, which, he said, had been already sufficiently punished, prevailed upon him to grant a general pardon. He therefore wrote a letter to the citizens of *Antioch*, shewing, that it was not without reason he had treated them with so much severity, after they had, in such an outrageous manner, insulted his deceased father and wife. He added, that as his anger, however just, was soon appeased, he pardoned all without exception, whether condemned to death or banishment, restored to them their estates, their shows, baths, theatres, and territory, and to their city the privileges and rights of a metropolis. He concluded with expressions of the deepest concern for the death of those who had been condemned by the governor, and executed without his knowledge. This letter the emperor delivered to *Flavianus*, that he might have the honour of carrying the joyful tidings to the disconsolate city ; but the holy bishop, impatient to put an end to the affliction of his people, yielded that honour to another, whom he thought capable of performing the journey with more expedition. It is more easy to conceive than express the joy, which the arrival of the messenger

Theodo-
sius grants
them a ge-
neral par-
don.

And re-
stores to the
city all its
privileges.

¹ CHRYS. orat. xx p. 226—233.

² LIB. orat. xxii. p. 519.

³ THEODOR. l. v. c. 19. p. 732.

caused in *Antioch*. St. *Chrysostom*, to whom we refer our readers, describes at length what passed on this occasion; and concludes with these words: *Let the pagans be ashamed, or rather instructed; and, learning our philosophy of an emperor and a bishop, renounce their errors, and embrace a religion, which encourages and produces such eminent virtues* *.

WHILE these things passed in the east the boundless ambition of *Maximus* raised far greater disturbances in the west; for that usurper, not satisfied with the provinces which had been held by *Gratian*, passed this year the *Alps* all on a sudden, with a design to seize on *Valentinian's* share too; and, meeting with no opposition, marched strait to *Milan*, where *Valentinian* usually resided. The young prince, not finding himself in a condition to make head against him, fled first to *Aquileia*, and from thence, being closely pursued by *Maximus*, to *Thessalonica*, with his mother *Justina*, and the prefect *Probus*, to implore the protection and assistance of *Theodosius* †. That pious prince, in a letter which he wrote to *Valentinian*, in answer to one he had received from his mother *Justina*, told him, that he was not at all surprised at the progress *Maximus* had made, nor at the bad success that attended his affairs, since the tyrant had protected, and he persecuted, the orthodox faith; for *Valentinian*, as we have hinted above, had not only embraced the doctrine of *Arius*, but persecuted the orthodox prelates, and driven several of them from their sees, being induced thereunto by his mother *Justina*, a most zealous *Arian*. Soon after *Theodosius* removed from *Constantinople*, attended by several members of that senate, to *Thessalonica*, in order to comfort with his presence the young prince, who had taken refuge in his dominions. Upon his arrival, he repaired to the palace where *Valentinian* was lodged; and after having assured him, that he was resolved to employ all the forces of the east in his defence, he prevailed upon him to renounce the *Arian* impiety, as the only obstacle to the success which they might expect from heaven †. *Suidas* relates the discourse which *Theodosius* made on that subject †. *Zosimus* writes, that in a great council held at *Thessalonica*, all the counsellors to a man were of opinion, that war should be forthwith declared against *Arius*. *Maximus*; but that *Theodosius*, foreseeing and dreading the evils inseparable from a civil war, sent first ambassadors to the tyrant, seriously exhorting him to restore to *Valenti-*

Maximus
invades
the domi-
nions of
Valenti-
nian, who
flies to
Theodo-
sus.

Who in-
duces him
to renounce
the doc-
trine of

* CHRYST. ORAT. XX. P. 234.

† ZOS. I. IV. P. 667. THEO-

DOR. I. V. C. 14. SOZ. I. VII. C. 14. P. 721.

‡ THEODOR. P.

724.

§ SUIL. P. 347.

Maximus
reduces se-
veral ci-
ties.

Theodo-
sius mar-
ches a-
gainst him.

The army
of Maxi-
mus de-
feated.

nian the usurped provinces, and content himself with *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, which had been yielded to him by himself and *Valentinian* *. *Maximus* would not, it seems, hearken to any proposals; for this very year he laid siege to *Aquileia*, which he reduced, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance of the inhabitants, as he did *Quaderna*, *Bononia*, *Mutina*, *Rhegium*, *Placentia*, and several other cities in *Italy*; nay, he was the ensuing year acknowledged in *Rome*, and in all the provinces of *Africa* †. *Theodosius*, therefore, finding a war inevitable, spent the remaining part of this, and the first months of the following year 388, when he was consul the second time with *Cynegius*, in making the necessary preparations for carrying it on with vigour. His army consisted chiefly of *Goths*, *Hunns*, *Alans*, and other barbarians, whom he was glad to take into the service, to prevent their raising disturbances on the frontiers. He appointed *Promotus* general of the horse, and *Timasius* of the foot; and having committed the government of the eastern provinces to such persons as, he knew, would, in his absence, consult the welfare of his subjects, and maintain the public tranquillity, he set out from *Theſſalonica* in the beginning of the summer, marching with great expedition through *Illyricum*, with a design to surprise *Maximus*, who had not yet taken the field, but continued, without the least apprehension of danger, in *Aquileia*. *Andragathius*, one of the usurper's generals, a man of great courage and experience in war, had been appointed to guard the passes of the *Julian Alps*; but a report being spread, that *Theodosius* designed to pass the *Ionian* sea, and invade *Italy*, he was ordered to quit those passes, and to man with the utmost expedition what ships he could, in order to intercept the emperor in his passage. Thus was *Maximus* deprived of the assistance of that excellent commander, and of the flower of his troops, who were employed in manning the fleet, which *Andragathius* assembled, pursuant to his orders, on the coast of the *Ionian* sea. In the mean time *Theodosius* entering *Pannonia*, advanced to *Sciscia*, now *Seiſſeg*, before the enemy had the least notice of his approach. However, the general, who commanded the troops of *Maximus* in that neighbourhood, having drawn them together with incredible expedition, fell upon *Theodosius* as he was passing the *Save*; but his army was utterly defeated, and he himself drowned in the river *. From *Sciscia* the emperor advanced to *Pe-*

* Zos. l. iv. p. 768.
p. 275 Zos p. 769.
17. p. 215.

† AMEROS. ep. 17. p. 215. PACAT.

* Zos. l. iv. p. 769, 770. AMB. ep.

revis, now *Pettaw* on the *Drave*, where he was met by *Marcellinus*, the brother of *Maximus*, at the head of an army far more numerous than his own. However, the emperor offered him battle, which he readily accepted; but was utterly defeated, though his men fought with extraordinary courage and resolution. We are not told, that *Maximus* was present at either of these battles; but he must have at least advanced to support his generals; for both *Pacatus* ^a and *St. Ambrose* ^a write, that after his forces were twice defeated, he fled with the troops that attended him, and with the remains of his shattered army, to *Aquilsia*, whither *Theodosius* pursued him, having sent *Arbogastes* before to invest the place, and prevent the tyrant from making his escape. *Zosimus* writes, that the emperor arriving soon after, took the town by assault ^b; and *Socrates*, that it was delivered up to him by the soldiers of *Maximus* ^c. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the tyrant was seized, according to some, by his own men, according to others, by the soldiers of *Theodosius* who had entered the city, and dragged in chains to the emperor, encamped about three miles from the city. *Theodosius* reproached him with the death of *Gratian*, and his unbounded ambition, which had prompted him to murder one brother, and drive the other out of his dominions. As *Maximus* was, or at least pretended to be, touched with remorse for the crimes he had committed, and publicly owned he had no claim or title to the power he had usurped, *Theodosius* began to look upon him with an eye of compassion; which those about him observing, and fearing he might pardon him, they removed him out of the emperor's sight, and, without waiting his orders, struck off his head ^d. He was executed at a place about three miles distant from *Aquilsia*, on the twenty-seventh of *August*, according to *Socrates* ^e; or on the twenty-eighth of *July*, as *Idatius* will have it ^f. *St. Ambrose* writes, that *Maximus* was at the same time defeated by the *Saxons*, the *Franks*, and *Theodosius* ^g. Those two nations had broken into *Gaul*, as appears from *Gregory of Tours* ^h, under the conduct of *Genobaud*, *Marcomir*, and *Sunno*; and having ravaged the country bordering on the *Rhine*, were preparing to repass that river with an immense booty, when *Nannius* and *Quentinus*, two of *Maximus's* generals, falling up-

Theodosius gains a second victory.

Maximus taken,

And beheaded.

^a PACAT. p. 270—275. ^a AMBR. p. 214. ^b ZOS. p. 770. ^c SOCR. l. v. c. 14. p. 273. ^d SOCR. ZOS. ibid. PACAT. p. 279. ^e SOCR. p. 273. ^f IDAT. chron. ^g AMBR. ep. 17. p. 215. ^h GREG. Taron. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. ix. p. 58, 59.

Quenti-
nus, one of
the gene-
rals of
Maximus,
defeated by
the Franks.

Victor, the
son of
Maximus,
taken in
Gaul, and
put to
death.

Theodo-
sius uses the
victory
with great
clemency
and mode-
ration.

on them unexpectedly, cut great numbers of them in pieces. *Quentinus* followed the *Franks* cross the *Rhine*, which he passed near the present city of *Nuys*; but, as he was not acquainted with the country, most of his men were cut off by the enemy in the woods and marshes, and the rest obliged to save themselves by a shameful and precipitous flight ¹. *Maximus* had left his son *Victor*, whom he had declared *Augustus*, in *Gaul*, to awe the inhabitants of that province during his absence. Against him *Theodosius* dispatched *Arbogastes*, who took him prisoner, after having dispersed the troops that attended him, and put him to death ². *Zosimus* calls him a youth; but all other writers style him an infant. *Andragathius*, hearing of the defeat and death of *Maximus*, as he was cruising in the *Ionian* gulf, threw himself headlong into the sea, and was drowned, chusing that kind of death, to prevent a more ignominious one, which, as *Gratian* had been seized and murdered by him, he had reason to apprehend ³. *Orosius* writes, that he was overcome in battle ⁴; and *St. Ambrose*, that he had joined *Maximus*, before his defeat, and perished soon after ⁵. Thus ended a war, which at first threatened the empire with endless calamities; and the glory which *Theodosius* acquired by his victory, was greatly heightened by his moderation and clemency in the use of it; for immediately after the death of *Maximus*, he published a general amnesty, and was so far from persecuting the friends and relations of the usurper, that he would not even suffer them to be reproached with their rebellion. No man was banished, says *Pacatus*, no man's estate was confiscated; and those who deserved, and would have suffered, the most cruel death under any other prince, were dismissed by *Theodosius*, without so much as hearing from him an angry word ⁶. Those, who had with most warmth espoused the tyrant's cause, were allowed to return unhurt, continues the same author, to their wives and children, to enjoy their estates unmolested, and with them the same rank, dignity and honours, by which they had been distinguished before the rebellion ⁷. The wife and daughters of *Maximus* had been taken, and confined in a public prison, by some of the emperor's officers; which the good-natured prince no sooner knew, than he ordered them to be set at liberty, settled a considerable pension upon them, and charged one of their

¹ Idem ibid. p. 59. 60. ² Zos. l. iv. p. 770. VICTOR. p. 545. PROSP. p. 515. ³ Zos VICT. PROSP. ibid. ⁴ O-
ROS. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220. ⁵ AMBR. ep. 17. p. 214. ⁶ PA-
CAT. p. 281. ⁷ Idem, p. 282.

kinsmen to take care, that no one injured or insulted them ¹. But what St. *Ambrose* and *Zosimus* himself most of all admired in *Theodosius*, was, his not only restoring to *Valentinian* his own share, when no one was in a condition to dispute with him the possession of the whole empire, but his generously relinquishing to him *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, which, before the revolt of *Maximus* had been held by his brother *Gratian*. He was satisfied, says St. *Ambrose*, with the good he had done, without reaping any advantage from it for himself, though no one could have blamed him, had he retained some of those provinces, considering the immense charge he had been at in restoring the young prince to the quiet possession of the rest ². As *Justina*, the mother of *Valentinian*, died about this time, *Theodosius*, during the three years he continued in the west, governed in the name of that prince, who was, at the death of his mother, scarce seventeen years old, and consequently not yet equal to so great a burden ³. While *Theodosius* was pursuing the war in *Illyricum*, a report was spread at *Constantinople*, that his army was cut off, and he himself in great danger of falling into the hands of the usurper. *Disturbances* Hereupon the *Arians*, whom he had highly disoblinded, by driving them from their churches in 380, as we have related above, rising in the night-time, set fire to the house of *Nectarius*, the orthodox bishop of *Constantinople*, who perished in the flames, and committed several other disorders. But the news of the intire defeat of the usurper being brought soon after to that metropolis, the *Arians*, dreading the effects of the emperor's indignation, had recourse to the clemency of *Arcadius*, whom *Theodosius* had left at *Constantinople* in setting out for the war; and the young prince not only forgave them himself, but prevailed upon his father to confirm the pardon which he had granted them ⁴. It was without all doubt on this occasion that the *Arians* set fire to the church of St. *Sophia*, which consumed the roof of that stately edifice, as we read in *Codinus*; but *Theodosius*, notwithstanding his zeal for the orthodox faith, to encourage his son to acts of clemency, at his request overlooked that, and the other enormous disorders committed by the fanatics on that occasion. The emperor was still at *Aquileia* on the twenty second of September; but on the tenth of October at *Milan*, where he seems to have passed the winter ⁵. Being informed, while

¹ AMBR. ep. 17. p. 215. ² AMBR. p. 216. ³ RUFIN. l. ii. c. 17. p. 185. ⁴ Soc. l. v. c. 13. p. 272. Soz. l. vii. c. 14. p. 722, 723. ⁵ CODIN. orig. Constant. p. 64. ⁶ Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. 14. leg. 6. p. 409. & leg. 7. p. 410.

he resided in that city, that the christians had burned a synagogue of the *Jews*, and a temple of the pagans, at *Callinicum* in *Mesopotamia*; he condemned the bishop of the place to rebuild the synagogue at his own expence, and ordered all those who had been any-ways concerned in either of these riots, to be punished with the utmost severity. But St. *Ambrose*, thinking a prince, who had lately overlooked far greater disorders in the *Arians*, ought not to exert so much rigour against an orthodox bishop and his people, wrote to him from *Aquileia* in their favour; and upon his return to *Milan* persuaded the emperor, by a speech which he pronounced before him in the great church, to revoke the order he had given *. About the latter end of this year the senate of *Rome* dispatched deputies to *Theodosius*, earnestly entreating him to give them leave to restore to its former place the altar of *Victory*, which had been removed by *Gratian*. The emperor seemed at first inclined to grant them their request; but was in the end persuaded by St. *Ambrose* to deny it. However, *Symmachus*, the chief of the deputies, a man universally esteemed for his eloquence, and greatly beloved by the pagans, in regard of his zeal for the antient religion of the *Romans*, in a panegyric which he pronounced soon after on *Theodosius*, renewed the same request in the name of the senate; which so provoked the emperor, that he immediately ordered him to come down, and to be put that instant into a chariot, in order to be conveyed into banishment, forbidding him, under the severest penalties, ever to come within an hundred miles of *Rome* †. The emperor's indignation seemed the more just, as *Symmachus* had been but very lately pardoned by him, while accused by his enemies of treason, in having pronounced a panegyric during the war on the usurper *Maximus*. However, as *Theodosius* was never more ready to pardon, than when he seemed most provoked, the friends of *Symmachus* no sooner spoke in his behalf, than the emperor recalled him, restored him to his former rank, and, to convince the world that he retained no ill will to him, raised him two years after to the consular dignity ‡. This year *Theodosius* enacted several laws against heretics, viz. one dated the second of *March*, forbidding them, especially the *Apollinarians*, to hold assemblies, to have bishops or clergy, to live in cities, to appear

A deputation from the senate of Rome, for restoring the altar of Victory.

Their request rejected, and Symmachus banished, but recalled.

Several laws of this year, especially against heretics.

* AMBR. apol. 17, 18. vit. p. 83, 84. † SOCR. l. v. c. 14. p. 273. PROSP. de promiss. l. iii. c. 38. p. 149. ‡ AMBROS. sermo de divers. iii. p. 118. SYM. l. ii. ep. 30, 31. p. 74. ep. 61, 63. p. 89, 90. & l. v. ep. 15. p. 191.

at court, or to present any petition to the emperor ^a. The same prohibition was renewed by another law, dated the fourteenth of *June* ^b. By another enacted two days after, all public disputes concerning religion were forbidden under the severest penalties ^c. A law dated the twenty-ninth of *February*, declares all marriages between *Jews* and christians unlawful, and subjects the contracting parties to the punishments due to adultery; another addressed to *Cynegius*, forbids any one to marry his brother's wife, or his own wife's sister ^d. The same prohibition had been made by *Constantius* in 355 ^e. *Theodosius*, who was still at *Milan* on the twenty-second of *May* ^f, left that city soon after, and repaired to *Rome* with young *Valentinian* and his son *Honorius*, whom he had sent for from *Constantinople*, after the defeat of *Maximus*. He entered that metropolis in triumph on the thirteenth of *June*; and a few days after *Latinus Pacatus Drepanius*, an orator of *Gaul*, pronounced his panegyric in the senate, the emperor himself being present. The orator takes notice of his liberality towards the people on that occasion, of his affability and condescension, not only in viewing the rarities of the city, but in entering the houses of private persons, which won him the hearts of the *Roman* people ^g. The poet *Claudian* tells us, that at *Rome* he received embassadors sent by the king of *Persia* to treat with him about a peace between the two empires ^h. To *Theodosius's* journey to *Rome* was owing, according to *Prudentius* ⁱ, the conversion of the senate and people of that city to the christian religion; not that he used any violence, says that writer, for he indifferently raised pagans and christians to the first employments in the state ^k; but so great was the force of his example, that few, either in the senate or among the people, were so attached to their errors as to withstand it. *Prudentius* mentions several illustrious families converted on this occasion to the true religion, viz. the families of the *Paulini*, of the *Bassi*, of the *Annii*, and of the *Gracchi*, at that time the most antient and noble family in *Rome*. The people, continues that writer, flocked to the *Lateran* church, to receive there the sacred sign of the royal chrism, and to the vatican, to visit the ashes of

Theodosius goes to Rome.

Endeavours to abolish idolatry in that metropolis.

^a Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 14. p. 139.
15. p. 131.

^b Idem, leg.

^c Idem, tit. 4. leg. 2. p. 100.

^d Idem, l.

iii. tit. 7. leg. 2. p. 278. & cod. Justin. l. v. tit. 5. leg. 5. p. 425.

^e Cod. Theod. l. iii. tit. 12. leg. 2. p. 296.

^f Idem, p. 120.

^g Soz. p. 273. Ruf. l. ii. c. 17. p. 185.

^h Claud. p. 176.

ⁱ Prud. in Sym. l. i. p. 218.

^k Idem, p. 220.

the father of the faith ; meaning, we imagine, St. *Peter*, who was then supposed to have planted the faith in *Rome*. The idols, says St. *Jerom*, were every-where pulled down ; their temples abandoned ; and the gods, once so much revered, left in their niches alone, or attended only by mice and owls : the capitol, continues the same writer, formerly so much frequented, is now turned into a desert ; the other temples are covered with dust, and filled with cobwebs ; the whole city crouds to the tombs of the martyrs ; and the people, in passing by those antient temples, behold them with joy ready to fall, and bury the gods under their ruins. *Rome* forsakes *Jupiter* and his temples, despises his ceremonies, and is ashamed of the worship formerly paid him ^l. *Theodosius*, however, would not suffer the statues of the gods, many of which were the work of the best artificers of antiquity, to be destroyed ; but ordered them to be removed from the places where they had been adored, to the public squares, where they served as ornaments to the city ^m. *Theodosius* staid scarce three months at *Rome*, but in that short time he not only seriously applied himself to the suppression of idolatry, but with indefatigable care laboured to reform many abuses, which had long prevailed in the city, as appears from the several laws he published there ⁿ. He enacted one, dated the seventeenth of *June*, ordering all the *Manichees* to be driven out of the city, and declaring them incapable of receiving legacies, or leaving any thing by will even to their children. A few days before *Theodosius* left *Rome*, a comet is said to have appeared in the east in the shape of a sword ; and moving northward, to have vanished in the middle of the *Ursa Major*, after having lasted forty days, as we read in *Philostorgius* ^o ; or only twenty-six, as *Marcellinus* will have it ^p. The former writer mentions several other prodigies, among which he reckons two men equally remarkable for their size, the one being seven cubits and three inches, and the other no taller, says that author, than a partridge, though he had an agreeable voice, and an excellent understanding : the former was a native of *Syria*, and the latter of *Egypt*, and they both lived to the age of about twenty-five ^q. *Theodosius* left *Rome* on the first of *September*, was at a place called *Valentia* on the third of the same month, and on the sixth at *Forum Flaminii*, now *Ponte Cen-*

A comet
appears in
the east.

Theodosius leaves
Rome.

^l HIER. ep. 7. p. 54 & in Jov. l. ii. c. 18. p. 95. ^m PRUD. p. 220. ⁿ Cod. Theod. l. xii. tit. 16. leg. 1. p. 612. & l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 18. p. 138. ^o PHILOST. l. x. c. 9. p. 139—141. ^p MARCELL. chron. ^q PHILOS. ibid. p. 142, 143.

tesimo on the *Topino*, not far from *Fuligno*, in the dutchy of *Spoletto*, where he enacted a law forbidding the execution of criminals during *Lent*^r. From thence he pursued his journey to *Milan*, where he enacted a law, dated the twenty-sixth of *November*, commanding the heretic bishops and clergy to be every-where driven out of the cities and their suburbs^f. From this law and several others of the ensuing year, it appears, that *Theodosius* passed the winter in that city, while *Valentinian* marched into *Gaul*, to make head against the *Franks*, who were preparing to invade that province; but all we know of this expedition is, that *Valentinian* had an interview with *Marcomir* and *Sunno*, two chiefs of the *Franks*; and that they delivered hostages to him; and that the emperor, on the eighth of *November*, was at *Treves*, where he took up his winter-quarters^g. This year is chiefly remarkable for the destruction of the celebrated temple of *Serapis* at *Alexandria*, which, according to the description *Ammianus Marcellinus* gives us of it, surpassed in grandeur and wealth all the temples in the world, that of *Jupiter Capitolinus* alone excepted^h; nay, *Theodoret* calls it the greatest, and without exception the most beautiful, temple, in the universe^w. *Theodosius*, who had hitherto spared that stately edifice, caused it this year to be levelled with the ground on the following occasion. *Theophilus*, bishop of *Alexandria*, having begged and obtained of the emperor an old temple, formerly consecrated to *Bacchus*, but at that time ruined and forsaken, with a design to convert it into a church, the workmen, in clearing it of the rubbish, found among the ruins several obscene figures, which the bishop, to ridicule the superstition of the heathens, caused to be exposed to public view. This provoked the pagans to such a degree, that they flew to arms; and falling upon the christians, cut great numbers of them in pieces, before they were in a condition to oppose their fury. At length the christians took arms in their own defence; and, being supported by the few soldiers who were quartered in *Alexandria*, began to repel force by force. Thus a civil war was kindled within the very walls of the city, and no day passed without some scuffle and bloodshed. The pagans, when tired with fighting, or overpowered with numbers (for the christians were far more numerous), used to retire to the temple of *Serapis*; and thence falling out again unexpect-

Valentini-
concludes
a peace
with the
Franks.

The pagans
rise against
the christi-
ans in A-
lexandria.

^r Cod. Theod. chron. p. 120, 121. ^f Idem ibid.
l. vii. c. 35. p. 220. ^g Cod. Theod. chron. p. 120.
MIAN. l. xxii. p. 234. ^w THEODOR. p. 735.

^h OROS.
^u AM-
tedly

Several
christians
massacred,
and put to
cruel deaths

Theodosi-
us orders
the famous
temple of
Serapis,
and all the
temples in
Alexan-
dria, to be
pulled
down.

The statue
of Serapis
broken in
pieces.

tedly, seize on such of the christians as they met, and dragging them into the temple, either force them by the most exquisite torments to sacrifice to their idol, or, if they refused, to rack them to death. As they expected to be soon attacked by the emperor's troops, they chose a philosopher, by name *Olympus*, for their leader, with a resolution to defend themselves, their temple, and their religion, to the last extremity. In the mean time, *Evagrius*, governor of *Egypt*, and *Romanus*, who commanded the troops there, having attempted in vain to persuade the pagans to quit the temple, and retire to their dwellings, sent a distinct account of the whole to the emperor, who extolling and envying the happiness of such as had chosen rather to die, than renounce their religion and offer sacrifice to the idols, would not suffer their death to be revenged on those at whose hands they had obtained the crown of martyrdom, but readily forgave them. However, at the same time, he ordered the temple of *Serapis*, and all the other temples in *Alexandria*, which gave occasion to frequent disturbances, to be utterly demolished, charging *Theophilus*, bishop of the place, who had solicited this order, to see it put in execution, and enjoining *Evagrius* and *Romanus* to follow therein his directions. The pagans no sooner knew that the emperor had been informed of the cruelties they had committed, than they abandoned the temple, and dispersed, some of them retiring privately to their own houses, and others withdrawing from the town, and either concealing themselves in the neighbouring cities, or flying to more distant countries. Among the latter was their leader *Olympus*, who conveyed himself in the night on board a vessel which was ready to sail for *Italy*. *Helladius* and *Ammonius*, two grammarians, under whom *Socrates*, the ecclesiastic historian, had studied at *Constantinople*, withdrew from *Egypt*, and took refuge amongst the neighbouring barbarians. The former used to brag of his having killed, during that tumult, nine christians with his own hand *. The temple, thus abandoned by the pagans, was delivered up to *Theophilus*, who, with the assistance of the people and soldiery, reduced it in a short time to a heap of ruins, leaving nothing undemolished but the foundations, which could not be removed on account of the extraordinary weight and size of the stones. The celebrated statue of *Serapis*, the principal god of the *Egyptians*, was broken in pieces, and the limbs of that pretended divinity car-

* SOCR. l. vii. c. 15. p. 724. RUF. l. ii. c. 22. p. 187. SOZ. p. 726.

ried first in triumph by the christians through the city, and then thrown into an huge fire kindled for that purpose in the amphitheatre. As the *Egyptians* ascribed the overflowing of the *Nile*, to which was owing the fertility of their country, to the benign influence of their god *Serapis*, they concluded, that now he was destroyed the river would no longer overflow, and consequently that a general famine would ensue. But when they observed, that the *Nile*, on the contrary, swelled to a greater height than had been known in the memory of man, and thereby produced an immense plenty of all manner of provisions, many of the pagans, renouncing the worship of the idols, adored the God of the christians ¹. *Rufinus* ², *Socrates* ³, *Eunapius* ⁴, and *Sozomen* ⁵ write, that crosses were found engraved on several of the stones of the temple, which occasioned the conversion of great numbers of the *Egyptian* priests, the cross being in the sacred language of that nation the symbol of life; and, on the other hand, a tradition having for many ages obtained among them, that their religion, and the temple of *Serapis*, would subsist till the sign of life appeared. Not only the statue of *Serapis*, which was lodged in the temple, but all the other statues of that pretended deity, were by the zealous christians carefully sought for, ignominiously dragged through the streets, and consumed in the flames; insomuch, that in the great city of *Serapis*, as *Alexandria* was frequently styled, not the least footstep was left of that idol, or of the worship which for so many ages had been paid him. In the room of the temple of *Serapis* was built a church, and a *martyrium*, says *Rufinus* ⁶, meaning perhaps a burying-place for those who had suffered martyrdom, during the late disturbances. *Sophronius*, one of St. *Jerom's* friends, wrote a particular and distinct account of the demolition of the temple of *Serapis* ⁷; but his work has not reached our times. *Theophilus*, who was a prelate no less active than zealous, not satisfied with demolishing the temple of *Serapis*, encouraged the people, supported by the governor of the province, and the commander of the *Roman* troops, to pull down and level with the ground all the other temples, oratories, chapels, and places set apart for the worship of the idols throughout *Egypt*, causing every-where the statues of the gods to be either burnt or melted down. Of the innumerable statues, with which that superstitious province was filled, he

All the
temples
throughout
Egypt de-
molished.

¹ RUF. l. ii. c. 27. p. 190. SOCR. l. v. c. 16. p. 274. ² RUF. ibid. ³ SOCR. ibid. ⁴ EUNAP. c. 4. p. 60—64. ⁵ SOZ. l. vii. c. 15. p. 725. ⁶ RUF. l. ii. c. 27. p. 190. ⁷ HIER. vir. illustr. c. 133. p. 303.

is said to have spared but one, viz. that of an ape, in order to expose the pagan religion to ridicule ^f. *Theodosius* not only approved of what *Theophilus* had done, but commended his zeal, and returned him public thanks for the pains he had taken in clearing that province from the abominations to which it had been so long addicted ^g. Soon after he enacted a law, forbidding, on pain of death, the subjects of the empire to offer any kind of sacrifice to idols; and declaring the estates confiscated of such as should burn incense before them ^h.

A law
against un-
natural
lust.

One
against
apostates.

THE following year 390, when *Valentinian* was consul the fourth time with *Neoterius*, *Theodosius* continued at *Milan*, as appears from the code, till the fifth of *July*; was at *Verona* from the twenty-third of *August* to the eighth of *September*; and again at *Milan* on the twenty-sixth of *November*, and the twenty-third of *December*. At *Verona* he published a law, dated the third of *September*, commanding those who professed a monastic life, to withdraw from the cities, and retire to the deserts, pursuant to their institution. But this law he revoked by another dated the seventeenth of *April* 392 ⁱ. By a law, which was published at *Rome* on the fourteenth of *May*, he commanded those who should be found guilty of unnatural lust to be burnt alive in the sight of the whole people ^k. This year, an obelisk, twenty-four cubits in height, was raised in the circus at *Constantinople*, and a column before the church of *St. Sophia*, on which was a statue of *Theodosius* in silver, weighing seven thousand four hundred ounces ^l. As for *Valentinian*, he seems to have continued all this year at *Treves*, or in the neighbourhood of that city. The next consuls were *Tatianus* and *Q. Aurelius Symmachus*. *Theodosius* continued this year at *Milan* to the twenty second of *March*, was at *Concordia* on the ninth of *May*, at *Vicentia* on the twenty-seventh of the same month, and at *Aquileia* from the sixteenth of *June* to the fourteenth of *July* ^m. By a law dated the ninth of *May*, he declared those who should renounce the christian religion, after having been baptized, not only incapable of giving or receiving the least thing by will, but of being, as infamous persons, witnesses to any private or public deed; adding, that he would have confined them to the deserts, had he not believed it a greater punish-

^f Socr. p. 275.

^g Ruf. p. 189.

^h Cod. Theod. l.

xvi. tit. 10. leg. 10. p. 271.

ⁱ Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 3.

leg. 1. p. 95. & leg. 2. p. 97, 98.

^k Idem. l. ix. tit. 2 leg.

4. p. 30.

^l MARCELL. chron.

^m Cod. Theod. chron.

p. 123.

ment for them to live among men, without being looked upon as menⁿ. By another law, dated the ninth of the same month, he commanded the heretics to be every-where driven out of the cities^o. Some writers confine this law to the *Manichees*, while others extend it to heretics of all denominations. *Theodosius* was, as we have observed above, at *Aquileia* on the fourteenth of *July*; but soon after he set out from thence for *Constantinople*, leaving the intire management of affairs in the west to *Valentinian*, now in the twentieth year of his age.

Theodosius returns to the east.

On his arrival at *Thessalonica*, he found the province of *Macedon* in great confusion; for the barbarians, who, at the instigation of *Maximus*, had revolted, and concealed themselves among the marshes and woods, after the defeat of that usurper, taking advantage of the emperor's absence, began to fall ly out of their fastnesses in the night, and seizing on whatever came in their way, they retired with their booty before day. As it was a more difficult task to find them out than to conquer them, the emperor took that province upon himself; and without discovering his design to any one, made choice of five persons, in whom he could confide, to attend him, ordering each of them to take three spare horses, that they might shut as often as there was occasion. Thus attended and disguised, he ranged about the country, receiving from the peasants such refreshments as their cottages could afford him. At length he came to a small inn, kept by a woman, stricken in years, who received him with extraordinary civility, which induced him to stay there that night. In the same inn lodged a person, who declining to converse with the rest, and seeming desirous to conceal himself, gave the emperor no small jealousy. Having therefore, after he was retired to his chamber, called for the mistress of the house, and asked her who that person was, she answered, that who he was she knew not; but that ever since the news of the emperor's return out of the west, he had lodged at her house, going out in the morning, and continuing abroad all day, but returning at night to his lodging, for which he honestly paid her. Upon this information, the emperor ordered him to be seized and examined; but he refusing to declare who he was, the emperor at last discovered himself, ordered the man to be put to the rack, and by that means forced him to own the truth viz. that he was employed as a spy by the barbarians, who lay concealed among the woods and bogs, to give them intelligence from time to time of the motions of the emperor's army, and

The barbarians, concealing themselves amongst the woods and marshes, infest the province of Macedon.

How discovered by Theodosius.

ⁿ Idem, l. xvi. tit. 7. leg. 4. & v. p. 207, 208.
tit. 5. leg. 20. p. 137.

The emperor in great danger.

He gains a complete victory over the barbarians.

Promotus killed in an ambuscade

to inform them what places lay most convenient for their incursions. Hereupon the emperor caused his head to be struck off; and returning early the next morning to the army, led his soldiers to the place where he had learnt from the spy the barbarians were lodged; and falling upon them unexpectedly, cut great numbers of them in pieces. *Timasius*, who together with *Promotus* commanded on this occasion under *Theodosius*, imagining most of the barbarians to be already cut off, advised the emperor to allow his soldiers some time to refresh themselves after so warm and fatiguing a service, that they might with more vigour pursue the rest, who could not make their escape. The emperor, following his advice, founded a retreat; but while his men were refreshing themselves without the least apprehension of danger, the barbarians, falling upon them when they were quite unprepared, and most of them overcome with wine or a sleep, made a dreadful havock of them, and would have either killed, or taken the emperor himself, had he not been seasonably rescued by *Promotus*, at the danger of his own life. However, *Theodosius*, having rallied his dispersed forces the next day, attacked the barbarians anew with such success, that few of them escaped the general slaughter. Thus *Zosimus*^p, on whose single authority the whole truth of this account rests; for no other writer takes the least notice of this expedition. The victory over the barbarians was, according to *Zosimus*, who studies to lessen on all occasions the glory of *Theodosius*, chiefly owing to the courage and conduct of *Promotus*; but that brave general who had served the emperor with great fidelity, was this very year killed in an ambuscade by the barbarians in *Thrace*. *Zosimus* writes, that *Rufinus*, the emperor's chief favourite, having treated *Promotus* in a very haughty and insolent manner, the general, not able to brook such treatment, struck him; which affront *Rufinus* revenged, by betraying him into the hands of the barbarians, with whom he maintained for that purpose a private correspondence^q. But *Claudian*, who mentions the death of *Promotus*, and wrote two books filled with invectives against *Rufinus*, takes no notice of this black piece of treachery. *Zosimus* adds, that *Rufinus* having complained of *Promotus* to the emperor, the prince, who reposed an entire confidence in him, returned him this answer; *If the other ministers continue thus to envy you your good fortune, they shall soon have the mortification to see you emperor*^r. *Claudian* writes, that *Stilicho* revenged the death of his friend *Promotus*

^p Zos. l. iv. p. 770—773.
^r Idem ibid.

^q Idem, p. 773.

on the *Bastarnæ*, by whose hands he fell ; and that after having delected them with great slaughter, he shut them up in a narrow valley, with the *Goths*, *Hunns*, and other barbarians, who had long infested *Thrace*, and would have cut them all off to a man, had not the emperor chosen rather to conclude a peace with them, following therein, says that poet, the evil counsels of the traitor *Rufinus* ^c. *Theodosius*, upon his return to *Constantinople*, made it his chief study to suppress idolatry and *Arianism*, ordering such temples as were still standing to be pulled down, and the *Arians* to be every-where driven out of the cities, lest they should infect their fellow-citizens with their pestilent doctrine ^d.

THE next consuls were *Arcadius*, the second time, and *Rufinus*. *Theodosius* had, as we have observed above, during his three years stay in the west, used all possible means to extirpate idolatry ; but, upon his return to the east, the pagans began to conceive new hopes, and such of the senators of *Rome*, as continued still attached to the superstition of their ancestors, sent a deputation to *Valentinian*, at the head of which was the celebrated *Symmachus*, intreating him to restore to their priests and temples, the privileges which they had enjoyed till the reign of *Gratian*. *Valentinian*, who was then in *Gaul*, received the deputies in a very obliging manner ; but could not be prevailed upon, either by them, or by the many pagan ministers who were in his court, to grant them their request ^e. Not long after, the barbarians threatening to pass the *Alps* towards *Rhætia*, and invade *Italy*, the emperor resolved to quit *Gaul*, and hasten to *Milan*, in order to make head against them. As he was desirous of being baptized before he engaged in a war, he dispatched from *Vienne*, where he then was, an express to St. *Ambrose* bishop of *Milan*, for whom he had an extraordinary esteem and veneration, inviting him into *Gaul*, to administer to him that sacrament. The prelate, upon the receipt of the emperor's letter, set out without delay ; but before he reached *Vienne*, he received the melancholy news of the death of that unfortunate prince, inhumanly murdered, as most authors agree, by *Arbogastes*. He was a *Frank* by nation, and owed his preferment to *Gratian*. After that prince's death, the soldiery, by whom he was highly esteemed, and not undeservedly, for his experience in military affairs, his liberality and disinterestedness, raised him, without the consent

^c CLAUD. de laud. Stil. l. i. p. 125, 126. in Ruf. l. i. c. 17.

^d RUF. l. ii. c. 19. p. 185.

^e AMBR. serm. de divers.

p. 114. SYMM. l. iii. ep. 63. p. 130. OROS. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220.

Arbogastes pre-
tends to
controul
the young
prince.

He is dis-
charged;
but refuses
to resign
his post,
and causes
Valenti-
nian to be
murdered.
Various
opinions
concerning
the man-
ner of his
death.

either of *Valentinian*, who was then a child, or of his mother *Justina*, to the post of general; in which command he acquitted himself with great fidelity and moderation, while *Theodosius* continued in the west; but, upon the departure of that prince for *Constantinople*, he began to act more like a sovereign than a minister or officer, arrogating to himself the power of controuling the young prince, and governing the court with an absolute sway. Such of the officers in the army as seemed attached to *Valentinian* he discharged, and put *Franks*, in whom he could confide, in their room, disposing at the same time of all the civil employments, without the emperor's consent or knowledge, and bestowing them upon persons of his own faction. *Valentinian*, no longer able to brook such a shameful servitude, resolved to discharge *Arbogastes*; and accordingly seeing him one day at court, he threw him a paper, containing an abrogation of his command. But *Arbogastes*, having perused it, tore it in pieces with great contempt, and threw it on the ground, telling the emperor with the utmost arrogance, that as he had not received his authority of him, it was not in his power to divest him of it. After this, *Arbogastes*, well apprised that *Valentinian* would not suffer such an outrage to pass unrevenged, resolved to be before-hand with him, and accordingly dispatched him a few days after w. Authors disagree as to the manner of his death: *Zosimus* writes, that while *Valentinian*, attended by a small guard, was diverting himself in the neighbourhood of *Vienne*, *Arbogastes*, assailing him unexpectedly, stabbed him with his sword *. According to *Philostorgius*, he was strangled, while he was taking his diversion on the banks of the *Rhone*, by assassins, whom *Arbogastes* had hired for that purpose. The same author adds, that, after they had strangled him, they tyed his own handkerchief about his neck, and hung him upon a tree, that the world might be induced to believe, he had laid violent hands on himself; for his guards were at some distance, and out of sight †. *St. Jerom* ‡, *Orosius* §, *Rufinus* ¶, *Epiphanius* **, *Socrates* ††, and *Sozomen* ‡‡, agree, that he was strangled; but the two latter writers suppose this to have happened in the palace, and the counsellors of the court, gained over by *Arbogastes*, to have been the authors of his death. *Idatius* and *Tiro Prosper* only

* *Or.* p. 220. *Zos.* p. 776. *Socr.* p. 93. *Soz.* *ibid.*
† *Zos.* *ibid.* ‡ *Philostorg.* l. xi. c. i. p. 145. § *Hi-*
† *Ep.* 3. p. 26. ¶ *Or.* l. vii. c. 35. p. 220. ** *Ruf.*
l. ii. c. 31. p. 191. †† *Epiph.* de mens. & pond. 20.
p. 177. ‡‡ *Socr.* l. v. c. 25. p. 294. *Soz.* l. vii. c.
22. p. 739.

write,

write, that he was murdered by the treachery of *Arbogastes*. The report which *Arbogastes*, and those of his faction, spread abroad, viz. that the prince had laid violent hands on himself, was credited by many, and among the rest by *Prosper*, who relates it in his chronicle as an event not to be questioned; but we can hardly believe, that St. *Ambrose* would have extolled, as he does, his piety and religious sentiments, had he ended his life by the enormous crime of self-murder. He died in 392, on the fifteenth of *May*, that year the eve of *Pentecost*, after having lived only twenty years and some months, and borne the title of emperor sixteen years and about six months, tho' he cannot be said to have reigned till the death of *Gratian*, who died eight years and nine months before him. St. *Ambrose* tells us, that when he saw himself unexpectedly attacked by the assassins, the only words he uttered were, *Alas! my poor sisters* ^g! The funeral ceremonies were performed the next day, the sixteenth of *May*, with great solemnity; and his body was sent to *Milan*, and interred there near that of his brother *Gratian*, on which occasion St. *Ambrose* pronounced an oration in praise of the deceased prince ^h, who, according to him, and most other writers, would have equalled, if not eclipsed, the glory of the best emperors, had he been suffered to live longer, being of a lively genius, valiant, sober, liberal, sincere in his friendship, intirely unbiaised in the administration of justice, and in the disposing of employments partial to merit alone ⁱ. *Zosimus*, tho' highly prejudiced against all christian princes, owns, that his death was a public loss ^k. He had persecuted the catholics in his mother's life-time, or rather, she had persecuted them in his name; but, after her death, he proved a most zealous patron of the orthodox faith, discountenancing the *Arians* and other sectaries, as much as he had favoured them before he was capable of distinguishing truth from falsehood ^l. His two sisters, *Iusta* and *Grata*, continued at *Milan*, and there embraced, after his death, the state of virginity. His sister *Galla*, who was married to *Theodosius*, died two years after in child-bed.

AFTER the death of *Valentinian*, *Arbogastes* might have easily seized on the sovereignty; but not caring to appear guilty of such a treacherous and inhuman murder, he chose to confer it on one *Eugenius*, and to reign in his

His character.

^f EPIPH. p. 177. PHILEST. p. 144.

p. 112.

^h Idem ibid. p. 113—115.

^g AMBR. ibid.

ⁱ Idem ibid. SOCR.

l. iv. c. 31. p. 250.

^k ZOS. l. iv. p. 776.

^l AMBR.

serm. de divers. p. 107.

name.

Eugenius
is set up by
Arbogast
in his
room.

He seizes
on all the
western
provinces.

name ^m. *Eugenius* had formerly taught grammar, and afterwards rhetoric, and was generally esteemed on account of his eloquence. *Ricomar*, at the request of *Symmachus*, had taken him under his protection, and upon his returning into the east with *Theodosius*, recommended him to *Arbogastes*, by whose interest he was raised to the post of secretary ⁿ. *Zosimus* tells us that *Arbogastes*, reposing an intire confidence in *Eugenius*, and judging him capable of the most daring resolutions, imparted to him the design he had formed of murdering *Valentinian*, and raising him to the empire in his room; that *Eugenius* rejected at first the proposal with horror; but was in the end prevailed upon to fall in with the measures of his patron; whereupon he was, by his interest, after the death of the young prince, proclaimed emperor, as a person well qualified for that high station ^o. He soon made himself master of all the western provinces, says *Socrates* ^p; which must be understood of *West Illyricum*, *Italy*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*; but not of *Africa*, which, after the death of *Valentinian*, submitted to *Theodosius*, as appears from two laws of that prince, the one dated from *Constantinople* the thirtieth of *December* 393, and addressed to *Gildo* count of *Africa*; and the other dated from the same place the twenty-seventh of *March*, and addressed to *Silvanus* duke of the province *Tripolitana* ^q. It is likewise manifest from *Claudian*, that *Gildo* acknowledged *Theodosius*, and not *Eugenius* ^r. The new usurper, tho' a christian, was greatly favoured by the pagans, who were well apprised, that he only bore the title of emperor, while the whole power was lodged in *Arbogastes*, who pretended a great attachment to their religion. The aruspices, who began to appear anew, assured him, that he was destined to the empire of the whole world; that he would soon gain a complete victory over *Theodosius*, who was as much hated, as he was beloved, by the gods; and that his power and authority would have no other bounds, but those of the *Roman* empire ^s. Tho' *Eugenius* seemed to favour the pagans, yet, in the very beginning of his reign he wrote to *St. Ambrose*, who did not answer his letter, till he was pressed by some of his friends to recommend them to the new prince, and then he treated him in his letters with all the respect due to an em-

^m PHILOST. l. xi. c. 2. p. 145. OROS. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220.
CLAUD. conf. Hon. 3. 4. p. 35. 41. ⁿ Soc. l. v. c. 25. p. 293. Zos. p. 775. PHILOST. p. 146. SYMM. l. iii. ep. 60, 61. p. 129. ^o Zos. p. 775. ^p Socr. p. 294.
^q Cod. Theod. chron. p. 128. ^r CLAUD. bell. Gild. p. 76. & consul. Hon. 6. p. 77. ^s Soz. l. vii. c. 22. p. 740.

peror^t. While these things passed in the west, some disturbances happened in the court of *Theodosius* at *Constantinople*: *Rufinus*, not satisfied with the consular dignity, to which he was raised this year, notwithstanding the report of his having been the author of the death of *Promotus*, killed by the barbarians, began to aspire at the prefecture of the east, which was held by *Tatianus*, whom he caused to be accused of oppression in his government. *Zosimus* will have him to have been altogether innocent, and only hated by *Rufinus*, on account of his integrity. *Proculus*, the son of *Tatianus*, and prefect of *Constantinople*, was accused of the same crime, *Rufinus* hating him, says *Zosimus*, for the sake of his father. *Theodosius* appointed several judges to try them; but as *Rufinus* was at the head of that commission, and the other judges dreaded his resentment, they were both declared guilty: the father was deposed, and confined to *Lycia*, his native country; and the son sentenced to death; which *Theodosius* no sooner knew, than he sent him his pardon: but the messenger, gained over by *Rufinus*, took care not to acquaint the proper officers with the emperor's order, till the execution was over. Thus *Zosimus*. But *Libanius* charges both *Tatianus*, and his son *Proculus*, with cruelty and oppression^w; and the laws enacted on this occasion by *Theodosius*, give us room to believe, that the charge brought against *Tatianus*, was not altogether groundless, as *Zosimus* styles it; for by one law he took off a tax which had been levied by *Tatianus*, without his knowledge; by another he commanded the estates and effects of such persons, as had been proscribed by him, to be restored to them or their children; and by a third addressed to *Rufinus*, he declared those guilty of death, who, for the future, should be convicted of having plundered the people committed to their care; whereas, by former laws, they were only to pay four times the value of what they had taken^x. As for *Proculus*, he must have been guilty of greater crimes than his father, since he was punished with more severity. But however just was the punishment, inflicted on *Tatianus*, his countrymen the *Lycians*, who had no share in his crimes, ought not to have had any in his disgrace and misfortunes; nevertheless *Theodosius*, at the instigation of *Rufinus*, a declared enemy to the *Lycians*, enacted a law, declaring their whole nation infamous, depriving them of the employments they held at that time, and rendering them for ever incapable

Tatianus
and his son
Proculus
accused at
the insti-
gation of
Rufinus.

Tatianus
banished,
and his son
executed.

^t AMB. ep. 15 p. 210.
rat. xvi. p. 423.
220.

^w Zos l. iv. p. 774.

^x Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 28. leg. 1. p. 219.

Rufinus
made pre-
fect of the
east
Eugenius
send deputies to
Theodo-
sius,

of any preferment¹. This unjust law was afterwards revoked by *Arcadius*, who restored the *Lycians* to their former condition, ascribing the base treatment they had met with, not to their demerit, but to the hatred of an execrable man, meaning *Rufinus*². As *Tatianus* is highly commended by *Zosimus*, and persecuted with great cruelty, the catholics, while he was governor of *Egypt* under *Valens* in 367, some writers from thence conclude him to have been a pagan. He had been comes largitionum to *Valens* in 374, three times prefect of the east, and twice consul. He is supposed to have died soon after his disgrace. When he was deposed, *Rufinus* was appointed prefect of the east in his room³. The affair of *Tatianus* and *Proculus* was not yet ended, when news of the death of *Valentinian*, and the usurpation of *Eugenius*, was brought to *Constantinople*. A few days after, ambassadors arrived from the usurper, who, without so much as mentioning the name of *Arbogastes*, demanded an audience in the name of *Eugenius*; and being admitted to the emperor's presence, proposed an alliance between him and their master. *Theodosius* received them in a very obliging manner, amused them, says *Zosimus*, with fair words, and dismissed them loaded with rich presents⁴. At the head of this embassy was one *Rufinus*, an *Athenian*, who was attended by several bishops sent by *Eugenius* to divert the emperor from engaging in a civil war. As *Theodosius* charged *Arbogastes* with the murder of *Valentinian*, the bishops did all that lay in their power to clear him from that false, as they styled it, and groundless, aspersions⁵. *Rufinus*⁶, *Theodoret*⁷, and *Sozomen*⁸, tell us, that, upon the departure of the ambassadors, *Theodosius* dispatched the eunuch *Eutropius*, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the reign of *Arcadius*, to consult a holy hermit, by name *John*, by nation an *Egyptian*, whom the emperor looked upon as an oracle. *Eutropius* was enjoined to bring him, if possible, to court; but, if he could not prevail upon him to quit his solitude, to ask him, whether he approved of the emperor's attacking *Eugenius* first? or, if he should wait till the usurper attacked him? The hermit declined going to court, but advised the emperor to begin the war without delay, assuring him, that he would overcome the tyrant, but not without bloodshed; that he would die in *Italy*, after his victory, and in dying leave his son emperor of the west. Thus the

¹ Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 38. leg. 9. p. 278, 279.
tit. 3 p. 279

² AMER. ep. 50. p. 309.

³ Idem,

776 ⁴ Ruf. p. 191.

⁵ Idem. p. 192.

⁶ Zos. p.

DE R. l. v. c. 24 p. 738.

⁷ Soz. p. 740.

⁸ THEO-

above-mentioned writers. *Theodosius*, upon the return of the *Who pre-*
 messenger, began his military preparations; but as he confided *pares for*
 more in the assistance of Heaven, than the number of his *war.*
 troops, or the bravery of his generals, he visited in the first
 place all the churches of his capital, attended by several *His piety.*
 bishops, and a great croud of people, imploring with them the
 favour and protection of the Almighty, who disposes of king-
 doms as he thinks fit, and bestows victory on whom he pleases ^g.
 The military preparations, to which *Theodosius* applied himself
 with indefatigable pains, did not divert him from publishing
 several laws this year, among the rest one condemning such *His laws*
 heretics as should confer or receive holy orders to pay, by way *against he-*
 of fine, ten pounds weight of gold, and declaring the places *retics,*
 where they should perform any religious ceremony, confiscated ^h.
 By another law of this year, dated the eighteenth of *July*, he
 commands those who should raise disturbances in the church,
 or impugn the orthodox faith, to be banished, and confined
 to some desert, if they had been guilty of the same fault be-
 fore ⁱ. The law of the eighteenth of *October* of this year,
 commands such criminals as should have purloined the public
 money, and taken sanctuary in churches, to be dragged from
 thence, and punished, or the bishops who protected them, to
 pay what they owed ^k. From this law it appears, that the
 custom of taking sanctuary in churches had already prevailed.
 Before this time, *St. Austin*, being solicited either to deliver
 up a debtor, by name *Fascius*, who had fled to his church as
 to an asylum, or to satisfy his creditors, chose the latter ^l. By
 a law dated the eighth of *November*, the emperor revived all
 the ancient laws against paganism, forbidding, under the sever-
 est penalties, every ceremony of the pagan religion ^m.

THE following year *Theodosius* was consul the third time,
 with *Abundantius*, who was, as appears from a law of the pre-
 ceding year, general both of the horse and foot ⁿ. In his
 room *Eugenius* was acknowledged consul in the west, as we
 learn from an antient epitaph of this year, in which that u-
 surper is styled the colleague of *Theodosius* in the consulship ^o.
 This year *Theodosius* published many excellent laws, and a-
 mong the rest one abrogating an antient law, which punished *He revokes*
 those with death, who uttered seditious words against the *the law*
 prince. If such words, says *Theodosius*, in his law of this year, *of treason.*

^g RUF. l. ii. c. 33. p. 191. ^h Cod. Theod. l. xvi.
 tit. 5. leg. 21. p. 138. ⁱ Idem ibid. tit. 4. leg. 3. p. 101.
^k Idem, l. ix. tit. 45. leg. 1. p. 358. ^l AUG. ep. 268. p. 901.
^m Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 12. p. 273. ⁿ Cod. The-
 od. chron. p. 126. ^o Vide REIN. p. 1021.

Honorius
declared
Augustus.

Eugenius
gains con-
siderable
advant-
ages over
the Franks.

proceed from levity, they are to be despised; if from folly, to be pitied; if from malice, they are to be forgiven^p. In the beginning, or, as some will have it, in the end of this year, that is, on the fifteenth of *January*, or twentieth of *November*, the emperor declared his second son, *Honorius, Augustus*. The ceremony was performed with great solemnity in the palace of *Hebdomon* near *Constantinople*^q. The poet *Claudian* introduces on this occasion *Theodosius* instructing the young prince in the art of governing^r. This year was ended at *Constantinople* a square, which bore the name of *Theodosius*; and the following year a wreathed column erected in it, on which were engraved the victories of that prince over the *Goths* and other barbarians. On the top of the column was an equestrian statue of *Theodosius*, which was thrown down by an earthquake in the reign of the emperor *Zeno*; but the column was still standing in the thirteenth century, and is frequently mentioned in history^s. *Theodosius* passed this whole year at *Constantinople*, making the necessary preparations for the dangerous war which he was resolved to undertake. As for *Eugenius*, he had gained the preceding year considerable advantages over the *Franks*, being induced to make war upon them by *Arbogastes*, who bore an old grudge to *Marcomir* and *Sunno*, two princes of that nation. This war was managed by *Arbogastes*, who, passing the *Rhine* near *Cologne* in the depth of winter, laid waste the countries of the *Bructerians* and *Chamavians*, without meeting with the least opposition, *Marcomir* shewing himself only at a distance on the hills, with some parties of the *Ansiarii* and *Chatti*^t. Hence it appears, that these antient nations of *Germany* were at this time comprised under the name of *Franks*. *Eugenius* himself approached the *Rhine*, at the head of a very numerous and powerful army; and having, upon the return of *Arbogastes*, renewed the antient alliance between the *Romans* and *Franks*, he left *Gaul*, and repaired to *Italy*; which he had scarce entered, when he was met by a deputation from the *Roman* senate, intreating him to restore to the temples the revenues of which they had been deprived by *Gratian*, and to re-establish the celebrated altar of *Victory*. *Eugenius* received them in a very obliging manner; but could not be prevailed upon to comply with their request. The senate soon after sent a se-

^p Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. 4. leg. 3. p. 42. ^q PHILOST. l. xi. c. 2. p. 146. Soz. l. vii. c. 24. p. 741. CLAUD. cons. Hon. 3. p. 35, 36. ^r CLAUD. ibid. p. 45—50. ^s Chron. Alex. p. 708. CANGE Constant. antiq. l. i. p. 76—80. ^t GREG. Tur. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 61, 62.

cond deputation to solicit the same favour ; which was denied them a second time. But when by a third embassy they renewed their request, *Eugenius* yielded at length to their importunity, restoring the pagan religion and temples to their former lustre, and suffering the antient ceremonies and sacrifices to be renewed in the senate of the metropolis of his empire^u. The following year, 394, *Arcadius* being consul the third time, and *Honorius* the second, *Theodosius* was still at *Constantinople* on the fifteenth of *May*^w ; but he left that metropolis soon after ; for he was on the thirtieth of the same month at *Heraclea*, and on the fifteenth of *June* at *Adrianople*^x. He bent his march through *Dacia*, and the other provinces between *Thrace* and the *Julian Alps*, which separate *Italy* from *Noricum*, with a design to force the passes of those mountains, and break into *Italy*, before the army of *Eugenius* was in a condition to oppose him. Upon his arrival at the *Alps*, he found the passes guarded by *Flavianus* prefect of *Italy*, at the head of a considerable body of *Roman* troops, who, after a short resistance, betook themselves to flight. *Flavianus* was killed at the first onset. *Theodosius*, having thus opened himself a passage over the *Alps*, was met, as he came down from those mountains, by *Eugenius*, at the head of a very numerous army, drawn up in battle-array on the banks of the river *Frigidum* ; which *Sanfon* and others take to be the river *Vipao* or *Wiback* in the county of *Gorice*, about thirty-six miles from *Aquileia*. The army of *Theodosius* was no less numerous than that of the enemy, being reinforced by several bodies of *Armenians*, *Iberians*, *Arabians*, *Goths*, and other barbarians, who dwelt beyond the *Danube*. The *Roman* troops were commanded by *Timasius* and *Stilicho*, who had married the emperor's niece ; and the foreign auxiliaries by *Gainas*, *Saul*, *Bacurius*, and *Alaric* the *Goth*, whose name is famous in history. Of *Gainas*, who was of the same nation, and *Saul*, who was likewise a barbarian, we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the reigns of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*. *Bacurius* was a native of *Armenia*^y, or, as *Rufinus* will have it, of *Iberia*^z ; nay, he is styled by that writer king of *Iberia*. Among the *Romans* he was *comes domesticorum*, that is, captain of the guards, and universally esteemed, not only for his courage and experience in war, but for the mildness of his temper, his affability and good-nature to all, even to his enemies^a. *Rufinus*, the ecclesiastic historian,

Theodosius forces the passes of the Alps.

^u AMBR. vit. p. 85. ep. 15. p. 210. ^w Cod. Theod. chron. p. 129. ^x Idem ibid. ^y Zos. p. 777. ^z RUF. l. i. c. 10. p. 166. ^a Zos. ibid.

who lived in great intimacy with him while he was duke of *Palestine*, calls him a man of great integrity, a pious and zealous christian, a worthy companion of *Theodosius*, a man endowed with every good quality of the mind, and by few equalled in the perfections of his body ^d. Under these leaders the army of *Theodosius* advanced into the plain; but the emperor, unwilling to expose the *Romans*, ordered the foreign auxiliaries to begin the action, which they did with great vigour and resolution; but were soon put in disorder by the regular and well-disciplined troops of *Eugenius*, headed by *Arbogastes*, who signalized himself in a very eminent manner. *Bacurius*, however, having rallied the barbarians, led them back to the charge; and being supported by *Timasius* and *Stilicho*, renewed the combat, which lasted till night coming on, both armies retired to their respective camps. *Bacurius* on this occasion distinguished himself above all the other commanders, killed great numbers of the enemy with his own hand; but being in the end surrounded on all sides, he was cut in pieces, after having defended himself for a long time with incredible bravery. Of the *Goths* and other auxiliaries above ten thousand were killed; but of the *Romans*, who supported them, only a small number, *Eugenius*, concluding he had gained the day, and that the army of *Theodosius* was utterly defeated, gave his men leave to retire to their tents, and refresh themselves, that they might be the better able to pursue the enemy next morning. In the mean time *Theodosius* was advised by his generals not to hazard a second engagement, but to retire in the night, repass the *Alps*, and put off the decision of the war till another campaign; against which time he might with great ease recruit his army, and renew the war with fresh vigour. But the emperor, without giving ear to their remonstrances, having assembled his troops by break of day, led them in person against the enemy; and entering their camp when least expected, put great numbers of them to the sword, and obliged the rest to save themselves by a precipitous and disorderly flight ^e. Thus *Zosimus*. But the ecclesiastic historians ascribe the victory gained by *Theodosius*, not to any surprize, but to the prayers of the emperor, and to the miraculous assistance of St. *John* the evangelist, and the apostle St. *Philip*, who appearing to him in the night, encouraged him to renew the fight early next morning, and assured him of victory. The same writers add, that *Theodosius* no sooner attacked *Eugenius's* numerous for-

^d Ruf. l. ii. c. 33. p. 192.^e Zos p. 778.

ces, than a violent storm arising, and blowing full in the enemy's faces, turned their arrows and javelins back upon themselves, and raised such clouds of dust, as quite deprived them of their sight; so that having two enemies to encounter at once, they were quickly overcome. Of this storm mention is made by *Theodoret* ^t, *Orosius*, ^s, *Sozomen* ^h, *St. Ambrose* ⁱ, *Rufinus* ^k, *St. Austin* ^l, and the poet *Claudian* ^m, who describe it with great elegance in some verses which he wrote eighteen months after ⁿ; but, to flatter *Honorius*, will have it to have been owing to his destiny. *Arbogastes* behaved on this occasion with great intrepidity; but in spite of his utmost efforts, his men, quite disheartened, and concluding, from the extraordinary violence of the storm, that Heaven fought against them, either betook themselves to flight, or, throwing down their arms, submitted to *Theodosius*, who readily received them into favour; but at the same time commanded them to apprehend, and deliver up to him, the usurper. They no sooner received this order, than they flew to the rising ground where *Eugenius* had posted himself to behold the battle, and was still waiting the event of it. When he observed them coming in great haste towards him, he concluded they brought him news of the victory. As they approached, he asked them, whether they had, pursuant to his orders, secured *Theodosius*. They answered, that they despised the commands of a tyrant and usurper, whom they were come to seize, and deliver up to their lawful sovereign; and loading him that instant with *Eugenius* irons, dragged him, stripped of all the ensigns of majesty, to *taken, de-* the emperor, who reproached him with the murder of *Valen-* *livered up* *tinian*, with the calamities he had brought upon the empire to *Theo-* by his unjust usurpation, and with putting his confidence in *dosius, and* *Hercules*, in defiance of the only true God; for on his chief *put to death* standard he had displayed the image of that fabulous deity. *by his own* *Eugenius* begged earnestly for his life; but while he lay prostrate at the emperor's feet, his own soldiers struck off his head, and carrying it about on the point of a spear, shewed it to those who, remaining in his camp, had not yet submitted to *Theodosius*. At that sight they were all thunder-struck; but being at the same time informed, that *Theodosius* was ready to receive them into favour, they threw down their

^t THEOPOR. l. v. c. 24. p. 739.
220.

^h SOZ l. vii. c. 24. p. 742.

vers. p. 117. & in psal. xxxvi. p. 692.

^l AUG. civit. Dei, l. v. c. 26. p. 642.

conf. Hon. 3. p. 36.

ⁿ Idem ibid.

^s OROS. l. vii. c. 35. p.

ⁱ AMBR. serm. de di-

^k RUF. l. ii. c. 33. p.

^m CLAUD.

Arbogastes lays violent hands on himself.

arms and submitted ^o. *Arbogastes*, the chief author of the death of *Valentinian*, and the evils attending it, despairing of pardon, fled to the mountains; but being apprised that diligent search was made after him, he laid violent hands on himself ^p. The children of *Eugenius* and *Arbogastes*, who had attended their parents in this war, having great reason to expect the same treatment, took sanctuary in different churches; but the pious emperor, not satisfied with pardoning them, laid hold of that opportunity to convert them from paganism, which they professed, to the christian religion, appointing proper persons to instruct them, and convince them of their errors; which they had no sooner renounced, than he took them under his protection, put them in possession of their paternal estates, and raised them to considerable employments ^q. Great numbers of the partizans of *Eugenius* having fled for refuge to the great church of *Milan*, *St. Ambrose* repaired to *Aquileia*, where the emperor then was, to solicit their pardon; which was immediately granted, and a general amnesty proclaimed ^r; nay, the emperor is said to have been so concerned for the blood that was shed in the battle, as to abstain for some time from the holy eucharist ^s. He probably followed therein the directions of *St. Ambrose*, at least his conduct was agreeable to the sentiments of that prelate, who, in speaking of judges, says, That though he does not deny them, as many have done, the holy eucharist, after they have sentenced criminals to death, yet he approves of their abstaining for some time of their own accord from the holy mysteries ^t. The emperor, immediately after his victory over *Eugenius*, sent for his son *Honorius*, whom he had left at *Constantinople*, under the care of *Rufinus*, who was thereby vested with almost an unlimited power. Before the arrival of the young prince, *Theodosius* had removed from *Aquileia* to *Milan*, where he received him and *Serena*, who came with him, in the great church, and committed them both to the care of *St. Ambrose* ^u. *Serena* was daughter to *Honorius*, the emperor's brother. A few days after he declared his son *Honorius* emperor of the west, assigning him for his share, *Italy*,

Honorius declared emperor of the west.

^o Ambr. vit. p. 86. CLAUD. conf. Hon. 4. p. 41. RUF. p. 192. THEODOR. p. 740. SOCR. l. 5. c. 25. p. 294. Chron. Alex. p. 710. ^p CLAUD. ibid. p. 41. & conf. Hon. 3. p. 39. SOCR. p. 295. OROS. p. 220. 221. ^q AMBR. ep. 16. p. 211. OROS. ibid. ^r Ambr. vit. p. 86. ^s RUF. l. ii. c. 34. p. 192. SOCR. l. v. c. 26. p. 295. SOZ. l. vii. c. 29. p. 753. ^t AMBR. ep. 51. p. 309, 310. ^u SOCR. l. v. c. 26. p. 295. RUF. l. ii. c. 34. p. 192.

Gaul,

Gaul, Spain, Britain, Africa, and *West Illyricum*. and appointing *Stilicho* his first general and prime minister ^w. With this declaration he sent *Stilicho* to *Rome*; on which occasion *Serena*, whom *Theodosius* had married to that general, and who accompanied her husband to *Rome*, shewed a great desire, says *Zosimus*, to see the statue of *Cybele*; but she was no sooner admitted into the temple, than she snatched from the goddess a necklace of inestimable value, saying, it became better the niece of an emperor than a senseless statue. An old vestal, who was present, transported with a blind zeal, could not forbear uttering dreadful imprecations against *Serena*, her husband, and her children; but *Serena* caused her to be driven out of the temple, and punished for her arrogance. At the same time her husband *Stilicho* commanded the thick plate of gold, with which the gates of *Jupiter Capitolinus* were covered, to be taken off, and conveyed to his lodging. Under the plate were found engraved on the wood these words: *This is reserved for an unhappy king*. Thus *Zosimus*^x, who ridiculously ascribes to these two actions, the misfortunes which afterwards befel *Stilicho* and *Serena*. The *Roman* senate sent deputies to congratulate *Theodosius* on his late victory, and to beg the consulship of the ensuing year for the two brothers *Olybrius* and *Probinus*. The emperor granted them their request, exhorting them at the same time with great zeal to renounce the errors in which they had been brought up, and yield to the force of that truth, which now generally prevailed. *Zosimus*, who seldom agrees with other writers, supposes *Theodosius* to have gone in person to *Rome*, to have summoned to the imperial palace all the senators, who still continued attached to the antient ceremonies of the *Romans*, and to have exhorted them to get the better of the prejudice of their education, and renouncing the superstitious worship of the gods, to embrace the christian religion, which alone could deliver them from their sins. But not one, continues that writer, could be prevailed upon to abandon the religion and ceremonies with which *Rome* had been founded, and had subsisted near twelve hundred years. Hereupon the emperor declared, that as the exchequer had been drained by the late war, he could spare no money for the ceremonies of their religion; which he therefore declared unlawful, and utterly suppressed ^y. He had before enacted several laws for the suppression of idolatry; but *Eugenius* had revoked them, and restored to the temples their privileges and revenues. This

^w Zos. l. iv. p. 773.
814.

^x Zos. p. 779.

^y Idem, l. v. p.

year is remarkable for dreadful earthquakes, which were felt almost every day in most provinces of the empire, from the beginning of *September* to the end of *November*; for excessive and incessant rains, which laid whole countries under water; and such a darkness as had not happened in the memory of man^z: all which the writers of those times seem to have looked upon as prognostics of the great loss the *Roman* empire was to sustain in the approaching death of the great *Theodosius*.

Theodo-
sius di-
vides the
empire be-
tween his
two chil-
dren.

Theodo-
sius dies.

THE next consuls were the two brothers *Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius* and *Anicius Probinus*, the sons of *Petronius Probus* and *Anicia Proba*, on whose consulate *Claudian* wrote a poem^a. *Theodosius*, having restored the west to its former tranquillity, was preparing to return to *Constantinople*, when he was seized with a dropsy, occasioned by the great fatigues he had undergone in the late war^b. As soon as he perceived himself to be in danger, he made his will, by which he divided the empire, bequeathing the east to his eldest son *Arcadius*, and the west to *Honorius*. He likewise confirmed the pardon which he had granted to all those who had borne arms against him, and remitted a tribute, which had proved very burthensome to the people, charging his sons and successors to see his will duly executed as to these two points^c. *Socrates* and *Sozomen* write, that finding himself in great measure eased of his pain, he assisted at a chariot-race; but his distemper returning with great violence, he appointed one of his sons to preside at the sports in his room; and withdrawing to his chamber, died the following night^d. He was heard a few minutes before he expired to utter the name of *St. Ambrose*^e. He died at *Milan* on the seventeenth of *January* of this year 395, two days before he had ended the sixteenth year of his reign, being then at most in the fiftieth year of his age^f. *St. Ambrose* pronounced his funeral oration, in which he supposes him to enjoy the rewards promised in the gospel to a religious and virtuous life^g. His body was embalmed, and conveyed from *Milan* to *Constantinople*, where it was interred by *Arcadius* with extraordinary pomp and magnificence, on the ninth of *November*, of the present year^h. A tomb of porphyry was

^z MAR. chron. AMB. serm. de divers. iii. p. 116. ^a CLAUD. de cons. Olyb. & Prob p. 1—8. ^b SOCR. l. v. c. 26. p. 295. ^c SOZ. l. vii. c. 28. p. 752. ^d AMB. ibid. p. 117. ^e SOCR. l. v. c. 26. ^f SOZ. l. vii. c. 29. p. 752. ^g AMB. ibid. p. 122. ^h SOCR. p. 295. Chr. Alex. p. 710. ⁱ AMB. ser. de divers. iii. p. 117—121. ^j ZOS. l. iv. p. 779. AMB. ibid. p. 125. SOCR. l. vi. c. 1. p. 300.

to be seen many ages after, supposed to be that of *Theodosius*. It stood in the mausoleum of *Constantine the Great*, near the church of the apostles *. As for the character of *Theodosius*, ^{His cha-} ~~ra-~~ ^{cter.} all authors, whether pagan or christian, *Zosimus* alone excepted, agree, that he was endowed in an eminent degree with every virtue becoming a prince, without the allay of one single vice. Not to mention the ecclesiastic historians, and the two great luminaries of the church, St. *Ambrose* and St. *Austin*, who may perhaps be thought prejudiced in his favour, as he was a most zealous patron of the orthodox faith. *Themistius*, *Symmachus*, *Pacatus*, and *Victor* the younger, though greatly attached to the antient religion of the Romans, which *Theodosius* discountenanced above all his predecessors, and made it his chief study utterly to suppress, propose him as the pattern of an excellent prince, the eminent virtues that shone in him overcoming the prejudice, which his zeal for the christian religion, and aversion to the superstitious ceremonies of the pagans, raised against him among those, who in spite of his utmost endeavours continued obstinate in their errors †. The testimony of those writers, who had no less reason to be prejudiced against *Theodosius* than *Zosimus*, and who lived in those times, must be of far greater weight with every impartial reader, than the invectives of that historian, who lived a hundred years after. *Theodosius* was, as we have hinted above out of *Aurelius Victor*, naturally cholerick, and apt, in the first transports of his passion, to issue such orders as favoured of cruelty. But as he was soon appeased, we have but one instance of their being put in execution before he had time to revoke them; namely, the famous massacre of the inhabitants of *Thessalonica*, who had murdered in an insurrection *Botericus*, the emperor's lieutenant in *Illyricum*, he caused he refused to set at liberty a chariot-driver, who had been imprisoned for offering violence to a woman of some distinction. When this came to the emperor's ears, he ordered all those who had been any-ways concerned in the murder or riot, to be put to death; but at the intercession of St. *Ambrose*, and other bishops assembled in a synod at *Milan*, where the emperor then was, he revoked his orders, and pardoned them. Some time after, his ministers representing to him, that the *Thessalonians* had been encouraged to this sedition by the too great indulgence he had shewn to the inhabitants of *Antioch*; and that if he suffered the murder of his lieutenant to go thus unpunished, his offi-

* CANGE urb. Const. antiq. l. iv. p. 109. † Vide SYM. l. iii. ep. 81. p. 137. ep. 13. p. 65. VICT. epit. 546, 547.

The massacre of Thessalonica.

An instance of his submission to the discipline of the church.

cers for the future would be in continual danger of their lives, and he himself disturbed and alarmed with daily insurrections; his wrath was kindled anew to such a degree, that, forgetful of the promise he had made to St. *Ambrose*, he immediately ordered a body of troops to march to *Thessalonica*, and revenge on the inhabitants the death of his lieutenant. The soldiers, entering the city, pursuant to their orders, surrounded the people, while they were assembled to behold the *Circensian* games; and falling upon them sword in hand, without regard to sex, age, or condition, without distinction of guilty or innocent, cruelly massacred, in the space of three hours, above seven thousand persons, many of whom were strangers come to *Thessalonica* on occasion of the sports. When news of this massacre was brought to *Milan*, St. *Ambrose* wrote to the emperor, who had left that city some time before, upbraiding him with his cruelty, representing to him the enormity of his crime, and exhorting him to atone for it by a sincere submission and repentance. This the emperor took in good part; and returning a few days after to *Milan*, repaired, according to his custom, to the great church, to perform his devotions there. But St. *Ambrose*, meeting him at the door, denied him entrance, telling him, that he was cut off from the communion of the faithful, and unworthy to appear amongst them, till he had expiated so public a crime by as public a repentance. To this the emperor readily submitted; and returning to the palace with tears in his eyes, performed with great humility all the duties of an open penance, as enjoined by the canons of the church, and the custom of those times. He continued in that state for the space of eight months, that is, from the latter end of *April* to *Christmas*, when, to make some amends for his crime, and to prevent both himself and his successors from being guilty of the like cruelty for the future, he enacted a law, or rather enforced the observance of an antient law, by which all criminals were to have a respite of thirty days allowed them between the pronouncing of the sentence of death and their execution². It is surprising, that *Zosimus*, who omits no opportunity of railing at *Theodosius*, and often censures even the most commendable actions of that prince, should take no notice of the above-mentioned massacre. The reader will find in the ecclesiastic writers other instances of the emperor's intire submission to the ordinances of the church, of his piety, self-denial, and

² THEODOR. l. iii. c. 17. SOZ. l. iii. c. 24. NICEPH. l. xii. c. 40. AMB. ep. xxviii. AUG. de civ. Dei, l. v. c. 26, &c.

other

other christian virtues, in which he far excelled all the princes who had reigned before him. Of the writers who flourished in his reign, we shall speak in note (M).

(M) Among the writers, who flourished under *Theodosius*, the celebrated orator *Symmachus* deserves, both on account of his birth and eloquence, to be mentioned in the first place. He was the son of *L. Aurelius Avianus Symmachus*, prefect of *Rome* in 364 (1). He is styled at the head of his letters, by *Macrobius* (2), and in an antient inscription, *Q. Aurelius Symmachus* (3). He had at least three brothers, who were all dead before the year 389 (4). Of these *Celsinus Ticianus*, whom in all his letters he styles brother (5), seems to have been one. He distinguishes *Flavianus*, who was prefect of *Italy*, and joined *Eugenius*, in whose cause he lost his life, with the same title (6); but most writers are of opinion, that he was no ways allied to him. *Symmachus* married *Rusticana*, the daughter of *Orfitus*, who was for many years prefect of *Rome* under *Constantius*, and had by her one son, named *Q. Fabius Memmius Symmachus* (7). *Orfitus*, his father-in-law, was accused in 364, and convicted of having embezzled the public money; for which crime his estate was confiscated, and he banished; but he was recalled in 366, when part of his estate was restored to him, but nevertheless he died very poor about the year 370, leaving two daughters behind him, viz. *Rusticana*, and another, who was married to a person of distinction in *Hetruria* (8). Though *Symmachus* had no fortune with his wife, yet he was reckoned among the wealthy senators (9). He was high pontiff of the pagans, quaestor, praetor, corrector or governor of *Lucania* and *Brutium* in 365, and 368, proconsul of *Africa* in 370, and 373, prefect of *Rome* in 384, and consul in 391 (10). He is styled in an ancient inscription count of the third order (11). He was a most zealous patron of idolatry, and on that account banished by *Theodosius*, but soon after recalled, as we have observed already. He brought up his son with extraordinary care, and seems to have taken upon himself to instruct him (12). Being invited by *Theodosius*, with whom he lived in great intimacy, to come to *Milan*, and assist at the solemnity of his consulship in 399, he excused himself, alledging, that he could not leave his son (13). His son was made by his interest, first

(1) *Sym. l. ii. c. 44. p. 81. Cod. Theod. chron. p. 69.* (2) *Macrobi. l. i. c. 5. p. 176, 177.* (3) *Rein. p. 399.* (4) *Sym. l. iii. ep. 6. p. 104.* (5) *Idem, l. i. ep. 40, 56, 68. p. 30, 38.* (6) *Idem, l. ii. ep. 44. p. 81. & ep. 83. p. 97.* (7) *Sidon. l. ii. ep. 10. p. 54.* (8) *Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 376. Sym. l. x. ep. 47. p. 441, 442.* (9) *Phot. c. 80. p. 197. Sym. l. v. ep. 5. p. 187 & ep. 66. p. 214. Ammian. p. 377. Macrobi. p. 745.* (10) *Sym. l. ix. ep. 41. p. 31. Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 386.* (11) *Rein. p. 399.* (12) *Sym. l. vii. ep. 30. p. 273.* (13) *Idem, l. viii. ep. 68. p. 335.*

quæstor, and afterwards prætor (14), quæstor about the year 392, and prætor in 397. The latter dignity cost him two thousand pounds weight of gold (15), and he would have spent on that occasion a far greater sum, had he not been restrained by *Stilicho*, who at that time ruled under *Honorius* (16). Young *Symmachus* was proconsul of *Africa* in 415, and præfect of *Rome* in 419 (17). In the date of a law of the year 424, he is marked consul (18); but most writers take that to be a mistake. He married, after the year 394, the grand-daughter of *Flavianus*, and had by her a son before the death of his father (19). He wrote some epigrams on illustrious men, and several letters, which are to be found among those of his father, who submitted his own compositions to the censure and judgment of his son (20). *Symmachus*, the father, was esteemed the most eloquent orator of his time; but his speeches not meeting with the applause he expected, he applied himself intirely to the writing of letters (21). His speeches have been long since lost; but his letters have reached our times, and are divided into ten books. They were carefully preserved by his amanuensis, and one of his friends, named *Elpidius*, and published after his death by his son (22). *Prudentius*, who wrote against him, while he was still living, on occasion of his endeavouring to persuade the emperor to restore the altar of *Victoria*, extols his eloquence, and compares it to a golden spade made use of to dig up ordure (23). *Macrobius* compares his elegant and florid style, as he terms it, to that of *Pliny* the younger, and equals him in that respect to the best writers of antiquity (24). *Apollinaris Sidonius* and *Cassiodorus* admire his eloquence, and the purity of his style (25). Both these writers quote some passages out of him, which are not to be found in any of his works that have reached our times (26). *Socrates* (27), *Photius* (28), and *Jornandes* (29), mention him with great encomiums. And truly the turn and brevity of his letters is not without some elegance; but the same thoughts, tho', generally speaking, common and obvious, are often repeated; and his style favours much of the barbarity of the age in which he lived. *Jornandes* quotes the fifth book of the history of *Symmachus*; but as it does not appear, that either *Symmachus* the orator, or his son, ever

- (14) *Idem*, l. v. ep. 44. p. 202. & l. iv. ep. 12. p. 147. (15) *Idem*, l. iv. ep. 8. p. 146. (16) *Idem* *ibid.* (17) *Cod. Theod.* tit. 6. p. 386. (18) *Idem*, tit. 1. p. 386. (19) *Sym.* l. iv. ep. 14. p. 149. (20) *Idem*, l. vii. ep. 21. p. 70. & appendix ad ep. *Symmachii*, p. 298, 301. (21) *Idem*, l. iv. ep. 29. p. 159. & l. viii. ep. 68. p. 335. (22) *Idem*, l. iii. p. 101. & l. v. ep. 83, 84. p. 220. (23) *Prud. in Sym.* l. i. p. 223. & l. 2. p. 225. (24) *Macr.* l. v. c. 1. p. 364. (25) *Sid.* l. i. ep. 1. p. 11. & car. 9. p. 361. l. viii. ep. 10. p. 231. *Cassiod.* l. xi. ep. 1. p. 175. (26) *Sid.* & *Cassiod.* *ibid.* (27) *Socr.* l. v. c. 14. p. 273. (28) *Phot.* c. 80. p. 197. (29) *Jorn. rer. Goth.* c. 15. p. 636.

wrote

wrote any history, most authors take the historian quoted by *Jordanes* to be different from both (30).

The *Latin* poet *Rufus Festus Avienus* is supposed to have flourished under *Theodosius*, because he inscribed a work to *Probus*, a consular man, whom most writers take to be the celebrated *Probus*, who died not long before the year 395 (31). *St. Jerom*, in his comments on the epistle to *Titus*, writes, that the phænomena of *Aratus* had been lately translated by *Avienus* (32); which work, together with his translation of *Dionysius's* description of the world, and a third poem by the same author on the sea-coasts, has reached our times. To the same *Avienus* or *Avianus* are generally ascribed the fables of *Æsop* in *Latin* verse, and the whole history of *Livy* in Iambics; but the latter laborious performance which, is mentioned by *Servius*, has been long since lost (33). Some other poetical pieces done by the same author are still extant. He writes with more taste and elegance than could be expected from one of the age he lived in; but his fables are not to compare to those of *Phædrus* (34). *Rufus Festus*, who was proconsul of *Achaia* under *Valens*, is thought to have been his son (35). *Victor* the historian, who closes his history with a kind of panegyric on *Theodosius*, is thought to have lived in his time, and to have wrote soon after the death of that prince (36). The name of *Sextus Aurelius Victor* is common to him with another historian, who flourished in the reign of the emperor *Valens*; but from him he is distinguished by the surname of *junior* or *the younger*: in several manuscripts he is styled *Victorius* or *Victorinus*, and under both these names he is quoted by *Pantus Diaconus* (37). He wrote the *Roman* history; but what has reached our times is but an abridgment of his work, and thence called *Victor's epitome* (38). *Gregory of Tours* quotes several things concerning the *Franks* out of an historian named *Sulpicius Alexander* (39), whom *Gothofredus* commends as an excellent writer, and supposes to be the same *Alexander* to whom *Symmachus* wrote several letters; from which it appears, that he was governor of a province, and was raised by *Valentinian II.* about the year 387, to the post of tribune and secretary (40). Some writers are of opinion, that the *Latin* poet *Manilius*, who wrote on astrology, flourished under *Theodosius*, or his son *Honorius*; but from several passages in that poem, especially from the last verses of the first book, *Extremas modo per gentes*, &c. most critics conclude him to have lived in the time of *Augustus*, and to have written soon after the defeat of *Varus* (41). The *notitia*, or state of the provinces of the empire,

(30) *Vide Voss. hist. Lat.* p. 724.

(31) *Idem, l. ii. c. 9.* p. 202.

(32) *Hier. in Tit. i.* p. 248.

(33) *Voss. poet. Lat.* p. 50.

(34) *Vide Baillet. tom. vi.* p. 475, 476.

(35) *Vide Sym.* p. 100.

(36) *Voss. hist. Lat. l. ii. c. 12.* p. 221.

(37) *Voss. hist. Lat.*

l. ii. c. 12. p. 221.

(38) *Vict. epit.* p. 531.

(39) *Greg.*

Tur. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 58, &c.

(40) *Cod. Theod. tit. 5.*

p. 409. *Sym. l. i. ep. 101.* p. 58. & *l. ix. ep. 25.* p. 347.

(41) *Sym.*

l. vii. p. 643. Voss. poet. Lat. p. 36. Manil. p. 100, 161.

published by *Surita* with the *itinerary of Antoninus*, is supposed to have been written in the time of *Theodosius*; for mention is made there of the provinces of *Arcadia* in *Egypt*, and *Honorias* in *Pontus*, so styled from that prince's two sons, and no notice is taken of several other provinces formed by *Arcadius* after the death of his father (42). The five books of *Flavius Vegetius Renatus* on the military art are addressed to the emperor, by whose order the author undertook that work (43). But that prince is sometimes named *Valentinian*, and sometimes *Theodosius* (44). All we know for certain is, that he wrote after the death of *Gratian*, and not long after the ravages committed by the *Goths* in that prince's reign, which he ascribes to his having suffered the infantry to lay aside their cuirasses and helmets (45). *Vegetius* is distinguished with the title of *comes* or *count*, and even with the epithet of *illustrious*. He is commonly blamed for confounding the customs and regulations of the ancients with those of his time.

The philosopher *Themistius* flourished under *Theodosius*, and was no less esteemed by the *Greeks* than *Symmachus* by the *Latins*. He was sprung from a noble family, and one of his ancestors, a philosopher by profession, had been distinguished with several honours by *Dioclesian* (46); perhaps his father *Eugenius*, who was no less famous for the profession of philosophy, than for his eloquence and learning (47). Amongst the letters of the emperor *Julian*, there is one to a philosopher by name *Eugenius* (48); whom some take to have been the father of *Themistius*; if so, he must have been too young in *Dioclesian's* time to be raised to any public employment. From his eulogium, written by his son soon after his death, it appears, that he preferred *Aristotle* to all other philosophers, and that in his old age he used to unbend his mind from the study of philosophy with cultivating his garden (49). *Themistius* was of the same age with the emperor *Constantius* (50), born in 317. He was a native of *Paphlagonia*, and not of *Constantinople*, tho' he spent almost his whole life in that city (51). He studied rhetoric at a place on the most distant borders of *Pontus* and *Colchis*, near *Phasis*, a city of *Colchis*, on a river of the same name, his father having recommended him to a celebrated professor, who taught in that country (52), and under whom he made such progress, that he was surnamed *Euphradus* or the *fine speaker* (53). *Gregory Nazianzen* styles him the king of eloquence, and adds, that he excelled in every thing, but most of all in the art of speaking (54). When he was yet very young, he wrote comments on *Aristotle* for his own private use; but nevertheless they were pub-

- (42) *Vide Noris epoch.* p. 298, 302. (43) *Veg. l. i. p. 13. & l. ii. p. 30.* (44) *Idem. p. 13.* (45) *Idem, l. i. c. 20. p. 24.* (46) *Orat. Constantii Aug. de Themist.* p. 22. (47) *Themist. or. v. p. 63.* (48) *Or. Conf. p. 23.* (49) *Themist. or. xx. p. 234.* (50) *Idem, ep. xviii. p. 135.* (51) *Idem, or. ii. p. 28.* (52) *Idem, or. xxxiii. p. 292. & or. xvii. p. 214. or. xxvii. p. 332, 333.* (53) *Greg. Naz. ep. cxi. p. 866.* (54) *Idem, ep. cxxxix. p. 865.*

lished,

lished, and met with great applause (55). His comments on *Aristotle*, and his notes on *Plato*, were still extant in the time of *Photius*, who styles them an useful work (56). The author of the book on the categories or predicaments, falsely ascribed to *St. Austin*, owns, that, in compiling that work, he had often recourse to *Themistius*, a great and wise philosopher of his time (57). Some fragments of the comments of *Themistius* on *Aristotle* are still extant (58); and *Stobæus* quotes a passage out of that work concerning the immortality of the soul. When he had ended his studies he went to *Constantinople*, and resided there for the space of at least forty years (60). He first taught philosophy, viz that of *Pythagoras*, of *Plato*, and of *Aristotle*; but made most account of the latter (61). He had an incredible number of disciples, and a philosopher of *Sicyon* in *Peloponnesus*, who had studied under *Iamblichus*, sent him all his at once (62). He taught gratis; nay, he assisted his disciples with money so far as his small estate would allow him; and thence he rejected the name of *sophist*, pretending it ought to be given only to mercenary teachers (63). After he had taught some time at *Constantinople*, he went first to the court of *Constantius*, before whom he pronounced his first oration at *Ancyra* in 347, having been introduced to that prince by *Saturninus*, who was consul in 383 (64). Not long after, that is, before the year 350, he saw *Constantine* in the west (65). In the year 355, *Constantius* created him senator of *Constantinople*, and wrote a letter in his commendation to the senate of that city (66). Two years after, that prince caused a statue to be erected to his honour (67). *Julian* wrote frequently to him in the time of his disgrace; and, being created *Cæsar*, answered by a long letter that which *Themistius* had wrote to him from *Constantinople*, encouraging him to answer the mighty expectations the world entertained of him (68). Upon the accession of *Jovian* to the empire, *Themistius* was sent to the new prince by the senate of *Constantinople*, to congratulate him in their name; on which occasion he pronounced, or designed to pronounce, the oration which has reached our times (69), with several discourses pronounced by him before *Valens*, who would hear him at least once every year (70). He was with that prince in 369, when he concluded a peace with the *Goths*, to which the philosopher pretends to have greatly contributed (71). He attend-

- (55) *Idem*, or. xxvii. p. 333. or. xxiii. p. 294, 295. (56) *Phot. c. 73. p. 164.* (57) *Aug. de Categ. c. 2. p. 23. & c. 22. p. 34.* (58) *Phot. c. 74. p. 161.* (59) *Euseb. p. 241.* (60) *Idem*, or. xvii. p. 214. (61) *Idem*, or. xxiii. p. 298. & or. *Const. p. 22.* (62) *Idem*, or. xxiii. p. 295. (63) *Idem*, *ibid.* p. 294. (64) *Idem*, or. xiii. p. 165. & or. xxxi. p. 352. (65) *Idem*, or. xiii. p. 165. or. xxxi. p. 354. or. *Const. p. 18.* (66) *Or. Const. ibid.* (67) *Themist. or. iv. p. 54.* (68) *Julian. ad Themist. p. 479.* (69) *Themist. or. v. p. 69.* (70) *Idem*, or. x. p. 129. (71) *Idem*, *ibid.* p. 133. & or. xiii p. 166.

ed *Valens* into the east, and in the *Persian* war in 372 (72). *Socrates* and *Sozomen* write, that he reconciled in some degree that prince to the catholics by a speech, which he pronounced before him, shewing, that he ought not to be surpris'd at the different opinions of men in points of religion, but, on the contrary, allow them great liberty (73). In the year 376, he was sent by *Valens* to *Gratian*, then in *Gaul*. As on his return he pass'd through *Rome*, the inhabitants of that metropolis earnestly press'd him to continue there, and teach philosophy, but could not, by any offers, prevail upon him to accept that office; so that, after a short stay in their city, he returned to *Constantinople* (74). *Theodosius* rais'd him, in 384, to the dignity of prefect of *Constantinople*, and once had some thoughts of committing to his care the education of his son *Arcadius* (75). He wrote several discourses in praise of that prince before the year 385; but as none of his orations are thought to be posterior to that year, he is suppos'd to have died soon after. All the emperors, who reigned in his time, shew'd him great respect, and distinguish'd him above all the other philosophers. Of his orations thirty-three have reach'd our times, comprising one in the *Latin* tongue, which several critics suppose not to be his. In *Photius's* time they were in all thirty-six, and among them one address'd to *Valentinian II.* which, since his time, has been lost (76). *Photius* commends his style as grave, and at the same time florid and elegant (77). He declares himself in several places an enemy to flattery; but nevertheless commends all the emperors alike, and bestows as great encomiums upon *Valens* as upon *Theodosius*. A poet, by name *Palladius*, charges him with ambitiously aspiring at the dignity of prefect, notwithstanding his pretended contempt of grandeur and honours (78). When *Palladius* lived, we know not. *Themistius's* thirteenth oration is altogether unworthy of a man of his character. Some writers will have him to have been an heretic, confounding him with one *Eutychianus*, who lived in the sixth century; but it is evident, from his writings, that he profess'd paganism, though he was not perhaps such a fanatic as *Libanius* or *Eunapius*. *Gregory Nazianzen*, who admir'd his eloquence, wrote two letters to him, recommending several persons to his protection (79).

Eunapius, who wrote the lives of the sophists of the fourth century, was a native of *Sardes*, the metropolis of *Lydia*; but studied at *Athens*, for the space of five years, under *Proerestes*, of whom we have spoken elsewhere, professor of eloquence in that city. He return'd afterwards to *Lydia*, and there taught rhetoric. He apply'd himself likewise to the study of physic, and to that of magic, under *Chrysanthus*, who had married his cousin: He was initiated in the mysteries of *Eleusina*, and blindly attach'd to all the

(72) *Idem, ibid.* (73) *Socr. l. iv. c. 32. p. 250. Soz. l. vi. c. 36. p. 696.* (74) *Themist. or. xxiii. p. 298. & or. xxxi. p. 354.* (75) *Idem, or. xvii. p. 215.* (76) *Phot. c. 76. p. 164.* (77) *Idem, ibid.* (78) *Antholog. l. ii. c. 52. p. 188. Voss. poet. Græc. p. 93.* (79) *Greg. Naz. ep. 139, 140. p. 865.*

Ceremonies of the pagan superstition (80). By *Cbrysanthus* he was induced to write the lives of the sophists; which work he begins with the life of *Plotinus*, who flourished in the middle of the third century. From *Plotinus* he proceeds to the lives of *Porphyrius*, of *Iamblichus*, and his disciples, who were all addicted to the study of magic, as evidently appears from the account he gives us of them (81). He mentions the ravages committed in Greece by *Alaric* in 395 and 396; whence it is plain, that he did not put the last hand to his work till the latter end of the fourth century. He wrote the history of the emperors, which consisted of fourteen books, and extended from the beginning of the reign of *Claudius*, the successor of *Gal-lienus*, where the history of *Dexippus* ended, to the death of *Eudoxia*, the wife of *Arcadius*; that is, from the year 268 to 404 (82). His life of the emperor *Julian* was rather a panegyric, than a history (83). Some fragments of this history are still to be found in *Suidas* (84), and in the abstracts of *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* on embassies. *Vossius* writes, that the entire history of *Eunapius* is lodged in the public library of *Venice* (85). The history of *Zosimus* is but an abridgment of that of *Eunapius* (86). They were both declared enemies to all the christian princes, especial y to *Constantine the Great*, though *Eunapius* retrenched, in the second edition of his work, most of the invectives against the christians, which he had inserted in the first (87). In his lives of the sophists he betrays the same prejudice against the christian religion, and, in several places, inveighs with great bitterness against the monks. *Photius* commends his style as elegant, concise, and expressive; but finds fault with his endless metaphors, which better suit an orator than an historian (88). In the lives of the sophists his style is often obscure, and not easily understood, which has led several able writers into gross mistakes (89). He frequently disagrees with the historians of his own time; nay, with those who were eye witnesses of the events they relate. The two philosophers, *Pappus* and *Theo*, flourished at *Alexandria* in the reign of *Theodosius*, the former wrote a general description of the earth, a treatise on the rivers of *Lydia*, and some other books on different subjects (90). *Theo*, or *Theon*, belonged to the museum, says *Suidas* (21); that is, to the society of learned men, who composed the academy of *Alexandria*. He wrote a book on the overflowing of the *Nile*, and others on mathematics, arithmetic, astrology, on *Ptolemy's* canon, and on other subjects (92). *Dodwell* published a fragment of *Theo* of *Alexandria* on *Ptolemy's* canon, with a book of *fasti*, which he supposes to have been done by the same writer (93).

(80) *Eunap. c. 8. p. 82, 102, 103. Phot. c. 77. p. 169. Jonsf. l. iii. c. 17. p. 296—299.* (81) *Eunap. c. 21. p. 144.* (82) *Phot. ibid. Eunap. p. 7.* (83) *Phot. ibid.* (84) *Suid. p. 1099, 2237.* (85) *Voss. hist. Græc. l. ii. c. 18. p. 252.* (86) *Phot. c. 93. p. 272.* (87) *Phot. ibid. Suid. p. 1515.* (88) *Phot. p. 109, 172.* (89) *Vide Jonsf. l. iii. c. 17. p. 298.* (90) *Suid. p. 424. & p. 1237.* (91) *Idem, ibid.* (92) *Idem, ibid. & Jonsf. l. 3. c. 2. p. 219.* (93) *Append. ad Cypr. diff. p. 1, 10, 98, 100.*

I N D E X

T O T H E

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